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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCIX.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 219—JANUARY 1900.

ART. I.—THE GREAT ANARCHY.

Stories of the Adventurers in Native Service, in India, during the latter half of the 18th Century.

(Continued from No. 218—October 1899.)

CHAPTER XI.

THE dissatisfaction of Bourquin had less excuse than that of Major Smith and his British-born brothers. Yet, if Perron had been in a position to carry out a project for keeping the heart of the Moghul Empire as a preserve for his own countrymen, it would be scarcely a matter for surprise that he should not have neglected the very simple expedient of entrusting at least the higher commands to officers of French nationality. It must have been known to him that the Peace of Amiens was not very likely to last: Lord Wellesley's conduct in 1802 had not been such as to convey to any intelligent observer in India any strong belief in the duration of the arrangement. The First Consul vainly attempted to avail himself of the truce—which he, too, knew to be no more—by re-occupying and strengthening the French settlements in India; and Admiral Linois appeared off the coast with a squadron of ships carrying important reinforcements. But the vigilant Wellesley, anticipating the coming rupture, refused to allow the Admiral to land at Pondichéri—a high-handed proceeding, perhaps, yet not altogether without justification. For among the archives of that place had turned up a copy of a paper lately prepared for the information of the First Consul by a Lieutenant Le Fèvre, in which the most unblushing calumnies were heaped upon the alleged treatment of the Emperor by the British, coupled with plans for the extirpation of "that unprincipled race." Considering that the Emperor had been for some time in durance, with a French force in Delhi and a French officer in the palace, the statements in this document were not wanting in ingenious audacity; and it is conceivable that they may have been supplied by Perron.

In the meantime that officer was doing a great deal to undermine his own position. Having disgusted one section of his European followers without making any very valuable body of support among the other, he was also alienating the Mahratta chiefs; of whom more than one had been superseded by Perron in promotion, and naturally had long been regarding the prosperity of the foreigner with jealous eyes. He had, moreover, attracted the odium of Sindhia's father-in-law and chief favourite, the notorious Shirji Rao, Ghatkai; and Sindhia himself was learning to give ear to hostile representations. Then followed an event which did not tend to allay the Chief's ill-humour and general perplexity: the Peshwa having concluded a treaty—called “of Bassain”—by which Lord Wellesley secured for his Government what he termed “an absolute ascendancy in the councils of Poona;” and, in Sindhia's expressed opinion, “taken the turban off his head.” As yet Sindhia had not dared to throw himself heartily into those anti-British efforts to which Perron had been long urging him; and now Perron had fallen into such disgrace that, on the 25th March 1803, he was insulted by Sindhia in open durbar at Ujain. About this time the effect of all this upon the General's mind had been to lead him into correspondence with Lake, the British officer preparing at Cawnpore for an advance upon Aligurh; and on the 27th of the same month Lord Wellesley wrote that “Mr. Perron's departure would be an event promising much advantage to our power in India.”

But if Perron, smarting under anxiety and disgrace, for a moment entertained thoughts of abandoning his agitated master, the mood only lasted as long as the master's own indecision. About the 1st July, it became evident to him that Sindhia was not likely to continue on friendly terms with the Calcutta Government. Only one month before Perron, returned from Ujain, was living as a private person, at Aligurh, preparing to make over the command of the army with the civil administration into the charge of Ambaji Ainglia, who had been ordered up from Central India to take his place; before July was over he had been restored to power and was sending round a circular to native chiefs and princes, in Sindhia's name, inviting them to form a general league and active combination against the British. At the same time Lake, at Cawnpore, was warned to be ready. “The reduction of Sindhia's power on the north-west frontier of Hindustan”—Cawnpore was then the frontier-station—“is an important object in proportion to the probability of a war with France.”

If it should now be thought far-fetched to look for French leanings among the native princes, the thought is easily cor-

rected by remembering the case of Tippoo at Seringapatam in the earlier days of the still existing administration. After the capture of that city in 1799, an examination of the late Sultan's State-papers revealed a complete series of documents, to show that Tippoo had been inviting help from General Malartic, Governor of Mauritius; that volunteers had been invited, and that officers and men commissioned, or at least sanctioned, by the Directory had, in considerable number, landed at Mangalore and gone on to Seringapatam. There, like Perron in the North, they had not been received without jealousy by the native officials. "Your Highness is not ignorant," so it was written in a memorial by Mr. Yusuf, of the Revenue Board of Mysore, "that it is the custom of the French to promise much, but to perform little." But Tippoo comments:

"If the theatre of war were in France, would not the God-given State" (*L'Etat, c'est Moi*) "do all in his power to assist? And surely the Frenchmen cannot do less." The Frenchmen in Mysore did much less: yet here was another Indian chief trusting them again; and the French nation at home was now far more powerful and under far more audacious and formidable guidance than in the days of the moribund Directory. In point of fact the danger was real and imminent, though much mitigated by two unforeseen occurrences: the first was the death of Paul, the Russian Czar, on whom the First Consul had depended as ally and cat's paw; the second being the necessity under which Bonaparte appeared to find himself for taking active steps against the negroes in St. Domingo. This expedition for the moment appeared likely to absorb the whole spare resources of the First-Consul; but Wellesley did not know of it, and may well have believed that an enemy like Bonaparte would not neglect any opportunity of injuring Britain that might be afforded by the alliance of a French party in India.

It was, undoubtedly, under such persuasions that Wellesley would have been glad to procure "the retirement of Mr. Perron." And the overtures made for that purpose must have inflated the vanity to which the General had shown himself subject and created exaggerated notions of his own importance. Sindhia, too, now that he had at last resolved upon resistance, must have felt that he could not afford to quarrel with his most successful military subordinate, the conqueror of Ismail and Holkar, of the Nizam and the famous General Raymond. So the General resumed his command; though not without danger from Ambaji.

Nor were the possible consequences without a certain element of hopefulness. The British forces advancing into Hindustan and the Deccan were but small numerically; and the majority of

their men were no better in blood and quality than the good regular troops trained by Sindhia's officers and victors in so many hard fights. The combination submitted to Sindhia was—on paper—extremely imposing. The plan formed was this :—

The Rohillas, once conquered by the British for the Nawab of Oudh, were now to enter the domains of that potentate, while Ambaji co-operated in the Lower Duab : Daulat Rao in person was to fall on the Nizam, that ancient enemy of all Mahrattas. Holkar undertook to ravage Benares and Bihar : while the fertile delta of Bengal was to be the prey of the Nagpore Bhonsala, then known as the " Raja of Berar."

The forces on which the confederates were to depend comprised 12 brigades of Regulars with guns in proportion ; a large staff of European and Eurasian officers ; a force of heavy cavalry ; with predatory horse—of the Pindari type—reckoned at 125,000 lances. On the other side was the resolute Wellesley, telling his Generals that " an effort against Sindhia and Berar was the best possible preparation for the renewal of the war with France."

The moment of crisis approached. The Treaty of Amiens had pleased no one in England ; the Tories were never reconciled to the Revolution, the Whigs objected to the First-Consul for the opposite reason that he had destroyed the Republic. Bonaparte himself hardly disguised his feeling that it was only a temporary armistice. When, therefore, the British Cabinet—suspecting hostile designs in Egypt—refused to restore the Island of Malta to the Knighthood to whom it properly belonged, Bonaparte was prepared with his well-known scene with the Ambassador Whitworth, on which the latter applied for his passports and returned to England. Letters of marque were issued by the British Cabinet on 16th May ; on the 3rd of the following month French troops entered the Kingdom of Hanover ; the news of the rupture of the Peace reached India overland. But, even before he learned that the war had been actually renewed, Wellesley had already addressed an ultimatum to Daulat Rao Sindhia, of whose increasing hostility he was informed by Colonel Collins, his envoy with that Chief.

It was about this time that Perron was reinstated and that he issued the circular to which reference has already been made. Sindhia at the same date maintained close relations with the Raja of Berar, contrary to an express clause in the ultimatum of Collins ; and that officer—under conditional instructions—quitted Sindhia's camp on August 3rd.

The military power which the Calcutta Government had to oppose to the formidable confederacy by which it appeared to

be menaced was of moderate strength, to say the most of it. Its power lay in the quality of its men and of their leaders. Lake advanced from Cawnpore at the head of 10,000 men, of all arms, only three cavalry corps and one battalion of Foot being British soldiers; the remainder were, however, good native troops officered by Europeans. About 3,500 men were assembled at Allahabad for operations in Bundelkund; 5,200 were got ready to encounter the Berar army in Orissa; while A. Wellesly and Stevenson were directed to enter the Deccan with 17,000 men, supported by a strong reserve in the Province of Madras, or "the Carnatic."

Lake received his last orders on August 17th, after he had already left Cawnpore; and the talents and resources of General Perron were now to be put to the proof. If he had the army in hand and were true to himself, he had the means of a glorious resistance; that he desired to do his duty is the opinion alike of Skinner and of Smith, though the latter—writing, however, after the event—has pointed out the weaknesses which affected his efforts. What followed is matter of familiar knowledge to the student of history; let us look at it, as best we may, in its more intimate relations and as it appeared to persons on the spot.

Perron's first and most honourable act was to send to his Delhi banker an unlimited credit in favour of the royal family, with instructions to the effect that a letter should be sent to Lake in the Emperor's name forbidding the advance of the British army. Du Drenec was ordered up from Malwa with his brigade; and Perron announced to all and sundry his intention to stand by the cause of Sindhia unless he should be regularly relieved of his charge. He also took care to send a large force of cavalry, under Captain Fleury (one of his best French officers) to lay waste the country to the S. E. and hamper Lake's advance. Having taken these measures, he could do no more than await the event.

The stars in their courses fought against him; the measures all failed. The Emperor, indeed, signed the required address to Lake; but he sent an agent to Camp, at the same time, to explain that he had only written at the dictation of the French officers and did not mean a word of it. Hundreds of sepoys, knowing that their wives and families were in the power of the British in their homes in Bihar and Allahabad, deserted daily; and the British-born officers, who had been particularly warned, by a Proclamation of the Governor-General, not to bear arms against their own King, were in many instances ready to lay down their commissions. Fleury gained the day in a skirmish with Lake's picquets, but was soon taken prisoner; Du Drenec never got further than Muttra, where his surrender to Van-

deleur has been already noticed. On the 27th, a couple of British officers in Perron's service applied to him for their discharge, on which the General ordered all the rest to leave the camp : on the following day Lake came up and found the troubled Frenchman drawn up with the remainder of his men before the Fort of Aligurh.

The scene that ensued savours of comic opera. Lake sent out a reconnoitring party of cavalry, with what were called "galloper-guns"—a kind of precursor of the horse-artillery of later days ; and Perron's Mahratta horsemen dispersed before the shots fired at them. Skinner, who had at that time no particular reason to love his father's nation, and whose character it was to be faithful to his salt, thought that he saw in his General's distress an opportunity of getting the dismissal-order of the previous day reversed. Perceiving Perron bare-headed and riding about endeavouring to rally his horsemen, Skinner ran to him, seized the bridle of the charger, and made an offer of service to his distracted General.

"Ah ! no," said the General. "All is over. These fellows have behaved badly ; do not ruin yourself. Go over to the English ; it is all up with us."

Skinner, renewing his assurances of devotion, was now told plainly that confidence was at an end. On his becoming urgent, Perron shook him off, riding away with the repeated cry :—

"Goodbye, Monsieur Skinner ! No trust, no trust."

That night the General departed to Hatras, leaving the Fort of Aligurh in the hands of his son-in-law, Colonel Pédron, on whom he enjoined to remember that he represented the honour of France and must hold out to the last extremity (which, be it added, he did). On arrival at Hatras, Perron learned that Ambaji was coming up to take the command out of his hands. With this information, and the knowledge that Bourquin was betraying him at Delhi, Perron lost all heart and gave himself up to General Lake at Sasni. He was kindly treated there, and passed into a peaceful life in British India, where he spent some time settling his affairs : and the fact, revealed by papers in the possession of the family, that he received several friendly letters from Daulat Rao Sindhia, after his retirement, seems enough to disprove the insinuations against his fidelity in which some writers have sought to bury his name.

General Perron ultimately returned to France in 1806 with a considerable fortune, being then in his 54th year. He bought the Château of Frasnés in the Vendôme country, not very far from the place which he had left, 35 years ago, as a humble workman : here he passed many years of quiet beneficence, like his old commander, de Boigne, with whom he main-

tained a constant correspondence : and here he died in his 80th year, and was buried in the neighbouring cemetery. He left two sons, both of whom died without issue ; his daughters made excellent marriages, one—Countess de la Rochefoucauld—surviving till 1892.

Of Perron's loyalty of character there ought to be no question. Even Smith, who considered that the French Commander had dealt unjustly with himself and the other British-born officers of the service, does not hesitate to justify the General's conduct in 1803. "I do not think," he writes, the very next year, "that [Perron] wanted either sense, prudence, or principle, in quitting Sindhia's service when he did." James Mill (Vol. VI, p. 502) is even more favourable. It was the gift of fortune that he was able to leave with life and property ; and in so doing he did no harm to a not too faithful employer. In a paper never published, for the use of which I am indebted to the General's great-grandson, he writes in convincing language to all who know the facts:—"The successive treacheries of Bourquin and Pédron, and the suspicious conduct of almost all the other officers, had inspired the Natives with such distrust of Europeans that our lives were in hourly danger. . . . For myself, I only saved mine by great sacrifices of money. He had, moreover, been superseded by Sindhia's orders, if not actually cashiered, at the time when Lake advanced from Cawnpore. This much justice is due to a man who, with no such advantages of birth and breeding as those possessed by his predecessor, yet attained to equal distinction and only failed by reason of events for which he was scarcely answerable. We have seen how much he did when in power ; of his character and conduct in retreat those who knew him speak in the highest terms ; attesting alike his rectitude, his simplicity, and his wide charity.

The fate of the other non-British officers may be told in a few lines. The faithless Bourquin—who commanded at Delhi—led his two brigades against Lake after the fall of Aligurh, which he might have seriously hindered had he chosen to go to Pédron's relief and taken the small British force between two fires. Even without aid, Pédron made a good fight ; and the assault was not accomplished without a loss of 260 to the British, the 76th Foot alone having 73 killed or wounded.

On the 11th September Bourquin crossed the river Jumna and took up a position on the plain between Delhi and the Hindun, having with him a force of 12 battalions, nearly 70

Note.—For information about General Perron I am indebted to the Marquis de Brantes, Captain in the 1st Regiment of Chasseurs in the French Army, whose grandmother, Countess of Montesquiou Fézensac, was the General's eldest daughter.

guns, and 5,000 horses. The advanced guard of the British had just come up, fatigued by a long march, and were preparing to pitch their camp; but Lake took them on as soon as he ascertained the near approach of the enemy, whose position he at once attacked in the fearless old fashion. His whole available strength consisted of the decimated 76th, a few corps of sepoys, a regiment of British Dragoons and another of Native cavalry. The latter went on ahead and were exposed to a terrible fire from Bourquin's batteries, while they sate on their horses awaiting the arrival of the infantry; Lake's horse was shot under him. When the infantry came up, they were formed in line and taken against the enemy's batteries, with shouldered muskets, led by the Commander-in-Chief himself. Drawn up behind their guns, the Regulars offered a sullen defence, unsupported by the cavalry: the British attacked the batteries with fixed bayonets, and Bourquin with his staff galloped from the field; the British line broke into columns, the cavalry charged through the intervals, and the enemy's resistance soon ceased. The French officers surrendered a few days later.

In the following month came the turn of Agra, held by Sutherland's brigade and further defended by seven battalions who were encamped outside with 26 guns. The walled town was taken, after a bloody struggle, on the 10th October; a week later the garrison asked for terms and were allowed to capitulate. Du Drenec arrived from Agra, with our old friend Smith, in charge of Colonel Vandeleur of the 8th Dragoons—afterwards killed at Laswaree.

The European officers had now been all taken, or had surrendered of their own free will under the Proclamation. But there was a large part of their followers remaining to be dealt with yet. Raja Ambaji had been appointed to relieve Perron—as already said—, but he too had been in treaty with Lake on his own behalf; so much so, indeed, that in the month of October he had been expected to embrace the British protection on certain conditions. But the conditions were not carried out by him; and Ambaji continued his slow progress northward. By the end of October he had reached a village between Alwar and Agra, known in history as Laswaree—Naswari the correct word. Having been here joined by Du Drenec's command and by the *débris* of the Delhi garrison, Ambaji now had a fine force of 17 regular battalions with 71 guns and 5,000 horses. Lake, pushing on—as was his custom—at the head of his cavalry, found this army well posted in a semi-circle of which the Mewat hills were the arc and a deep stream the cord. It was about sunrise on the morning of November 1st, when Lake forded the water and charged the enemy's lines without waiting for the infantry to come up. He had about

3,000 men with him, of whom little over a quarter were European Dragoons. Three times did these fearless cavaliers ride through the high grass jungle, charge the guns, and break the line of the Regulars, while the Mahratta horsemen looked on according to their use and wont. Vandeleur was killed; horses and men became weary; the guns could not be brought away; Lake had to retire to the other side of the water and give his men rest and food. In the meantime the British infantry arrived; and, after an attempt at negotiation on the part of Ambaji had failed, the action was renewed. Never did British troops behave with a steadier valour, seldom did British troops encounter a more worthy foe. The General's horse was once more killed, and his son got a severe wound while assisting his father to mount a fresh charger; General Ware's head was taken off by a round shot. At length the guns were taken; Ambaji, dismounting from his elephant, galloped away on horseback, the resistance declined after his disappearance, and finally ceased, with a loss of 7,000 men and all the guns. The British loss in that stubborn contest amounted to 13 officers and over 800 men.

With the battles of Asai and Argaon in the South, the war ceased: and Sindhia concluded the *Annus Mirabilis* by a Treaty in which he engaged to employ no Europeans or Americans without the knowledge and consent of the British Government.

Thus ended, three years after the beginning of a new century, the career and calling which had given such a romantic hue to the generally prosaic age just expired. Two of the officers, however, lived to distinguish themselves in the British service, of whom one came from the army of Sindhia and one from that of Holkar.

CHAPTER XII.

We have seen how James Skinner attempted to stand by Sindhia's French General in his last attitude of defence; and it may be asked why he, a man whose name sounds so English, and who died a Colonel and Companion-of-the-Bath in the British service, should have been willing to run all hazards against the soldiers of his mother-country. The explanation must be sought in the peculiar conditions of his origin and early life.

Skinner was born about 1778, his father being a subaltern in the British army in Bengal, and his mother a Rajpoot lady with whom the subaltern had a transient intimacy. After an attempt to apprentice the boy to a Calcutta printer, which entirely failed owing to his restless and venturesome nature,

the father was fain to let him take his own wilful way, which led him to the wild life of a private spearman, ending by a subaltern's commission in one of Sindhia's regular regiments of infantry. He served in the little war against George Thomas, and we are indebted to him for anecdotes such as have been already related. Up to the date of Lake's advance Skinner had lived amongst his men, and had an ignorance of the British as profound as theirs. He had also, as it seems, a special grudge against the race to which his father belonged, which was shared by others in a like position to his own. Brought up by native mothers whom the temporary partners had often deserted, their sympathies were with the people of the country. Skinner, for one, desired nothing better, at this time, than to strike a blow for Sindhia, whose salt he had eaten for seven years, ever since he came to man's estate. This Perron's irritation and suspicious condition would not allow ; and we have seen that officer riding distractedly without a hat, and bidding Skinner to "go over to the English."

At the end of August accordingly he came into the British camp, with some companions in a like plight. They approached the General's tent with fear and trembling, not knowing how they would be received ; but Lake was good to the lads and promised them employment. Skinner had even then too high a sense of honour to accept any duty which might involve him in warfare against his old master, Daulat Rao Sindhia ; but Lake was taken with him and gave him police-work on the road towards Cawnpore. Skinner soon raised a body of patrol-horse, with whom he took post at Sikandrabad, 10 miles east of Bulandshahr, in a former cantonment of Perron's army ; and from that centre he made expeditions in support of order, which occasionally assumed serious proportions. Of these enterprises of pith and moment History records one against the fort of Malagurh, 4 miles north of Bulandshahr, held by a Mahratta brigand named Madhu Rao, who sent Skinner a peremptory message inviting him to vacate his post and leave the District. Skinner immediately marched against Malagurh, laid siege to the fort, and soon compelled the Mahratta to surrender. His most distant expedition was across the Ganges into what is now the Bijnore District, where—at a place called Afzalgurh—15 miles from Nagina—Skinner met and defeated the Pathan adventurer, Amir Khan, afterwards to become such a thorn in the side of Lake. At length open war broke out between the British and Jaswant Rao Holkar. That Chieftain had been an old enemy of Sindhia ; so Skinner had no scruples in acting against him. Recruiting was easy among Perron's former Moghul horse ; and Skinner was soon at the head

of a body of cavalry with which he accompanied Lake's heroic marches; in which British Dragoons—after some months of training—succeeded in driving Amir Khan into Central India and running Holkar to earth in the Punjab; Skinner having adopted a curious kind of canary-coloured uniform, which is to this day perpetuated in the corps by which his “yellow-boys” are represented. It is a wonderful item in the always marvellous record of Anglo-Indian warfare, that British cavalry, with such associates, learned a speed and endurance which ultimately made them too nimble for their subtle prey. With a saddle-bag containing a handful of meal for food, a blanket and a brass pot for all baggage, each grooming his own horse after a long march; “Mounted Tommy,” with his galloper guns, kept up an emulous companionship with the canary-coloured sowars. They chased Holkar and his Pathan associate across the Duab, crossed the Ganges at Anupshahr, relieved the beleaguered residents of Moradabad and Bareilly, surprised the Mahratta camp at Futtehghurh, expelled the Pathan with the loss of 20,000 of his Pindaris, and drove Holkar to a momentary asylum at Jodhpur.* Thus passed the year 1804; in the following year the Mahratta chief tempted fortune once more, leaving Jodhpur and heading for the Punjab, where he hoped to find an ally in the young Runjit Singh, then engaged in founding a principality at Lahore. Lake and Skinner at once resumed the initiative, and followed him up so briskly that by the 19th December Holkar, being run into before he could reach Lahore, was obliged to submit to Lake's terms and end the war.

In the peaceful days of “non-intervention” under Sir George Barlow, Skinner beat his sabre into a pruning-hook and settled down as an agriculturist on a large scale in Haryana, where he had once, in a very humble capacity, made war upon the gallant Sailor-Prince, George Thomas. He was employed in settling the Districts for several years, and rewarded with the grant of no less than sixty-seven fine farms in and around the lands of Hansi; but he also held an estate in the District of Bulandshahr, at a place called Bilaspore, where a good house and garden are to this day possessed by his descendants. In 1815 Skinner and his Yellow-boys bore an honourable part in the operations of Lord Moira—afterwards Marquess of Hastings—against the Pindari marauders; and for this he was rewarded by the publicly-expressed thanks of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, and of several general officers. Similar honours were conferred on

*The British regiments were the 8th, 27th, and 29th Dragoons.

him after operations against Arab mercenaries who broke out at Poona in 1819; and that—with but one exception—was the last of Skinner's active service. His corps now amounted to no less than 3,000 sabres, of which one-third was about this time paid off and disbanded; while another part was posted at Nimuch, in Rajpootan, under his brother Robert: the remaining 1,000 men going into cantonments at Hansi with their old commandant. He had long enjoyed the distinguished friendship of the able and genial Sir John Malcolm—mentioned as employed in the delicate duty of disbanding the legion of Michel Raymond in 1798—, and by Malcolm's powerful aid he about this date obtained a perpetual and heritable assignment of the estates in Hariana: these had originally been given to him for the maintenance of his men—under the old quasi-feudal system mentioned in our notices of Sombre and Boigne. Bilaspore appears to have been his own property from the first.

In 1822 Skinner once more visited Calcutta, where he had, as a boy, thrown down his composing-stick to trail a pike in Upper India: here he was made much of and bid to return to Hansi and re-engage his men, who had been disbanded three years before. The times were again becoming troubled; Lord Amherst was preparing for war with Burma; good officers and faithful native soldiers were at a premium. In no long time employment came to Skinner and his Yellow-boys once more.

The period of the first Burmese war was marked by one of those strange epidemics to which India seems always liable. A sort of magnetic storm brooded over the land, causing unrest and reaction. The upper provinces were full of soldiers whose occupation was gone, and whose habits forbade their finding new work in peaceful fields. The police force was unable to keep such people in order, being itself in a state of imperfect organisation; the administration of justice was imperfect and universally unpopular; worst of all, the settlement of the land—always the corner-stone of the Indian social system—was crude, corrupt, and unworkable. Local disturbances ensued; from the Cis-Sutlej country, on the north-west, to the Duab of the Gangetic valley the troops were constantly on the move, to preserve order. In Alwar and in Jaipore the Rajpoot clansmen were at deadly feud among themselves; and matters were now to be complicated by events that were arising in the famous Jat State whose capital was at Bhurtpore, imperfectly subdued by Lake in 1804.

The details belong to general history. Here we have only to notice a broad outline. A disputed succession had occurred in the Jat State; the Raja on his death-bed having procured

the recognition of his infant son by the paramount power, while his brother attempted to supplant the youthful heir. The Governor-General's Agent, the wise and gallant Sir David Ochterlony, considering that the child's life was in danger from the ambition of the uncle, reported accordingly to Calcutta and mobilised the troops at his disposal. This appeared to be succeeding; the usurping uncle offered to come to Ochterlony at Delhi, and to put the young Raja in his keeping.

Unfortunately, there was the Calcutta Council still to deal with, and that august body, thinking itself better informed than the experienced soldier-statesman on the spot, resolved on "making some arrangement by which Sir D. Ochterlony should retire from active employment."* A harsh letter was accordingly despatched to the Agent, rebuking him for what he had done and ordering him to "remand to their cantonments" all the troops that had been called into the field. The indignant veteran laid down his appointment and died; Metcalfe was sent to succeed him; and on arrival wrote to the Council to say that vigorous action ought to be immediately taken. Upon this Lord Amherst declared that his views were "materially altered;" and with the assent of the Council sent Metcalfe powers to act according to his judgment. The policy of Sir David was renewed; but in the meantime the usurper had strengthened his defences and largely augmented the strength of his garrison. Two strong divisions of the Indian army were now launched at the almost impregnable place, which consisted of a walled town and interior citadel before which Lake's efforts had entirely failed twenty years before. An example was felt by Metcalfe to be loudly demanded: Jaipore and Alwar were ready to rise; Sindhia was in evil mood; the unrest of the Southern Mahrattas displayed ominous signs; "we might," so an eye-witness wrote at the time, "look in vain for one friendly independent neighbour, disposed to succour, or even to forbear."

Upon this momentous scene our old adventurer now entered; to fight, once more, and for the last time, in behalf of his benefactors. His second-in-Command was Major William Fraser, of the Civil Service, who held an administrative post in Hariana, but had elected to take the field as a military man on this occasion.† The place was taken, after a five week's siege in which cavalry were usefully employed to make a cordon round the town: Skinner's horse, particularly, co-

* Mr. Secretary Swinton to Sir C. Metcalfe, 10th April 1825.

† Fraser was afterwards murdered by Nawab Shams-ud-din of Loharu, who was hanged for the crime.

operated by taking possession of the dam by cutting which the waters of a neighbouring lake could have been discharged into the ditch by whose deep bed the town was surrounded. Fraser drove off the enemy's cavalry and saved the dam, the enemy thus being left without a moat; and the mine by which the great bastion was destroyed was rendered easily possible. The sowars were also constantly useful in collecting forage and escorting convoys; and some of them were even named in orders to take part in the storming-party, though the assault was ultimately delivered without them.

In 1826 the Colonel and his men returned to Hansi; and Skinner was soon afterwards gratified by the bestowal of a Lieutenant Colonel's commission in the royal Army and the Third Class Order of the Bath. He had still many years left in which to enjoy his well-earned honours; and he lived an active existence at Hansi, much esteemed by natives and Europeans, and bringing up a large family, one of whom followed his father's footsteps and became in his turn a Commander of Cavalry. Amongst other good works, the old soldier built a large and costly Church at Delhi. Although in his latter days quite English in his habits, he used the Persian language by preference when he had to write at length. When the unhappy heir of the Sombres was contemplating his visit to Europe in 1836, the Colonel addressed him in a Persian ode strongly dissuasive of the step. He also wrote in that idiom the *Memoirs* afterwards translated by Baillie Fraser. He died in 1841, and was buried in the precincts of his Church at Delhi.

A very analogous case was that of W. L. Gardner, whose adventurous career has been well summarised, by Mr. Manners Chichester, in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. XX.). Some MS. matter having come into the hands of the present writer, from a private source, it has been thought that a few additional particulars might be acceptable; the more so because an illustrious writer has drawn general attention to the case by giving to the world a burlesque picture—*mutato nomine*—calculated to give an erroneous idea of a good and gallant officer who had, indeed, many experiences which might deserve such an epithet as "tremendous," but who, nevertheless, was in character a very different man from the "Major Gahagan" of Thackeray. An Irish Major, indeed, who served under Holkar; but who did useful work in India with calm reticence, waiting patiently for opportunity and well content to live and die with honour and without honours.

THE GREAT ANARCHY.

CHAPTER XIII.

Born of a good stock, and nephew of a distinguished naval officer, William Linnæus Gardner entered the royal Army at the age of eighteen, and in due course obtained a company in the 30th Foot, now 1st Battalion East Lancashire. In 1795 he took part in the ill-advised and worse-conducted landing of French Royalists in Quiberon Bay, where Gardner not only smelt powder, but became acquainted with a nobleman under whom he was to serve again in India many years later.

He joined his regiment in that country about a year after this; but found no scope for his martial ardour. It was at this otherwise uneventful time that Sir John Shore—afterwards Lord Teignmouth—had been unlucky enough to offend the officers of the army, as we noticed in dealing with Bellasis. Whether on that account, or for mere restlessness, Gardner also resigned his commission to seek employ in native service. He engaged under Tukaji Holkar, then almost at the end of his career, one in which he had never manifested much hostility against the British, and had, indeed, generally acted as the subordinate of the wise and good widow of the founder of the State, the celebrated Ahalya Bai. Soon after this, however, Tukaji died, having survived his Mistress for a short time, during which he had carried on the administration at Indore; and his place fell to an illegitimate son—the brave but ferocious Jaswant Rao of whom we have already had glimpses. Hence all sorts of trouble arose; so that it was not long before the new officer found work to do.

The first efforts of Jaswant Rao, after getting rid of certain competitors to the succession, was to punish Daulat Rao Sindhia, who had been profiting by the domestic troubles of the clan. It was not, however, till late in 1799 that all was settled, and the Regulars—under Colonel Du Drenec—were ready to act under the new Chief. The first engagement was that fierce fight with Sindhia's army, commanded by Hessing, of which something has been said above; it was fought at Ujain and ended in the defeat of Hessing, who was the only one of the white officers on Sindhia's side that was not either killed or captured.

But the tables were soon turned. Ere long the unlucky Holkar lost a battle that cost him his camp, his guns, and his capital City of Indore. Du Drenec deserted to the winning side; but several of the British-born officers remained faithful to Holkar; and Gardner was one. Their fidelity soon met with a cruel recompense. On the 25th October, 1802, they underwent a fresh trial, when Sindhia made a final bid for power in the Deccan, but were at last completely victorious though a

gallant young comrade, named Harding, lost his life. This engagement occurred near Poona, the possession of which city was one of the spoils. The Peshwa fled to British protection, having taken sides with Sindhia's General ; and the beginning was made of that train of negotiation that was to end in the Treaty of Bassain and the dawn of the new Empire of India.

Holkar now changed his policy ; joining with Sindhia in machinations against the British—as mentioned in relating the fall of Perron—which produced a combination of alarming appearance as long as it was confined to talk. As we have seen, these plans were rudely shattered by the British Governor and his Generals before Holkar had committed himself by any act of overt hostility. Whilst he was still wavering, this Chief was disposed to try whether he could make terms for himself, and it struck him that Gardner was a man fitted, by character and social standing, to plead his cause with Lake. Gardner—who was now married to a Moslem lady, daughter of the Nawab of Cambay—was ready to undertake the mission to the British Camp ; and, being furnished with due credentials, he departed, leaving his family under the Chief's protection.

The emissary was, doubtless, honest, but the principal was probably insincere ; that at least was the feeling in Lake's mind ; after some discussion the negotiation came to nought, and Gardner took his leave and rode back to Holkar's Camp. Dismounting at the door of the durbar-tent, he entered the presence of the Chief, who was sitting on the floor propped on cushions ; and, in all probability, more or less intoxicated—his "constant custom of an afternoon." Around him sate the parasites and officers by whom he was attended in hours of business, and Gardner was bid to give an account of his proceedings. Holkar was annoyed at his envoy's ill-success ; and, although he knew that this was not the fault of the envoy, he began to vent his spleen at the delay, which he said was so. From complaints he got to insolent upbraiding, winding-up with an assurance that, had not Gardner returned when he did, the wall of his private tents would have been thrown down by order. This last insult was, like the rest, a mere piece of drunken ill-temper ; but the Irish gentleman took it for a studied provocation. He knew that the Chief's mind had been filled with sinister anxieties as to the fidelity of his European officers, many of whom, indeed, he ultimately put to death. Gardner's own life now trembled in the scales of Fate. Indignation at the double affront to his fidelity and to his family overpowered the prudence that is seldom very strong in a European provoked by an Asiatic. "Drawing my sword," he used afterwards to relate, "I attempted to cut Holkar down, but was prevented by those about him. Ere they had recovered

from their amazement, I rushed from the tent, sprang upon my horse, and was soon out of reach of my pursuers."

After this hare-brained exploit—which certainly vies with the most doughty deeds of Major Gahagan—our adventurer had some further wild experiences. In his flight he fell into the power of the Peshwa's intriguing brother, Amrit Rao, by whom he was invited to bear arms against the British in the Deccan. Gardner, refusing, was bound to a cot and left for execution: but even this did not exhaust his resources or shake his high resolve. Being ere long unbound and directed to march with a guard, he took occasion, on passing over a cliff, to throw himself into the water below, by a fall of fifty feet. He then swam down the stream until his guard had been eluded; then assumed the disguise of a grass-cutter; and finally—after some farther wanderings—arrived in the British Camp. General Lake accorded him a kind reception, and commissioned him to raise a corps of cavalry for whose maintenance he was to have the estate of Kasgunje in the Etah District. He was soon relieved from anxiety on the score of his wife; Holkar either had a qualm of conscience, or was unwilling to offend her father, the Nawab; the lady was allowed to depart unscathed, and she presently joined her lord at Kasgunje, which was to be their home for many years to come, and where they finally died within a few weeks one of the other.

But, before finally retiring into private life, Gardner had still some useful work to his hand. The papers above referred to bear a special reference to this affair, which happened during Moira's Nepalese war, say between 1814 and 1816, as will be found related in our next chapter. The Governor-General was of that Anglo-Irish race which, from Sir Eyre Coote to the Roberts of to-day, has given so many soldiers and statesmen to the Empire. As Colonel Rawdon, he had held the post of Adjutant-General, and had learnt something of the art of war; in 1793 he had succeeded, on the death of his father, to the newly-created earldom of Moira, and had become a friend of the Prince of Wales. In 1806 he was made Master-general of the Ordnance; and was employed in political dealings by his royal friend, now Prince of Wales. In 1812 the excellent Minto had intimated an intention of laying down his office—there was no five-years' rule in those days, nor till long after—and, before the time had come, Moira was sent out to take charge from him. He landed in October 1813, a shocking example, it must be admitted, of Court-patronage.

Nevertheless, as events were to develop themselves, this act of flagrant interference with the East India Company and its Governor-General, was to be abundantly justified. The undistinguished Staff-Officer, society-man, and courtier, thus un-

expectedly promoted to what was the most exalted and trying position in the British Empire, proved—though an ungrateful posterity hardly recollects the fact—to be chief integrator of the sway of Britain in the East. Things were already in a similar state of unsettlement to what has been already noticed as existing some ten years later ; a state the recurrence of which is one of the main apologies for the appearance of British aggressiveness in the Indian peninsula. The anarchy which had been for a moment got under by Lake and Wellesley, was in movement again, like a buried Titan. In Central India the Pindari marauders were abroad ; Rajputan, bleeding to death under the hands of Sindhia and Amir Khan, was feebly calling for deliverance ; Oudh was a scene of misgovernment and insecurity ; Rohilkhand and the Duab were disturbed by robber-barons.

As soon as he was fairly instructed in what was on foot, the new Governor announced his intentions ; “our object ought to be to make the British Government paramount, in reality if not declaredly.” (*Memorandum* of February 6th, 1814) With this intention, in his 60th year, the veteran set out on a tour in Upper India, hoping against hope that he was not on the edge of “a war more general than any that we have hitherto encountered,” and that an invasion by the Nepalese was not to be added to his other tribulations.

It was in this instant of anxiety that Gardner found his opportunity. The beginning of 1814 saw him preparing to enter the Nepalese territory, not as an invader, but in the peaceful capacity of a hunter and fisher, accompanying his cousin, the Hon'ble Edward Gardner (Assistant Resident at Delhi), on a sporting expedition to the Dehra Doon, then held by the Nepalese. Edward, however, could not go at present ; and in April the gallant Major wrote to him from Dehra, where he had got himself into a nest of human hornets. The place was held by an officer of Gurkhas—they are there still, but no longer enemies—who adopted an attitude of anger at Gardner's intrusion ; for a moment, he was in some danger. Luckily, the Mahant of the Sikh Temple—“the Bishop,” Gardner calls him—was friendly ; and by this prelate's influence the sportsman was at last allowed to depart in peace, instead of being shot as a spy.

Open war with Nepal came in November and proved a more serious affair than any one had looked for. Like our mountaineer foes of later days, the Highlanders of the north-east frontier were energetic adversaries upon their native heights. Colonel Carpenter, indeed, entered the Doon, having forced the Timil Pass ; but the little fort of Kalanga held out ; and a grave disaster befell the British force by which it was besieged.

The Gurkha Commandant defended the fort with a weak battalion, repelling three assaults, during which the brave Sir Rollo Gillespie was killed, together with a number of British officers and men, far exceeding that of the little garrison ; further eastward the British General conducted the campaign with the utmost imbecility, declaring his need of more guns and men. When reinforced, and with odds of ten to one, he still held back ; at last mounting his horse by night and riding away, all alone, to his head-quarters. These disgraceful events occurred, be it noted, in the year before Waterloo.

In that hour of darkness a great leader appeared, in the person of General Ochterlony, afterwards so shamefully treated in the affair of Bhurtpore. While this good and gallant officer was advancing to the operations which ultimately had such a happy end, Gardner's accurate vision detected a weak place in the long line of the enemy by which he hoped to effect a most valuable co-operation.

The Gurkhas had been making annexations which became a cause of weakness rather than of strength ; with an army of not much over 12,000 strong they had a frontier of about 700 miles to defend. About half-way between Katmandoo, their capital, and Malaon, their westernmost fortress, lay the beautiful sub-alpine Province of Kumaon, where the Government of the North-West Provinces has now its pleasant Head-quarters during the burning summer of Hindustan. On the North it is bounded by the finest *Oberland* in the world, with passes into Thibet, lower than the glacier-strewn peaks, but themselves higher than any of our European mountains ; the rivers—which are numerous—flow east and south until they fall at last into the mighty Ganges below ; and the valleys thus formed are the natural approaches to the country. On the dividing ridges are plateaux and fertile uplands, now covered with profitable woods or flourishing tea-plantations : on the crest of one of these was a Gurkha Fort, called Almora ; but the garrison was weak. The newly-conquered races by which Kumaon was peopled were sparse and of gentle nature ; the Gurkha troops were more required elsewhere ; and Gardner, detecting with a soldier's eye the weakness and at the same time the value of the Province, wrote to his cousin to propose its immediate occupation. On this the Resident at Delhi gave Edward orders to move upon the Doon—by this time cleared of the enemy—and a Captain Hearsey, whose name we recollect in the service of George Thomas, was sent on a reconnaissance in Kumaon.

On the 21st of November Major Gardner wrote a somewhat doubtful letter to his cousin to which he added an important postscript :

"It appears to me that your army (when you get it) will store as a false attack if we are otherwise successful. At all events, it will help to divide their force and distract them, while it will prevent reinforcements going to Amar Singh:" that was the name of the Gurkha General against whom Ochterlony was then operating. "On mature consideration this is my idea."

It was the final decision of a resolute mind that only seemed to vacillate while both sides of the question had been under consideration. For the words just quoted contained a strategic conclusion in the way to immediate effect. The plan was adopted and proved the solution of the N. E. frontier problem, not for the moment only, but for the remaining three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

A week later Edward was prepared to start for Kumaon; and the Major was with him. At the end of January 1815—while Marley was fumbling on the eastern extremity and Ochterlony operating on the west, beyond Simla, the sub-alpine hills were invaded by a compact force of native infantry with some light guns. Hearsey was in a scrape, having been surprised by the enemy and carried a prisoner to Almora. But the Ex-minister of the Kumaoni Raja, whom the Gurkhas had dispossessed, was on the side of the invaders; and with his assistance the country became most friendly and the campaign prospered. On the 26th of April, 1815, Almora was taken, by Colonel (afterwards Sir Jasper) Nicholls; and Gardner was deputed to confer with the Gurkha General. In the negotiation which ensued the Gurkhas agreed to give up their strong places, let Hearsey go, and finally evacuate the Province. Gardner remained at Almora for some time with his levies, cutting off Amar Singh from his base; and that brave soldier, deprived of reinforcements, deserted by many of his followers, and constrained by his own officers, surrendered to Ochterlony on the 10th May, engaging to abandon all the Gurkha conquests west of the Jumna, and to send orders for the evacuation of the rest of the hill-country up to the eastern border of Kumaon.

The full consequences of this were not immediately reaped; because Amar Singh, when he returned to Head-Quarters, was compelled by his Government to break his agreement and try conclusions once more. On the 12th February of the succeeding year the indefatigable Ochterlony renewed the attack, striking this time at the enemy's capital. Peace was finally made on the 3rd March, 1816; and the gallant Gurkhas have, like the Sikhs, similarly subdued in later years, been amongst our best friends from the day of their submission. Of the particular value of Gardner's plan of cam-

paign we have two indications. It facilitated the complete close of the war; and it gave to Upper India three or four *sanitaria* where business is transacted, health restored, and a reserve force of white troops maintained. The possession of such places as Simla, and Naini Tal has its dangerous side perhaps; to consider which is beyond our present scope. But the value from a military point of view, of Landour, Ranikhet, and other convalescent depôts for white troops can hardly be exaggerated.

Gardner's warfare was accomplished; and the administration of his old commander made an end of the great Anarchy. Moira was created Marquess of Hastings, and finally fell into money-trouble and died, in poverty and exile. But his work too was done; and in importance is more deserving of a place in history than that of men whose names are more generally remembered.*

Gardner spent the rest of his life as a country-gentleman, save for a short and uneventful campaign in Rajputan. He commanded his old Regiment—now the Second Bengal Cavalry—and in 1822 obtained the welcome distinction of being reinstated in the Royal Army, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, the commission bearing the date of his leaving Holkar—25th September 1803. The wife of his youth continued to be dear to his advancing years; with one singular result; that all his off-spring were married to natives of India, and their descendants have adopted the native life. The present Lord Gardner is his grandson; and of this nobleman Debrett affords the following description:—

“Alan Hyde, *born* July 1st, 1836; was sometime in a Native Police Force; described in marriage-certificate as ‘a Trader:’ married March 12th, 1879, by a Methodist Minister in the house of his father to Jane (a native Indian), daughter of Angam Shekoh, and has issue living, Alan Legge, *born* October 25th, 1881. *Residence*: Village of Munowta, Nadri, Etah, N.-W. P., India.” Lady Gardner is the grandchild of the last King of Delhi, in whom terminated the line of Timur, known as the “Great Moghul.”

Whatever may be thought of a noble British race thus absorbed in Asiatic stagnation—like the Greeks of Menander—no one can question the merits of William Linnæus Gardner. He was a specimen of the British gentleman of a high type; handsome, tall, and brave; a good horseman and devoted to all kinds of sport. Partly educated in France, he possessed considerable European culture; history, blue-books, and even

* For a brief summary of this administration, in its military and political aspects, see next Chapter.

scientific works, all interested his mind ; he was acquainted with mathematics ; could survey and draw maps.

At last all these experiences and gifts came to a peaceful end : Colonel Gardner died, in his country-house at Kasgunge, 29th July 1835, and was soon followed in death by his faithful Begum. Nothing more need be said to show the inaccuracy of our great novelist's caricature. Like the fictitious "Gahagan," indeed, the deceased adventurer had bearded the truculent Holkar in durbar, and won the affections of a Princess. But, unlike the imagined swash-buckler, he was a modest, retiring gentleman, with strong rural proclivities and a hatred of self-assertion almost morbid.*

Skinner and Gardner are, further, noticeable as the founders of that admirable force which, first under the title of "Irregular Cavalry," and subsequently as Bengal Cavalry," has become one of the most distinguished items of the British Army.

(To be continued.)

* We have seen that Gardner had served under Rawdon at Quiberon, in 1795 : when that nobleman, as Lord Moira, came up the country, in 1814, Gardner would not recall himself to the notice of the Governor-General, though urged to do so by friends. By a curious coincidence an adventurer of the same name appeared subsequently at the Court and Camp of Runjit Singh of Lahore (*v.* "Colonel Alexander Gardner, etc., by Major Hugh Pearse : Edinburgh, 1898." A book of deep interest. The two Gardners were not of kin, Alexander being an American of Scottish origin).

ART. II.—LANGUAGE.

ITS

(I) BIRTH ; (II) DEVELOPMENT AND LIFE ; (III) DECAY AND DEATH.

Communicated to the Eleventh International Oriental Congress at Rome, by ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

I have laid upon the table of the Congress, at which from the infirmity of old age I am unable to attend, a certain number of copies of two little books entitled :

(1) 'The Gospel in many Tongues ;' (2) '400 Tongues.' The former contains one single verse of one of the Gospels, translated into 300 languages, still made use of by men, either for purposes of speaking or reading, in every portion of the world, Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania. They are published and circulated below cost-price by the Bible-Societies, which are supported by voluntary subscriptions. The latter details the names of the 400 languages in which translations have been circulated up to the present year. An enlarged edition of the former volume is in preparation to bring the subject up to date. I make no allusion here to the one motive power, or sole object, of this enterprise, and confine myself to the human phenomena, which are developed by the intercomparison of these specimen verses. Under no other possible circumstances could such a variety of language and script have been brought together. One can imagine, how specimens of the languages of a kingdom like Russia, or of a province like British India, might have been brought together for purposes of State or for public Instruction, but in this case the whole world contributed. Take, for instance, pp. 22, 23, of the first book, and the following entries are found in alphabetical order :

- 59. Coptic, Africa.
- 60. Corea, Asia.
- 61, 62. Cree, America.
- 63. Crim Turki, Asia.
- 64. Croat, Europe.

The slightest inspection of the word-store and structure of these few sentences will show how vain and unscientific is the cherished notion, that all language proceeded from the same seed-plot, instead of being the totally distinct offspring of the human intellect under the influence of different environments.

Like the leaves of the trees of the forest, the languages of the human race come into existence, bud, blossom, fade away, and fall out of use and are forgotten. Sanskrit, Zend, Hebrew and Latin had their days before the Christian Era, and then died

away; their place being taken by younger vernaculars. And this process is always going on. There seems no fixed law, for it is obvious, that some languages—such as the Egyptian and Assyrian and Hebrew—have been dead for many centuries, leaving no descendants. Sanskrit and Latin have, indeed, died, but have left large families of linear descendants. There is a third category, containing such languages as Arabic and Greek, which have lived on to the present epoch, are still made use of as vehicles of speech, and have produced no off-spring, except weak dialects, such as exist in the case of all living forms of speech.

I make no allusion to Literature; the life of a language practically dead is sometimes prolonged for liturgical, literary, social, or political purposes. I have myself conversed at Banāras with Brahmins in the Sanskrit language, and at Rome in Latin with the priests, both languages, though dead, having a conventional prolongation of life for other purposes than the ordinary requirements of humanity. My remarks are restricted to the articulate sounds issuing from the human mouth in obedience to the Thought of the individual, the sounds being articulate, and the result of teaching, and susceptible of expansion and modifications, the result of contact with other languages, or the importation of new Thoughts.

I cannot but think, that the word read Λόγος, which Philo of Alexandria borrowed from Plato of Athens, and John of Ephesus borrowed from Philo and made a new use of, conveys the primary Thought of 'Reason,' 'Understanding,' 'Reflection,' and that 'Word, Saying, Speech' is only the secondary idea which it suggests, as they are merely the human vehicles of communicating the divine primary Thought. At any rate, the ordinary Greek dictionaries tell us so. 'Language' is but the vehicle of 'Reason,' and without that substratum the utterance of the human race is little better than that of the animal, as evidenced by the utterances of the idiot and the maniac. The words uttered are articulate, but they have no meaning in themselves. And this view is confirmed by the fact, that the laws of Thought are called Logic.—'Ἡ λογικὴ Τέχνη.

Mr. R. L. Garner has published a book on 'The Language of Monkeys,' which may or may not be a first utterance on a great subject. It is not well to laugh down any patient scientific investigation of the secrets of nature. We have learnt our lesson in this century, *viz.*, to suspend our judgment. As to the origin of language, we are feeling our way. If it be asked in what language Adam addressed Eve, we can only suppose, that it was by the squeeze of the hand, gentle poke in the rib, a twinkle of the eye, or signs and gestures. In a few days these formed themselves into a code supplemented by

sounds, as the vocal organs found their powers. Infants' movements are now watched, that a conception may be formed how Thoughts are conveyed, and the sound of 'Mamma' suggested as indicating an important visitor. In the world of birds, I find that sounds have an intelligible meaning. The hen has her well-known cry of alarm, of assembly, or home-call to her little ones. Rising up to vertebrate animals, I need hardly do more than allude to the friendly, the hostile, and the frightened, notes of the dog, cat, and horse ; and it is nothing surprising that, as the monkey is nearer to the *genus homo* in outward conformation of body, so its power of expressing itself may be assumed to be the most highly developed among animals. Among savage tribes, the naked native white-haired old man and old woman, crouching on their hips, grinning and chattering in their own unintelligible way, differ very little in outward appearance, and, as far as we can tell, in intellectual and spiritual capacity, from the anthropoid ape.

Incidentally it may be remarked, that language is not the only vehicle of communication used by the *genus homo*. In the Canary Islands a whistle-language is used by the natives. On the opposite shore of the Kámeruns in West Africa there is a drum-language. Any conversation can be carried out by means of whistling, and be understood a mile off ; each syllable has its peculiar tone, the fingers are placed on the lips while whistling. The necessity has arisen from the existence of rugged and unbridged ravines, which divide villages from each other. Gesture-language is on a higher level. Similar phenomena have been remarked among the North American Indians, in Africa, and in Australia.

The voiceless mode of communication with the deaf and dumb illustrates this also. The notion of an articulate sound expressing a Thought is recognised by the deaf, but they cannot hear it owing to their aural infirmity ; they can, however, watch the mouth of the speaker, and are taught the mechanism of the lips which must be used to express certain sounds, and are able to know with certainty what is said. I was present at one of Henry Stanley the traveller's lectures, of which the purport was conveyed to a deaf and dumb young woman, who watched the motion of the lips of her teacher.

In the lowest stage of culture the practice of conveying messages by tokens is notorious. In 1857 the mutineers in East India made use of cakes baked on the hearth (*chupáti*) to carry messages from village to village. In West Africa the twigs of the trees are broken or bent, as parties pass through the forest, that their followers may know their track. We read how in former days a fiery

cross was handed on from village to village. But, as time went on, something more certain was required, and the art of script on papyrus, parchment, vellum, baked clay, metal tablets, was conceived and developed.

This essay lays no claim to being a scientific production. There are plenty of books that make that claim, written by men who have never left their native country, and have based their linguistic conceptions upon their own or cognate languages. There is abundance of difference of opinion between great European scholars. Nor does this essay pretend to be a careful description of the admitted varieties of language, based on a scholarly examination of documents in dead languages, such as the Akkadian, Egyptain, Zend, Sanskrit, Etruscan, or Latin. For many years of my life I have dwelt alone among natives of British India ; their modes of expressing their thoughts, as well as their words, became mine. Perhaps a consideration of facts as exhibited in one verse, expressed in about 300 living languages helps the thoughtful mind to arrive at some practical conclusion, more than the dissection in lengthy volumes of the limbs of dead languages, or the vivisection of living ones.

The scholar in his European study cannot realise the position in which the young ruler of subject Asiatic populations finds himself. In the years 1846-49, at the age of twenty-five, I received, and held for three and a half years, charge of a newly conquered district in North India with a population of many thousands, Hindu, Sikh, and Mahometan. I was the only European, but had the service of trained native officials from the older Provinces. In my office, a house during the summer and a tent during the winter, moving on day by day, I recollect how I was seated on a chair in a circle of natives squatting on the ground with their papers spread before them. Some of them used the Persian language and Perso-Arabic form of script for letters to native chiefs ; some used the Urdu language in the Arabic script, still further expanded by additional symbols ; some used the Hindi language, with its stately Nāgari alphabet, for the village accounts. All the work was going on at the same time, and I could understand it all ; and my case was not exceptional. Sometimes an agriculturist would come into Court, and give his evidence in his own rural dialect, the Panájbí ; and the Script which he would use, if he used any at all, was the Gurmúkhí. Specimens of all four are in the little book laid on the table. My English-speaking clerk from Calcutta was writing my English letters to my dicta-

tion in the adjoining tent. If a chance foreigner from Afghanistan or Kashmir had business, he would make use of the Persian or Kashmiri languages. If the books of a shopkeeper had to be examined, they were found to be in a peculiar script used by the banker and merchant. The sacred books of the three religions were written in Arabic, Nāgari, and Gurmukhi. Occasionally in my morning ride I came upon some old sacred building covered with inscriptions, of some of which the script and language still require explanation. In conversing in a friendly way with a Brahmin, I had carefully to introduce Hindi terms into my elastic Urdu; and in conversing with a Mahometan I had to do the same with Arabic or Persian words. It is clear that the task of solving the question of the variation of human languages and dialects is with the future, when sufficient data have been brought together from every part of the world.

Care should be taken not to use different words to express the same subject, such as 'idioms,' 'tongues,' 'forms of speech.' 'Language' is the only term. If there are variations of any recognised language, they are 'dialects,' possibly with a literature of their own, and grammars and dictionaries: below them are the rural variations known as *patois*; no other term should be used. During a succession of years I have strenuously laboured to introduce a scientific terminology into the lists of the translations sold by the Bible Society, bringing the nomenclature and orthography of languages into one recognised standard. The isolated translator chooses to add to the name of his particular language an English, or German, or Russian, suffix, or to retain in the English form a native grammatical prefix: these have been relentlessly removed and a uniform system of spelling introduced. Of course the names of languages which are fixed in literature, such as Span-ish, Portug-uese, Itali-an, cannot be changed, but that is no reason for transformiag the name of a language in Central Africa or Melanesia.

Again, the distinction between a philologist and a linguist should be maintained. The sciences of Linguistics and Philology are as distinct as those of the botanist and horticulturist: one is a natural science, the other an historic science; one is necessarily comparative, the other not so. A good Latin philologist may be well content to know his Latin Literatures thoroughly; a Linguistic Scholar must know something additional. The philologist is a student of human Thought and knowledge, as deposited in one vessel of literary record only. An ordinary linguist knows

several languages for ready use in speaking and reading ; a student of Linguistics as a science is something very different. He deals with language as the instrument of Thought, the vehicle of communication. He traces out the inner life of each language in past periods, forms a theory as to its birth, marks well its development and life, deduces the laws which govern its mutations, and in some cases marks well the signs of growing decay, of vitality and death.

The mischief caused by Theology to linguistic knowledge is as great as it has been to every other branch of science. I bought at Edinburgh a grammar of Hebrew, published this century by a Scotch professor, stating that there were about fifty languages in the world, and that all were derived from Hebrew. A late Bishop, in his Commentary on the Revelation, tries to explain the grammatical errors of a certain portion of the Greek text in a book of the New Testament by calling it 'the grammar of inspiration.' The power of emitting articulate language is, indeed, one of the congenital gifts to the human race by the great Creator, which was denied to the rest of the animal creation, but the utterances are not miraculous gifts, but the slowly evolved creation of the human mind by its own human powers ; and the language of a people is but the expression of its own intellectual and spiritual life, and in each language the peculiar character of the people who built up the language seems to reflect itself.

'Thought' is, indeed, *Δῶρον Θεοῦ*, the gift of God, to the human race. The mechanism of the throat and mouth-organs so as to produce articulate sounds is of the same divine plan. These two gifts differentiate man from the brute beast. Dr. Bell, at a lecture at the Philological Society twenty years ago, allowed us to look into the mouth of a patient, and with a penholder indicated the situation and action of the different organs, which created the sounds so well known to me in my studies of Greek and Sanskrit as guttural, palatal, labial, and dental.

There, however, the divine portion ends. Whatever theologians, falsely so called, have written to darken the subject, it is now cleared away. The Thought—or rather the brain, which is the Thought-store—is no doubt influenced by inspiration, but the words are the creations of human fancy, and are used for good or evil, for blessings or curses, and the term 'inspiration' applied to words heard by the ear, or seen by the eye in script, is based on a misunderstanding, and is a mere poetic fancy.

I. BIRTH OF LANGUAGE.

Language is only one way in which Thought can be expressed ; there are others as well, not, indeed, capable of the fine distinctions of language, but yet sufficient for everyday purpose of communication, which is the primary and sole object of language.

Gesture, nodding, beckoning with the hand, shrugging the shoulders, grimace with the features, squeezing the hand, kissing the face, kicking with the toe, striking with the fist, action and movement of the arms on the platform. Add to these glances of the eye, frowns of the forehead, inarticulate sounds, such as cries of alarm, hisses of disapprobation, soothing and coaxing sounds. However low the state of culture of the savage man, he had access to the secret fountains of the stream of sound, in which he inclosed his Thoughts for the information of his neighbours ; for when gestures failed, out of his own consciousness he fashioned articulate sounds. Onomatopœia, or the mimetic power of imitating the sounds of animals, such as the dog, cat, cow, and birds, followed the imitation of the sounds produced by nature.

Let us consider the subject physically : What is Language ? It is

- (1) The expression and crystallisation of Thought conceived in the brain ;
- (2) By the instrumentality of a succession of sounds ;
- (3) Which are produced by a current of air passing from the top of the windpipe, and modified in different ways by the language-organs ;
- (4) Which are four in number : the uvula, or soft palate, which is movable at the back of the mouth ; the tongue ; the teeth ; the lips ; , ,
- (5) The current of air above described is the material of language.

It must be recollected, that the power of expressing the articulated sounds, and of improving that power in the course of time, and handing on such improvements from generation to generation, is the divine congenital gift : the particular language is the construct of human ingenuity, and each child, as he grows in consciousness, has to acquire it from those amidst whom his early life is spent. It does not come to them naturally, like hunger or sleep ; there is nothing hereditary in the language itself, for our English children, born in India, pick up and speak the native languages of India from their attendants. So in England the child brought up by a French nurse speaks French. If a child were secluded from contact with other members of the human race, it would not use articulate language at all, but have to fall back on

gesture and the imitation of the sounds of animals and nature. They were not born with the power of clothing their Thoughts in some outward form for purpose of communication, but they have to learn how to do so at some period of their lives by contact with others.

The inquiry whether Thought preceded language, or language preceded Thought, seems a profitless one. No doubt the Thoughts of men have grown wider with the progress of the sun. At the early stage of human life when language came into existence, no doubt the Thoughts of men did not extend beyond food, shelter, and the means of getting them. Rudimentary Thought was the parent of rudimentary language, and, if this be accepted, the question as to the origin of language is answered. We have no data on which to form a judgment. With regard to European and Asiatic languages, with which branch of the subject linguistic scholars are most familiar, there is a lengthened catena of written records, stretching backwards for thousands of years; but we may well postulate the existence of centuries antecedent to the earliest of these scripts, of the language of which silent years we know nothing more than we knew of the languages of North and South American, Africa with the exception of the northern Provinces, and Oceania entirely, before the occupation of these countries by European nations.

Of one fact we have direct and also indirect evidence. It has always been deemed a singular phenomenon, that the language of the Red Indians of North America cannot be reduced to words, but the simplest form is that of a rude sentence. Here is a physical fact, that at least as regards these tribes their Thoughts were clothed in sentences, or a combination of words conveying a developed Thought, at a period before any culture cominenced. This fact has suggested the theory that possibly in all languages the sentence is the original form in which the Thought was conveyed by the speaker to his companion, for it is impossible to think except in some proposition, and a proposition presupposes words connected with each other in some rude catena or sentence. It seems logical to presuppose, that before sounds can become significant they must express the whole Thought which has to be conveyed, and therefore must take the form of a sentence.

Not only were words made by human intelligence, but they were prepared for use by human ingenuity, and the structure of sentences divided into classes, isolated, agglutinative, inflexive, with other devices such as reduplication of syllables, suffixes, prefixes and servile letters. At the same time a process of mutilation was going on owing to the un-

fortunate pronunciation of speakers, or the arbitrary fancy of copyists of perishable records. How fortunate it has been that tablets in metal, and on stone, baked bricks, and papyri, hidden away in tombs, have survived and come down to us with the *ipsissima verba* of the original inscribers !

II. DEVELOPMENT AND LIFE.

There may be additions to a language to maintain it up to the requirements of the epoch ; improvement of expression so as to be more accurate ; enlargement of word-store ; and there may be also mannerism or eccentricity in style, such as that of the sect of Quakers in past centuries. There may be, and must be, a constant supply of words coined with precision to represent new Thoughts, or new facts, or new objects ; there may be improvements by more careful restatements of the knowledge of past generations. This implies no change in the linguistic structure or the character of the language. The old language still lives on ; as a fact, each group of languages, and to a certain extent each language, has its own law of development, its own linguistic laws peculiar to itself.

But still, as years go, on we recognise signs of change ; sometimes from internal, sometimes from external causes. Sometimes a strengthening, sometimes a weakening, of the old language ; sometimes a manifest importation of new elements from other languages. The English language and the great Vernacular of North India, the Urdu, *alias* Hindustani, with which last I am very familiar for purposes of reading, writing, and speaking, are instances of this unceasing change.

It is said that there are three causes of change : (1) imitation ; (2) emphasis ; (3) laziness. Old words die ; new words come into existence ; the meanings of some words become by lapse of time changed ; every devotional book, or Bible-translation, supplies instances of this. The appearance of words becomes changed ; new Thoughts require new words, the mode of spelling alters. English books published in the United States illustrate this. Foreign words introduce themselves. Fashion banishes some words from use. A kind of slang brings others into use. Young people are tempted to use new words of an extravagant character. The life of words depends on their use ; disuse means oblivion and death. The most despotic sovereign or tyrannical Parliament has no efficient power over language. In such matters people do as they choose, and give no reason for so doing. Just as sometimes in the actions of the human race, so in their language, environment is stronger than heredity, and the old ancestral word gives way to new exotics, and the speakers are not aware of the change.

The change may be caused by political events. Notably in modern times it is the policy of the French Government to force the French language on the native inhabitants of their colonies; notoriously the use of other languages is excluded, and English-speaking Missionaries are not allowed to open schools. The policy in British colonies is different. No foreign language is excluded, but the English language has a tendency to supplant native languages. Looking back to the past, when Julius Cæsar landed in Britain the English language did not exist. With the invasion of the Angles and Saxons commenced the Anglo-Saxon language. With the invasion of the French-speaking Normans another change took place, and in this manner came into existence the English language with the singular and unique characteristic of being free from the bondage of grammatical inflexions. Except in particular survivals, the speaker of the English language is not troubled with the superfluities of gender, number, or case. Of all Indo-European languages the Persian language alone shares this linguistic liberty, which peculiarly fits them both for expansion. Some words seem to have been imported from France into England twice over. Take the word 'fragile'; it got into Middle English as 'frail,' into modern English as 'fragile.'

Speakers think that they control the use of words, but in very deed the word often controls the speaker. Each word in every language has its history: it has had one or more meanings; it has lasted for such and such a period, and then disappears and dies. If philosophically considered, new light is from this study thrown upon the secret working of the human intellect.

Moreover, so entirely is change a necessary feature of the life of a language, and recognised to be so, that when in a written language there is an absence of change in documents claiming to be of dates spreading over many hundred years, a suspicion is engendered as to the correctness of date assigned to the earlier documents; for instance, if anyone should compare the English language as spoken and written in the time of King Alfred and Queen Victoria, a period of 1,200 years, it will be evident that, though the language is identical, the change has made it unintelligible without careful study. But in the Hebrew language from the date of the Pentecost to the Captivity, a period of 1,300 years, there is no change. Any person who can read Ezekiel can read the Pentateuch. This raises the question as to the accuracy of the dates assigned to the Pentateuch, the question being further complicated by the non-existence of any Alphabetical form of script at that period, at any rate as far as any proof exists.

Let us pass on to the subjects of dialects, and use that term and that term only for a variation in a standard language, differing in pronunciation, word-store, and structure to a certain extent, but still unquestionably remaining a portion of the same language. A dialect is not necessarily a corruption of a language; the two may have had independent genetical influence, and they act and react on each other. In many cases both language and dialect have their own independent script and literature. In China there is a mistaken use of the term 'dialect,' which is applied to provincial vernaculars, which have all the right to be considered separate languages.

Dialects both precede and follow the existence of their so-called parent-language. A potent dialect may develop into full life as a great conquering language, as English, a dialect of German, and Urdu, a dialect of Hindi, have done. On the other hand, the speakers of a great language, as the result of isolation or neglected culture, or professional idiosyncrasies, develop unconsciously a new dialect such as that current among sailors, or colonists in a distant island, miners in the bowels of the earth, or manufacturers in a great business, where the environment is quite peculiar. The sole object of language is communication: all that unites certain classes of individuals into special bodies, with special necessities, tends to create a special form of communication, or a business-dialect. All that diminishes the opportunities of communication, the breaking up of a tribe into separate and isolated sections, or castes, or classes, produces a rift in the common language, if they ever had one, and generates a local form of language, whether the people like it or not. As a fact they are unconscious of it.

There can be little doubt that, if the language spoken by each individual of us in the course of a given period were analysed, it would be found to exhibit some peculiarity of its own, either in word-store or pronunciation, or even structure. In the conceptions of the thoughts of each person there is an individuality of character, the result of knowledge, education, natural talent, feelings, weakness, taste, and self-conceit. There are local and perhaps hereditary personal peculiarities of pronunciation, use of words, and tones; nor are the words used by two persons in different social environments identical. In fact, each person has to a certain extent his own dialect in speaking, and still more so in writing. I have heard a native in India say that each person had one or two 'pillow-words—' 'takya kalam—,' which he used more than any others from habit and unconsciously. A visitor to London from a Scotch country would soon be recognised by his tones

and peculiar words. It is stated that in small country villages the supply of words rarely exceeds two hundred, as the thoughts of rural inhabitants are limited to their families, their occupations, and their neighbourhood ; their vocabulary is often local. That which has been remarked of an individual in general social life, or of a rural village, is still more marked in a community living very much by themselves. There must be a technical vocabulary for artists, and a scientific vocabulary for scientists, a pseudo-religious vocabulary for ostentatiously pious people. As you pass from one assembly to another, the attention of the trained scholar is at once attracted to the change of word-store and the changed meaning of certain words. The voice is but the reproducer of the thoughts of the brain ; the whining petition of the pseudo-beggar, the cautious reply of the professional adviser, the sanctimonious utterances of the self-satisfied priest, the conceited reply of the person who apes at being better than the rest of the world—all these represent dialectical differences of the same language, but the divine instrument of thought is played upon by different performers.

Every separate tribal dialect has the potentiality in it of being the seed-plot of a powerful vernacular of the future. In the congeries of jarring tribes there may be the germs of a great nation ; so amidst the babel of discordant dialects, or rather *patois*, or rural dialects, there may be in process of development one of the conquering languages of the twentieth century. Advance of civilisation, aided by favourable circumstances, is the parent of the new nation and her language. In the present epoch civilised nations exert a cruel domination over the uncivilised coloured races, who exist only at their pleasure, to be slaves, if labour is required, to be made drunkards, if profit for alcohol is required, to be slaughtered, if they presume to fight for their country. So it is with the great conquering languages of the world, among which the English stands in the first rank with far the greatest power of absorption. They are urged on to extend their sway, not from malice prepense, but by their inevitable destiny, crowding out of existence languages which are weak and uncultured, and spoken by moribund tribes. Such noble vehicles of thought as the Zulu, the Swahili, and the Hausa, in Africa, will probably never die, but themselves join the army of conquering languages, when they have been sharpened by culture and developed an indigenous literature, and I could, from personal knowledge add a long list of miserable languages, which are coming to their last gasp. English eats up four or five of these poor wretches every year, for the life of men or languages can be maintained in this epoch only by giving evidence of their being worthy of existence.

I now pass to the subject of 'Creole Languages.' I do not like the term, but it has been accepted by the scholars of Europe, and to change it would cause confusion. In the year 1882 I wrote the following notice in a literary journal :

'Professor Schuchardt, of the University of Gratz, has undertaken a work of considerable interest and labour. It is notorious that in every part of Asia, Africa, and America, from the contact of European languages with the native languages, new forms of speech are coming into existence which at first sight may be called jargons, but which may possibly be the germs of new languages. At any rate, English and Urdu must have gradually come into existence in some such way. Most conspicuous among the class of degraded language-types is Pidgin-English, which is, however, represented by a literature of its own, and Creolese, which is represented by a translation of a portion of the Bible. But along the West Coast of Africa are found languages composed of English, French, and Portuguese, intermixed with the coast-languages, and Dutch has suffered a frightful degradation on the lips of Hottentots of mixed breeds. Professor Schuchardt invites the co-operation of all who happen to possess any special knowledge of the subject, or who can indicate sources of information. He has already addressed scores of letters to residents in different parts of the world, and it is hoped that he may receive some replies.

'To anyone who has read the Preface to Lepsius' "Nubische Grammatik," in which that great scholar propounds the magnificent theory, that all the infinite variety of languages spoken by the Negro races north of the Equator, from the Nile to the Atlantic, are the result of the contact of the Hamitic and Bantú races during long periods of years, it is a question of first-rate interest to trace the effect of the Aryan languages of Europe upon the wholly dissimilar elements of such highly cultivated languages as Chinese and the wild flowers of Africa.'

Many years have passed away since, and, as far as I can gather, this branch of the science has not advanced; Professor Schuchardt published his 'Creolische Studien;' he sent me a copy, which I forwarded to the Library of the British Museum. My book on the 'Languages of Africa' was then in the press, and at pages 48, 49 I inserted a few remarks as to this movement; it related to the Future, my work chronicled the Past. Since that date I have been unceasingly occupied in other fields of language and religion, and never found time till now to return to this interesting side of the great subject. I recommend it to some younger scholar. It would be interesting to have a list for each of the five portions of the globe of the new languages coming into existence.

I venture to notice some specimens of this new crop of languages :

I. Pidgin-English of China. The late Professor Legge, of Oxford, remarked in his inaugural address in 1876 : ' Hitherto commercial intercourse with the Chinese has been conducted chiefly by means of compradores and linguists, who have picked up a considerable vocabulary of English words, which they put together *as if they were Chinese, according to their own Chinese idiom*. The capabilities of this strange dialect is great.' It may possibly develop into a language.

II. Yiddish, *alias* Judaish. There are two varieties ; (1) a Spanish dialect, (2) a German dialect. It has been the fashion to call this last, the vernacular of the Jews, a ' jargon,' but it is as much a dialect as any other modern dialect. A careful history of it has lately been published ; there is a considerable literature. There are sub-dialects of this dialect in Russia, Poland, and Galicia. A translation of the Scriptures is preparing in some common form of these three dialects by a competent committee.

In the following (so-called) Creole languages a translation of the Scriptures exist.

III. Mauritius Creole, a dialect of French.

IV. Negro-English.

V. In the Cape Colony there is a settlement of Malays from Asia ; they make use of a dialect called Cape Dutch, which has superseded their hereditary language.

It is clear that we require more information on this branch of the subject. Some years back it was laid down as an impossibility that a mixed language could exist. A mixed word-store was admitted, as it is universal, but it was denied that there could be any mixture in the grammatical structure of a language. This idea is now abandoned. In the two great vernaculars, English and Urdu, there is a mixture both of word-store and structure. In English the original Teutonic structure has become unrecognisable under the heavy burden of Latin intrusion, the Urdu vernacular is choked with Arabic and Persian accretions, and the influence of a third language, the English, is now felt.

III. DECAY AND DEATH.

My attention has been particularly called to the decay and death of languages by a study of the subject of Bible translations prepared or actually existing. In the appendix to my book, " Bible Translations," published 1890, it suggested itself to me to group the languages of the world into six classes :

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. Conquering. | 4. Uncertain future. |
| 2. Permanent. | 5. Moribund. |
| 3. Isolated. | 6. Dead. |

The isolation of nations and tribes has ceased ; the necessity for a medium of communication becomes urgent ; education and improved culture is on the side of the Conquering languages, such as the English ; the alternatives are the birth of a mixed language, like Osmanli Turki, Persian, and Urdu, which are infiltrated with alien words and sentences, or the birth of a new language, or the quiet surrender of vitality by the weaker language and the introduction of an alien language as the ordinary vernacular, very much as the Arabic spread over Egypt and Syria and North Africa, to the extinction of pre-existing vernaculars. And in a smaller way we have, in Great Britain and France, an instance of the absolute death of Cornish in the last generation, of Manx in the present, or the approaching extinction of Erse and Gaelic in the next generation, while Welsh and Breton will to all time represent the Celtic family of languages in the second or Permanent class.

It is remarkable to notice how immigrants into a new country change their language. The Negroes, who were deported by violence to America, have entirely lost their hereditary language, and do not even know what that language was, as the slave-dealers collected slaves from regions occupied by the speakers of scores of different languages. Among the Boers of the Transvaal in South Africa are burghers with obviously French names ; these are descendants of French Huguenots, who were expelled from their native country and drifted to the Dutch Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope. Among the French colonists of Canada is a colony of families with Scotch names, the descendants of Scotch Protestants who, in the beginning of this century, emigrated from Scotland, and their descendants have developed into French-speaking Roman Catholics.

But in many cases a worse fate awaits the language ; not only do portions of the population change their language, but the entire tribe, under the influence of overpowering circumstances. For instance, the Hebrews returned from Babylon after seventy years' captivity ; but their language had died during their exile, and they returned speaking Aramaic, while another portion of their race spoke Samaritan. Their sacred books had survived but were not intelligible, and the use of targums, or translations, was had recourse to. And there will always be a certain amount of populations who are bilingual. Some of the Negroes on the West Coast of Africa speak English as well as Englishmen, but some have their own strong language, Yáriba, as well, and are not likely to drop it. Some, who had originally weaker languages, drop them, and English becomes their vernacular.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It seems incumbent in treating of language not to confine the remarks to the *sounds* which met the ears of dead generations of men, but to add a few lines on the wonderful machine for perpetuating sounds for the edification of future generations which I shall describe in the general term 'Script.' The process may be summed up as :

(1) Thought conceived in the brain of an individual, but unexpressed vocally.

(2) Articulate sound representing that thought, and conveyed momentarily to the ears of others.

(3) Script in the form of Ideograms, or Alphabetic symbols, representing that sound, and conveyed to the eyes of others in a permanent form.

The first of these three sub-divisions lies outside the subject of this essay.

The second has been discussed under the terms of 'Birth, Life, and Death of Language.'

The third is now under consideration.

Admitting that the power of thought is part of the divine plan in creating man, it may be conceded that the power of transferring that thought by the mechanism of the human organs of the mouth, out of the lips, by the agency of sound, was equally part of the divine plan ; but the fashioning of that sound, after emission from the lips, into language is essentially human.

Still more entirely human, and the product of the ever-developing culture of the human race, is the art of Script. It may be very easy to imagine that primeval man could convey his thought to Script with the same ease as he threw a stone, or plucked an apple from the tree ; but we may fairly assume, as the result of careful study during the nineteenth century, that the art of Script was not a spontaneous gift or faculty, but the slow result of long years of savage life. It appears first as Ideographic, and only after a long series of centuries as Alphabetic. The former may have suggested actual objects, to which they bore rudimentary resemblance ; the latter conveys in its structure no direct meaning. The letters are but symbols of certain sounds, and, if these sounds suggest meaning, it is only because they are the conventional vehicle of thought entirely independent of the Script. The sounds were momentary utterances ; the Script is the permanent vehicle of that thought which led to the combination of the sounds.

We ought to be exceedingly grateful to the unknown persons who conceived and arranged the early form of Script. What should we know of the Past, if such records had not come down to us ? The bowels of the earth during the nine-

teenth century have been revealing to us its hidden treasures. We have by no means attained finality in the received form of Script, and great inconvenience is experienced from the divergence of the practice of different nations and schools of translators. Some African dialects, which differ very little in word-store and structure from each other, appear totally different when transliterated into different forms of the Roman Alphabet.

I have admitted in an earlier portion of this essay, that languages can die, and fall out of use on the lips and pens, of men. So men die also, but some men are not forgotten, and some combinations of words conveying Thoughts, which are immortal, become themselves immortal. The three greatest individualities, that ever in the form of man trod the surface of this earth, Gautama Buddha, Socrates, son of Sophroniskus, and Jesus Christ, Son of Mary, have not left a line of Script, which has come down to us. In each case their followers recorded their utterances, but not always their very words, in the language in which they were spoken. But so long as hearts beat, and the soul of man feels, that it has in it the elements of eternal life, so long the thoughts that breathe and words that burn will outlive the particular language, in which they first came to the ears of contemporaries, will live on, and still have power to charm.

Modern languages are rich in such expressions of Thought, and they still live. Let me turn back to the dead Latin and Greek and quote the

‘Et tu, Brute’ of Julius Cæsar. (‘Was it you, Brutus?’)

‘Diem perdidit’ of Titus. (‘I have lost a day.’)

The dying words of Socrates in the ‘Phædo,’

Μηδὲν ἄγαν (‘Not too much of anything’) } of the Grecian sages.
γινῶθι σεαυτὸν (‘Know yourself’)

And in the Sanscrit,

‘Ahimsam paraman Dharm.’ “Not to injure anyone is the highest religion.”

And in the Prakrit the following words from the Rock Inscriptions of Asoka, B.C. 400 :

‘The king desires that all unbelievers may everywhere dwell unmolested, as they all wish for moral restraint and purity of disposition, for men are of various purposes and various desires.’

Time would fail to quote from the words of Zoroaster in the dead language of Zend, or from the words of Buddha in the dead language of Pali, or from the words of Confucius in the dead forms of the Chinese Language.

Φήμη δ' οὐ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥτινα πολλοὶ

ἄνθρωποι φημίζουσι.—Hesiod.

These are the remarks of an old man who has studied the subject in the field as well as the library for more than

sixty years, who has had the advantages of a working knowledge of eight European languages (Greek, Latin, English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese), and eight Asiatic languages (Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindu, Bengali, and Panjâbi), in different degrees and for the purpose of reading in all cases, writing in some, and speaking in others. If anything appears to be omitted from this essay, it is omitted intentionally, as not belonging to the plan of the writer. He is acquainted with all that has been written by great scholars, but reserves his own judgment, as one who has, if not so deep an insight, still a wider range of vision than is possessed by many.

He has published volumes compiled from original sources on the languages of the East Indies, Africa, Oceania, the Caucasus Region and the Turki branch of the Ural-Altaic family. He was preparing a sketch of the languages of America, when he was obliged to lay it aside from the imperative necessity of turning his attention to the religions of the world. He estimates the number of languages and dialects, mutually unintelligible but actually made use of at this epoch, at little less than two thousand. And should the name of any language be alluded to, he can by reflection, or a brief reference to his workshop, say where that language is spoken, to which family or group it belongs, and where someone who is more or less acquainted with this language can be found. His object has been to assist the translation and diffusion of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in every region of the world. Wonderful as has been the progress in this nineteenth century, it will be greater in the twentieth. But if there is one subject which shares his heart with that of the languages of the world, it is that of the religions of the world, and his communication to the International Oriental Congress at Geneva was on the 'Ancient Religious Conceptions of the World,' and at the International Oriental Congress at Paris on the 'Modern Religious Conceptions of the World,' as, owing to his advanced age, he was not equal to the excitement of attending these two Congresses, of both of which he was a member.

These lines are written, not in fear of, but in sympathy with, those awful *savans*, or *Gelehrte*, who are now in their cradles, but who in the course of the twentieth century will smile good-humouredly at the erroneous views of the writer of this essay, as he does at the ignorance of the eighteenth century. The law of progress and development must prevail. At any rate, the men of the twentieth century will stand on a solid wall of knowledge built up, brick by brick, by the previous century, while the men of the nineteenth had nothing of any degree of solidity to stand upon at all.

LONDON, July 13, 1899.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.

ART. III.—NORWEGIAN LITERATURE.

(PART III.)

FOR a few years before and after Wergeland's death in 1845, there was a period of comparative repose in Norway. The nation had secured its liberty, and political passions were calmed. The improved condition of public affairs had its counterpart in literature, which flourished in a novel and characteristic form. The discovery of Norwegian popular poesy had given it its particular stamp. A treasure, that had hitherto been ignored, of fairy tales (*Eventyr*), ballads and legends was now brought to light.

In the year 1840 Jørgen Moe had published "A Collection of Songs, Popular Ballads and Refrains," but it contained little that was essentially popular poetry. Wergeland seemed uncertain of its existence, though Welhaven, who was aware of it, had written a short time before:—

"Far in the *fjeld* our art and poesy
At the land's heart they live and still they dream,
There have we caught of their light wing the gleam
In legend of the vale and melody!"

Yet he was not fully sensible of their national importance.

When the first numbers of "Norwegian Fairy Tales" appeared, in 1842, a change came o'er the spirit of the dream. "The land of the thousand homes" was again enchanted, and again a fairy realm; "the little people" once more danced merrily at eve in the forest glade; the gnome burrowed in the mountain, and in the murmur of the river was heard the song of the watersprite. The "Fairy Tales" were the work of two authors Jørgen Moe and Asbjørnson, whose collaboration had the most fertilizing effect on the poesy of their country. They immediately attained great popularity, and soon numerous imitators were ransacking the land to discover similar treasures. Landstad, the favourite psalmist of Norway, followed in the footsteps of the collaborators, and effected for the people's ballads what they had done for their fairies. National costumes were carefully noted and described, the architecture of the ancient wooden buildings was studied, and the annals, language and literature were investigated by the historians Keyser and P. A. Munch. A philological genius, Ivar Aasen, mastered the Norwegian dialects, and published most valuable works, relating to their grammar and vocabulary. He even invented a new language, of which these dialects were the base, and his invention, which in part responded to a national demand, has met with such permanent favour that

some of the most popular authors still employ it as their literary medium, while it is also taught in schools.

Artists were seized with enthusiasm for all that was national. Gude painted his glorious landscapes of *fjord* and *fjeld*, while Tidemand traced in his famous frescoes the Norwegian peasant's life from his cradle to his grave. "All at once literature was full of the scent of pine trees, the summer sun, the murmur of rivers, the tinkling of herd bells, and the notes of the Alp horn!"*

In the preceding decade the general topic of conversation concerned political rights. Now it preferred æsthetics, and the peasant's "poetic childishness" replaced his "intellectual minority." National poesy was the watchword "that was now to be protected against the influence of devastating enlightenment, and to be restored to the country in an ennobled artistic form.†"

Welhaven was the most accomplished poet of the new movement. He was its metrical artist, and his genius has saved from oblivion many a beautiful ballad and enhanced its charm. But Moe, who first had raised the veil that concealed the poesy of folk-lore, was its true lyrical voice. His style is popular, clear, and without abstractions. He loves to dwell on the little, and especially on the unpretentious, as in the "Women of the North," whom he gracefully compares to the lilly of the valley. "Leaftime" is perhaps the most characteristic of his poems: it extols the child-like views of the country people, and disparages the opinions of the educated classes. In "Truls and Inger," the former, an aged peasant, is dying, and his devoted wife is soothing his last moments. The pathetic scene and the naive faith of the peasantry are recounted with the tenderness and simplicity that are characteristic of Moe.

At the death-bed her faith is her only mainstay :—

"The drops she cannot count,
The powder not shake out,
What drink 'gainst death avails
From God she learnt about ;—
Wells from the fount of life,
With words of light it flows
From Him who left the grave
And who to Heaven rose !"

In his youth he had sung nature for her own sake ; but in the latter part of his life he sought, through her aid, to awake religious thoughts and feeling. He indulged increasingly in symbolism, and natural objects were transformed in his eyes in-

* Henry Jøeger : Illustrated History of Norwegian Literature.

† Henry Jøeger : Norwegian Authors.

to wonders, that addressed him in their own language. The oak talked of constancy, the birch of humility, the song-thrush trilled and the pine tree sighed its lesson. In his preface to the "Children's Fairy Tales" he wrote: "In them there is nothing lifeless. All live, speak and act; and such is really the case with creation round us; the eyes of children can often distinguish life where the dull glance of their elders can perceive nothing, and they hear voices where their parents think there is complete silence. The moral that the fairy tales preach is, that all turns out well for the good and intelligent, and ill with the foolish and bad, while often compassion for animals, care for plants and flowers, are the cause of success in life.

Asbjørnsen has obtained a reputation which equals that of Moe, his collaborator, whom he surpassed in the field of research. He had a profound knowledge of the peasantry, which he had gained in the course of long wanderings through his native land. He made it a point of honour to relate his fairy tales almost in the words of the old people who related them as they sat round the fire. When he began to write, he conformed to the views of the early romantic authors, and in his first fairy tales he attempted to give them a symbolical interpretation, while the descriptions of nature are curtailed. In the second collection of these tales, he chiefly dwelt on the life of the people. In pictures of the high fjeld he has described hunters and outfarms. In "Plank Carters" he has attained his highest excellence as a depicter of popular life. It had quite a realistic character, and was an innovation on the part of the author.

The most popular poet of the new movement was for a time undoubtedly Andreas Munch; but he adhered too closely to Continental romanticism to be intensely national,—feudalism and mediæval chivalry never flourished on Norwegian soil. He commenced as the poet of freedom, and wrote "My Country" and "The New Norway," where he sung the rejuvenated nation, in opposition to the panegyrists of the *temporis acti*. He was the chief sentimentalist of the time, and his tender and harmonious verse, the highest inspiration of which was religion, is full of melancholy. When he sings of nature, this is always apparent; as, for instance, when he praises the beauty of a Norwegian summer, "that saddened him because summer had no home in the North, and was without a stable throne with a baldachin of flowers." His extreme sentimentality was especially evident in "Grief and Consolation," a poem that appeared in 1855, and through which he attained the zenith of his fame. It bemoans the death of an amiable wife a few years after her marriage, of his father, and lastly of his only child. In musical numbers he has told his sorrow, and from the depth of despair he rose through faith to resignation.

"Grief and Consolation" passed through many editions and immediately became the favourite poem of the fair sex. As a dramatist Munch was less successful than as a lyrical poet, though he wrote "An Evening at Giske," which critics consider the best play written in Norway before the appearance of Björnson and Ibsen's saga dramas. While "Kings' Qualities" was being acted at Christiania, "Duk Skule," a tragedy by Munch, was represented. They both referred to the same historical event, but the comparison was so much in favour of the first-named play, which was written by Ibsen, that the second quite lost ground in public appreciation.

A new literary era dawned in Norway about the year 1857, when Björnson began to write: "Fairy romanticism" and mediæval ballad-poesy lost much of their popularity, and made way for the old saga literature, the study of which was revived. Björnson introduced the saga manner in narrative, and Ibsen in the drama. Literary style became pithy and brief, and the complicated period gave place to the short sentence that was characteristic of Soemund and Sturlason. Foreign words were in part discarded for provincial, and the influence of foreign literature declined.

At this juncture there was published a novel (in 1859) "The Governor's Daughters," which differed widely from the current fiction, and excited the greatest interest. It came from the pen of Camilla Collet, the gifted sister of the poet Wergeland. It had a contemporary social tendency, and was the first Norwegian book that attacked a modern reality problem. It was a powerful indictment of the conditions that then made for marriage. The main thought was that it should not be concluded through the choice of either man or woman, but that woman's love should decide. It was not so much the rights of the sex that Camilla Collet championed—for the first at least—but greater equality in its relations with the opposite sex. Her criticism of marriages *de convenance* was excellent, and had a most beneficial influence on Norwegian parents, who gradually ceased to dispose of their daughters' hands at their good pleasure.

"The Governor's Daughters" prompted the improvement that has since taken place in the legal and social status of the women of Norway. Laws have been passed in their defence, and young ladies can not only bestow their hand as they think fit, but even choose their own career in life. That novel was the precursor of the intense social dramas in which Ibsen has called in question the current views of the relations of the sexes in marriage. It was beyond question Camilla Collet's greatest work. Its plot was faulty, but its style was nervous and forcible. It still remains one of the most popular romances in Norwegian literature.

At this period the writings of a young peasant, Asmund Vinje, began to attract attention. He was a true son of the soil, and in a great measure self-taught. He supported himself in his youth by tending cattle, by teaching, and by occasional contributions to the press. Finally he saved sufficient money to study at the University of Christiania. In that capital he collaborated with Ibsen, and founded a journal that enthusiastically championed the people's cause and attacked the *bourgeoisie*, following the example of the men of '48, in which year it appeared. It had, however, only a brief period of existence, and at its conclusion Vinje set up a newspaper for himself. It was called "Dalen" (Dale-Man) and was remarkable for the bold peasant humour of the founder, its sole contributor, publisher, and editor, and also from the circumstance that it was chiefly written in the '*Landsmaal*' (Anglice, neology) that Ivar Aasen had invented.

But Vinje had far greater merit as a poet than as a journalist. His principal poetic work, "The Great Boy," appeared in 1866. It has a peculiar interest owing to the fact that the subject was taken from his native parish in Telemarken, where the ancient customs of the people are the best preserved. It contains one of the most beautiful love poems in the literature. It has the touching softness that belongs sometimes to the rough sons of the soil when they are enamoured.

In "Old Mother" Vinje pays a poetic tribute of affection to his parent: "Thou driedst oft the tear upon my cheek, and kissedst me for thy boy, and breathedst into my soul my triumphant song ; 'twas thou, that gavest me my tender heart, and therefore must I love thee where'er I wander on my way, however wild it be!"

Norwegian patriotism often found its strongest expression in the national drama, but, as a rule, the Norwegian stage was monopolized by Danish actors, who represented their country's plays. In the autumn of 1855 some theatrical criticisms appeared in one of the leading journals of the capital, attacking the administration that put such a slight upon the nation. They were much commented on, and won great favour with "Young Norway," of which the youthful critic, who was none other than Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, soon became the leader. His first important work was a play entitled "Between the Battles" in which he appears to have depicted his own character and his own struggles under an historical veil. He had an ardent poetic temperament, which, amid the romantic scenery of Romsdalen, where he passed his youth, received that intensely national impress which is so conspicuous in his career.

When he was just twenty-five years of age, in 1857, there

appeared an idyllic romance of peasant life that was the work of his pen. "Synnove Soebakken" immediately won popular favour. It was so artistic, so forcible, and yet so simple, and above all so new. "The epoch-making in Björnson's first imaginative works was partly stylistic, partly psychological. He had discovered a feature in the character of the Norwegian people that had not before been specially pointed out, and that feature was its reticence."* We have already referred to the pithy saga style which he introduced into prose romances. As an example of both these features of Björnson, we may cite the following short scene: Arne, a peasant boy, who is the hero of the story, to which he gives its title, meets Korut from Opland. The latter sings a touching little ballad about Ingrid, who had neither silver nor gold, but only "a little hood of coloured wool, that mother once had sown for her." As it died away on the hill side, Arne went up to Korut, and asked "Have you a mother?" "No!" was the reply. "Have you a father?" "No, no father." "Is it long since they died?" "Yes, long ago!" "You hav'nt many to care for you?" "No, not here!" "But away at home?" "No, nor there either." "Hav'nt you any one to care for you?"

"No, I have not!"

Björnson was untiring in his efforts to establish a really national stage, and with that object became successively director of the theatre at Bergen, and newspaper editor at Christiania. In 1858 he wrote *Halte-Hulda*, the first of the group of plays that have been named "the Norwegian Historical Drama." It treats of love, hatred and revenge, and it lays especial emphasis on the lights and shadows of passion.

"King Snorre" appeared in 1861, and has peculiar interest, apart from its merits as a drama, as it reveals Björnson's political faith: "'Tis not conceivable that what is right, innate and deep, beyond all time,—and right is that all should be equal in a State where all compete on equal terms,—'tis not conceivable that right should be wrong for a space of time!"

In the tragedy "*Segurd Slembe*" he seems to plead the natural right of the born leader of men to direct them. It is very powerfully written, and takes a view of that extraordinary adventurer "*Segurd Slembe*" which differs from the historians'. It contains a pathetic monologue, in which Andhild, the maiden who loves Segurd, confesses the secret of her heart before the images of the saints that stand round the chapel, where she has sought peace. She rejects all the stern ones, and will pray to St. Olaf alone, the national saint

* Henry Joeger: *Illustrated History of Norwegian Literature.*

and hero-king, who once had had a human frailty, and had clasped to his arms "Astrid with the golden hair." "You must know," she cried, "what lovers suffer, how they are led into many a keen temptation which they cannot resist, and that they forget you, the saints and all that exists, to atone afterwards with tears throughout their life."

"The Newly Married," a play that appeared in 1865, was the first in which Björnson treated a contemporary subject, and was one of the first of the problem plays that abound in Norwegian literature at the present time. In 1875 he wrote "Bankruptcy," in which money was introduced into a Norwegian drama. In "The King" he sought to demonstrate the futility of constitutional monarchs. In "The New System" the author championed the cause of truth, which finally triumphs. "Leonardo" advocated tolerance in society. In "A Glove" which appeared in 1883, he analysed the different moral standards by which men and women are judged, and, like Camilla Collet, he required the former to be not less pure than the latter. This play had a highly moralizing tendency, and served to counteract the Bohemian movement, in which free love was not condemned, that shortly afterwards became prominent through the publication of a notorious book, entitled* "From Bohemian Christiania"

It has been Björnson's aim to show us the limits of our powers in modern society in a series of plays which commenced with the first part of "Beyond Our Powers." He sought to demonstrate in it that Christianity was beyond them, for the requirements of that religion were not complied with, nor were its ideals attained. He lowers the miracles of faith to the phenomena of sickness. He seems to inculcate the view that we should rather study and cure nerve-illnesses, than lay so much stress on supernaturalism. The main personage of the play, Stang, is the type of a devoted pastor, and possesses a faith that can compare with that of the apostles. He works miracles and is even able to raise his wife from her death-bed, but this prodigy brings on a nerve-crisis which occasions the death of both the spouses. In the second part of "Beyond Our Power" he has described a great strike of workmen and a terrible catastrophe, and shown that the antagonism of interests could effect nothing; only hope and faith were able to inaugurate a better state of society.

As a lyrical poet Björnson is the first of his land. He has written its national anthem, "We love that land," which unites to real simplicity a great depth of feeling, while it glances back on the saga period of Norway with keen

* It was suppressed by the Government and its author was imprisoned.

imaginative power. "There is a land near eternal snows," "I will guard my Country," and "The Norwegian Sailor" are all of the same patriotic character.

In the latter part of his career, Björnson has also taken an active part in politics. He has travelled through Norway, and attended innumerable meetings in order to inflame her countrymen against the present union with Sweden—he would modify it profoundly or dissolve it. At times he fills the press with his complaints, denouncing the Swedish Government, to which he attributes the most aggressive designs against the independence of Norway. He has had recourse to an influential Russian journal, to warn the great power of the North against the danger of Swedish ambition, to which he also attributes the intention of reconquering Finland, and he has expressed his profound faith in the peaceful mission of the empire of the Czars. It is evident that Björnson will not be remembered by posterity as a politician; but his fame as the poetic voice of Norway will be immortal.

Among living authors there is no name with which the world is more familiar than with that of Henry Ibsen. As his dramas have been translated into all European languages, and have been discussed by the most accomplished critics, it would be superfluous, in so brief a survey of Norwegian literature, to do more than notice his career and his most important works.

He was born at Ski, a little sea-port town of Southern Norway, in 1828, and was the son of a trader, who was of Danish extraction. As on his mother's side also he had Danish forefathers, he is scarcely Norwegian by descent. While he was still a child, his family was reduced from prosperity to comparative poverty, and this change seems to have cast a shadow over his youth. His temperament was strange and diffident. His deep sensitiveness developed into a morbidness that inclined him to pessimism. Early in life he was apprenticed to an apothecary at Grimstad, where he satirized his neighbours, and wrote sentimental poems, of which, indeed, only a few have been preserved. The events of 1848—he had just attained his twentieth year at that date—excited him greatly, and were applauded by him as an enthusiastic friend of liberty. It was under these circumstances that he wrote "Catiline" whose genesis Ibsen's biographer has thus explained: "The impression of the evils of the world, of the people's enthusiastic attempt at insurrection and of their bloody defeat, the thought of the hostile footing on which he lived himself, ambitious dreams of the future, the despondency into which he fell as to the possibility of their realization, faith and doubt, worship of genius and scorn of men, all streamed in wild fermentation through

that youthful drama, which has one of history's most notorious characters for its hero." The world was rotten; it needed renewal from its foundations, but the accessories were too little and the talented renovator was not great, not good, not noble enough, so he must fall with his task unaccomplished.* It was apparent that, while still a youth, Ibsen regarded the world as so corrupt that the only remedy was a great social revolution; but he beheld it with such sad eyes that he could scarcely distinguish its brighter sides.

In 1850 he went to Christiania in order to qualify for a university degree, and wrote a short play, which, though of no permanent value, was accepted at the theatre, where *Catiline* had been rejected. It excited but little attention, although its author came into notice as a talented young man. He then became part editor of a periodical and contributed several poems to its pages. But his literary labours did not replenish his purse, and he was even reduced to sell the greater part of the small edition of "*Catiline*" as waste paper to a hawker. He interested himself greatly in the labour movement, which, despite its European character at that period, was, however, comparatively insignificant in Norway. He had intercourse with its leaders, and, owing to the nature of his contributions to a workman's newspaper, was for a while in danger of being arrested by the police. He had no faith in liberal politicians, and castigated them in a little play that he wrote at this period and that was entitled "*Norma, or a Politician's Love*." Henceforth he regarded with disdain all political parties.

When a national theatre was inaugurated at Bergen in the following year, Ibsen was appointed its dramaturgist and collaborator with a salary of about £60 a year, but at the same time he was granted a smaller sum with which to complete his education as a scene constructor abroad. After visiting Copenhagen and Dresden in this intent, and studying the history of the drama theoretically, he returned to Bergen, and began his real career as a dramatic author. In "*St. Han's Evening*" he showed himself an innovator, when he turned into ridicule the "fairy romanticism" that had so great a vogue in Scandinavia. He wrote successively three historical dramas, "*Lady Inger of Oestraal*," "*The Banquet at Solhaug*" and "*Olaf Liljekrans*." The last met with the greatest success, and was represented at the theatre of the capital. But it was handled severely by the press, whose critics, with the exception of Björnson, who discerned the genius of its author, accused him of plagiarising a play of the Danish poet, Henry Hertz.

After Ibsen had been appointed director of Christiania's

* Henry Ibsen: His works: A sketch: Henry Jøger.
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theatre, he published, in 1838, "Warriors in Helgeland." He had originally written it in a ballad metre, but subsequently transformed it into prose, based on the style of the Saga, after Björnson had set him the example in his first romance. Ibsen had studied previously Saga literature, and its influence had been apparent in "The Banquet at Solhaug" as regards the motives, and some of the characters, though not in the style. "Warriors in Helgeland" was his first great work;—his preceding dramas were scarcely more than experiments. It is based on a part of the Volsunge Saga, where the love of Segurd and Gaunar for Brynhild is related.

His greatest historical drama that treated of a Scandinavian subject was "Kings' Qualities," which appeared in 1864. Its main idea was that in the new times kingly thoughts triumph, while it was useless to serve up the old again. "In the struggle between the solution of the life's task and its opposing circumstances lies the tragic conflict in which Ibsen engaged in his previous works. His youthful poesy turned upon the contradiction between qualities and inclination, between will and possibility, between humanity and the individual's tragedy at the same time. In 'Kings' Qualities' these contradictions are carried to their extreme consequences. While Skjale only imagined he had the ruler's call, he failed, for he doubted himself; Haakon triumphed, for he was thorough and really believed in his mission."*

It can be deduced that Ibsen referred to the experience of his own soul in this play. It is clear that he doubted his own poetic vocation at this time, and that his self-criticism reduced him to despair. In the "Picture Gallery" he wrote:—

"What in the world of laughter merits more the slight
Than Elegies about a lyric dearth,
And Poesy, that perished at its birth,
Sob of a heart forlorn of all but grief and night?"

He found it impossible to retain for long his post as director of the theatre at Christiania. He came in conflict with a Danish colleague, whose chief object apparently was to arrest the development of a national stage in Norway, in the interest of the play-writers and actors of Denmark, who had the greater vogue. Ibsen joined with Björnson in founding a society that was called by the same name as the famous Norwegian club of the preceding century at Copenhagen, *viz.* "The Norwegian Society." But when it participated in politics, Ibsen withdrew.

"The Comedy of Love" was his first great satire on modern institutions. It represented a series of every-day men and women whom he had observed himself. Ibsen examines them

* Henry Jørgen.

all from the point of view of love, and, like Diogenes with his lantern, seeks a man without success. All seems dead, "a grief disconsolate." The people are "like scorched stems a forest fire had left amid the waste." He denounces hasty marriages, which are in general moral bankruptcies. The best mainstay of marriage is, in his eyes, not love nor money, but something better, "the still stream warm from the heart of affectionate esteem, that can honour the chosen companion for life." He extols "the gentle spirit that heals the wound, the manly strength that bends to bear, the balance that endures through years, the arm that is the prop and sure support of peace;" these all conduce to happiness in marriage.

This comedy excited considerable animadversion, especially among the clergy, a member of whom had been the target of Ibsen's satire. He made many enemies, and was left in the lurch by society. His purse was scanty, and the world began to consider him an unsuccessful genius. At the same time he was much discontented with his countrymen: he was a warm partisan of the close union of the Scandinavian lands, and he denounced the lukewarm help given by the youth of Norway to their Danish "brothers in distress." After so many meetings, processions, speeches, and toasts in favour of a united Scandinavia, not only did the Government of the peninsula refuse to interfere when the pinch came, but there were few Norwegian volunteers who were ready to risk their lives in the plains of Schleswig against the German aggressor.

Disillusioned by the events of 1864, and displeased by the hostile attitude of Christiania society, he left Norway the following year, it was then supposed with the intention never to return.

It was at Rome, where he took up his residence, that he wrote the first play that attained popularity throughout the North, and established his reputation. "Brand" painted with great poetical power, in sombre colours, the sadder side of Norwegian life on the rocky coast. The hero of the poem is a pastor who, in his disinterested efforts to infuse life into religion, becomes a fanatic, and finally perishes under an avalanche, after vainly attempting to lead his flock in a crusade. The only glimpse of sunlight in this sorrowful drama is derived from Agnes, the pastor's devoted wife. It was a powerful indictment of official Christianity. Brand was "the incarnation of the qualities that Ibsen missed in the social condition of Norway," which seemed to him wrapped in a self-complacent slumber. In "Per Gynt," his next play, which was received with still greater favour, the hero incarnated the qualities that had taken their place. He was the type of lax-

ness, halfness, and want of character: Ibsen had found a new cause for the social defects of the time, and that was its unreality, which had had recourse to an imaginary world of dreams. Romanticism is typified by Per Gynt and is brought to judgment as the cause of corruption in society.

"The Youthful Alliance" introduced a new era in Norwegian literature, as well as in the theatrical history of the country. From its appearance (in 1869) can be dated the great development of modern play writing. It was nearly the first realistic play in Norway, and the first in which a natural modern dialogue was employed. It satirized the phrase-making of politicians, their want of earnestness and of personality; and it spared neither of the political parties.

The changed position of affairs occasioned by the war of 1870 still further disillusionised Ibsen. The old system of Government was confirmed, and instead of an era of "personality," a state citizenship became the main-stay of society. Unable to find a foothold in the present time, he turned his attention to the past, and sought to discover a key to the enigma of the world in the period when the classic heathen civilization was dissolved. The result was "The Emperor and Galilean," which appeared in 1873. In this play the mystic Maximus seems to express Ibsen's own views of the course of the world's history. "There are three kingdoms," said Maximus; "first the kingdom which is founded on the tree of knowledge; then the one that is founded on the cross; the third is the great kingdom of mystery that must be founded both on the tree of knowledge and the cross." It is the last conception of the future that Ibsen has evidently taken as his ideal of society.

His subsequent plays have unsparingly denounced the insidious social flaws that impede its realization. He has drawn back the curtain of propriety, and has exposed the decrepit column and worm-eaten beam; and he has called for their removal, even though the whole edifice should fall on our heads. He began with a strong attack against the hypocrisies of society, and, in *The Pillars of Society*, finally induced the respected leader of a typical Norwegian society to denounce himself as a hypocrite, after he had perpetrated numerous villainies of which the law could not be cognizant. In "The Doll's Home" he assailed the current views about marriage, and showed how the union between the heroine, Nora, and her husband, Helmer, was not a valid one, owing to the latter's incapacity to understand what such a union really was, and he emphasized this view through Nora's desertion of her husband. In the "Ghosts" he treated marriage from the point of view of the responsibility of the parents as regards

their children. The question in this play was whether it had been right for Helen Avling, the wife, to live with her husband. Their child was the unlucky victim of the father's excesses; his parents had done him the wrong of presenting him with a wretched existence of which he himself would be quit. In "The Public Enemy" he denounced the hypocrisy of the whole of society in a more emphatic manner than before or afterwards. The great feature of the play was the speech of its hero, Dr. Stockman, a daring experiment, which no dramatic author had yet attempted; it had an intensely revolutionary tendency: ". . . the majority have the power,—the more the pity—but they have not the right. I have the right and the small minority that includes only those who have acquired the new genuine truths."

In "Wild Duck," Ibsen's next play, a great change is observable in his views of life. He had become at once more pessimist and more indulgent, and seemed to argue that men cannot bear the truth, and so it is best to leave them to their lies. Hjalmas, the father of Hedwig, the heroine of the play, does not enjoy the complete confidence of his wife, because the latter has a secret which she conceals from him. When he was in danger of succumbing to the deception that had been practised on him, his great friend, Gregers Werle, undertakes to enlighten him. But he has not taken into account the wretched want of character of Hjalmas, who typifies every-day humanity. Instead of promoting happiness, Gregers makes mischief; and all his efforts only serve to disturb the domestic peace, and to induce a scene that ends with the death of little Hedwig, a scene that is perhaps the most pathetic Ibsen has written.

In his three following dramas we find three feminine types, each of which represents a different characteristic of their native land: Rebecca in "Rosmerholm" is from Nordland, and her life reflects the wild nature of her early home. In "The Lady from the Sea," Ellida is from the romantic West coast. Hedda Gabler is from the capital, a product of society life and *convenance*. In "Rosmerholm" love prevails; in "Lady from the Sea," woman's emancipation triumphs, through a husband's indulgence, over a natural affinity. In Hedda Gabler there is no solution, but a plea for a discriminating altruism.

In the play to which "Architect Solness" gives the title, that person shows himself to be a real child of this century of competition. He eschews no means where it is a question of his own advancement. He is a genuine type of egotist. He is able to will, but is none the less a divided personality, a new-example of the halfness of the age. He is burdened with

a conscience that he regrets is not more buoyant. But it does not restrain him from crime ; it does not free him from chagrin. In order to have an opportunity of adding to his professional reputation, he burns down his wife's inherited home, with a view to replacing it by a construction after his own design ; and, as the result of this deed, he has to mourn the death of his children, who are burnt with the house, while his wife receives so severe a shock that her health is ruined. In his aspiration he is prompted by Hilde Wrangel, the most positive feminine figure Ibsen has drawn. She admires Solness, and remembers with delight how he stood on the church tower that he had just completed, many years previously, before he had abandoned ecclesiastical architecture. She begs him to repeat that performance, and impels him to climb to the pinnacle of his last new building, which was to take the place of the house he had burnt. But he loses his balance and falls dead at her feet. He perished through his own temerity, for he was no longer able to climb so high. His career and fate apparently treat symbolically the materialism of the present time.

In the last few decades, perhaps, no author has influenced the world so deeply as Ibsen. He has called in question the current notions of social morality, against which he has placed an immense note of interrogation. A pessimist as regards the present order of things, he is an idealist for the future ; and the tendency of his work is to prepare for a new era in which both justice and morality will be considered from another point of view. He has denounced, in tones that all must hear, the social evils which the veil of decorum has concealed. He does not appear to believe in the regeneration of humanity, and latterly he seems to regard its frailty with compassion. He is the most skilful and boldest dramatist of the age, and at the same time a master of style, which is a model for all Norwegian writers.

The period of Norwegian literature that was introduced by the revival of Saga style can boast of a novelist who is not less popular in his native land than Dickens was in England. Jonas Lie is always in touch with the national life ; he faithfully reflects its intimacy ; discusses its vexed questions, and, above all, instructs it. His rise to fame was as sudden as his popularity is great. A short novel, which appeared in 1878, took the public by storm. It was called "The Visionary." In a style that is remarkable for its delicacy and sensibility, it traced the career of a young man, David Holst, who was credited with the gift of second sight, while his overstrained mind bordered on insanity. He fell in love with a beautiful and intelligent girl, who, by her elevating influence on his character, was

able to save him from an apparently inevitable fate. In this touching story love is opposed to atavism. Daniel Holst's old doctor represents modern society in his view of the question. He holds that his patient has an hereditary tendency to madness, and must, therefore, refrain from marriage—not only for his own sake, but for posterity. Susanna, the object of David's passion, was, however, of another opinion, and thought that she must cling to him precisely because of this tendency; she maintained that love was able to cure him, and Jonas Lie admits that she was right as regards the special condition of her lover, apart from other considerations. Yet in his last novel, "Dyre Rein," one of his most interesting productions, the author seems to take a sterner view of the matter, and to pronounce against the marriage of the victim of atavism. The hero of that tale, who has an hereditary taint of madness, dies by his own hand to save posterity from woe.

There were features in "The Visionary" that were original and epoch-making; the author had discovered a new refuge for poesy, and captured for romanticism its last province: it was also the last work of an essentially romantic stamp in the literature. He takes a novel view of fancy, which, he thinks, in its visionary form, does not differ greatly from a malady. In "Susanna" he has created a new feminine figure, which he has subsequently modified or varied, but not abandoned. She is the type of a wife who is superior to her husband by her strength of will and power to act, yet at the same time has a gentle and womanly nature that guides and supports him. She takes the initiative, because she is the stronger. She is one of the most popular characters in Norwegian fiction.

Jonas Lie was originally a lawyer who was gifted with a poetical temperament, had a strong literary taste, and a deep love of nature. He was involved in a commercial crisis, and in consequence constrained to abandon his profession. He had recourse to journalism for a livelihood, and wrote "The Visionary" with a view to paying his debts, which he was not legally compelled to do, at the age of thirty-seven. His first novel was, however, so full of promise that the Norwegian Parliament—often a generous patron of literary talent—granted him a small stipend. In fulfilment of the condition of its bestowal, he visited Nordland and the sea coast of Norway, and published an interesting account of his voyage. He followed this up with "The Three Masts: Future," in which he described with great reality and truth Nordland's life and scenery.

Like all his novels, it contains a lesson, which in this case turned on industry and perseverance. The "Pictures from

Norway' appeared in 1872, and included some delightful and characteristic short stories, such as "Søndmør's Eight-oared Boat," which is now classical. In 1874 he published "The Pilot and his Wife," which was perhaps the first sea novel in the literature. In it he has recounted life on the wave with fidelity, and at the same time discussed a problem connected with marriage. He has advanced a view that is similar to Björnson and Ibsen's, that unconditional devotion and intimacy are necessary to happiness in matrimony and that nothing must be concealed between the spouses.

Jonas Lie has treated of life in Norway and its seas. He is the novelist of its thousand homes, of which he has a profound knowledge. He has told us of the magic—so famous in old time—of the Finns, and has given us a glimpse of their weird nature. He has created with great imaginative power a hundred types of character, among which his womanly figures fascinate. He has striven to avoid exaggeration, and to depict reality. Following the trend of the time, he has adapted his pen to its needs. He has a large heart, a deep and buoyant nature, and a high ideal. His loftiest aspiration is the true progress and improvement of his countrymen. With the help of a literary style that is chaste and effective, he has raised himself to the first place among Norwegian novelists. In all Scandinavia, it is said, there is no author so popular and so widely read. His fame has reached the world beyond, and his principal works have been translated into the leading languages of Europe.

From the beginning of the last decade, a new and brilliant star was visible in the heaven of literary Norway. But after its close only a few weak rays were discernible, where it dazzled before; its sudden decline caused almost as much regret as its appearance had excited astonishment.

In the autumn of 1880, a novel written by a debutant appeared, and immediately attained popularity. It described the life and society of a seaport town that was recognized under the disguise of a feigned name, as Stavanger. The sufferings of the poor were contrasted with the easy-going life of the magnates; there was a touching portrait of a little seamstress who was the victim of a voluptuary. The chapter describing her burial, and that of her betrayer's father, is the most brilliant one of the book. It emphasizes bitterly the difference between the rich and poor even in the tomb. Like Ibsen in "The Popular Enemy," he exposes the corrupt ingredients of a small society with which the author was thoroughly acquainted.

Henry Jæger considers "Garmand and Worse" to be the

first modern Norwegian novel, and the one that most influenced its contemporaries. Its tendency was somewhat revolutionary, its tone sarcastic, and it was written in a language that, in Norwegian literature, has not been surpassed for its lightness and grace. Its author was Alexander Kjel-land, who had almost reached his thirtieth year before he began to write. He became at once the favourite author and the darling of society. He was both rich and handsome, in addition to his great talents, and a long career was anticipated for him.

His next work, "Workpeople," appeared in the following year. It was a mordant satire against the official classes of Christiania, who are accused of laziness, nonsense and negligence. The story turns on a poor peasant's futile efforts to obtain legal justice. It contains some excellent pictures of the social life of Christiania, though they are somewhat marred by the author's exaggerated satire.

Kjelland's creative powers were so great that his best novels followed each other at an interval of a few months. "Else" appeared in the same year as "Workpeople." It runs upon his favorite theme—the contrast between poverty and hunger on one side, and prosperity and narrow-mindedness on the other. A few months afterwards "Skipper Worse" was published. It is generally considered the author's best novel. It treats of the pietism of the Western districts of Norway, that has had its centre in Kjelland's native place, Stavanger, since the death of Hauge, the great Norwegian revivalist, who restored religion in the land. The author, who was versed in all the local life of the town, has sketched with great thoroughness the devotionalists who almost exclusively found their adherents in the lower classes. The main personage of the tale is "Skipper Worse," a handsome old tar, who had seen his best years. After a long voyage he "lays up," and, for want of an occupation, falls in love with a handsome young woman, belonging to the devotionalist coterie. She did not really care for him, as she had already bestowed her affections on a young peasant who was an enthusiastic lay-preacher. Her mother, whose faith had a practical tendency, had constrained her to marry the rich old sailor. His young wife initiates him into the secrets of the saints among the revivalists and Moravian-brothers who frequent her mother's house. But in their circle he is like a fish out of water, suffers torture, and perishes slowly without adding to the number of the elect. There is a striking death-bed scene, where his mother-in-law menaces him with the fate of the damned, and terrifies him with the evil one, until, at last, forgetting his actual surroundings, he imagines himself once more a happy sailor, just making port after a long voyage.

It was Kjelland's fate to occasion an important Parliamentary crisis: A petition had been presented to the "Storting" (Parliament) with a view to his receiving for literary merit a pension which Björnson, Ibsen and Jonas Lie had been previously granted. But, on the ground that Kjelland's works "were at all events supposed to stand in contradiction with the prevailing moral and religious views of the nation," it was refused, after an acrimonious debate. The general elections that followed in 1885 were greatly influenced by the refusal of the pension, and the moderate party, who had opposed its grant, were completely defeated, and made way for the Radicals, who had approved of it; the latter thus came to power for the first time, and they have since controlled the destinies of the country. Kjelland did not, however, finally receive the coveted honour, but he was appointed Mayor of his native town. Since the commencement of the present decade he has written little or nothing; it is said that he has abandoned the career of letters for reasons of health. His works will last as long as the literature, and should be perused by all who can study it, and the society of the latter part of this century in Norway; but due allowance should be made for the author's satiric tendency.

Of all Norwegian authors at the present time, there is none more racy of the soil than Arne Garborg. He is a peasant, who, by his own unassisted efforts, has become one of the first literary men of his country. The religious views of his father were so narrow that he refused to allow his son to attend the village school, lest he should be corrupted. Hence Arne Garborg is in a great measure self-taught. He began his career as a journalist, and was employed to carry on a propaganda in favour of a moderate Christian policy, and at the same time to attack the modern direction of thought from the point of view of faith. In 1877, when he was approaching his thirtieth year, he founded a newspaper, "Fedrahimen" ("Father's Home"). It was written in the neology invented by Ivar Dasen, and advocated a national purification of linguistic and literary culture. Its views were liberal, for Garborg had abandoned the conservatism of his youth: and though he has always remained profoundly religious, he had now become a free-thinker, after having previously championed the most rigid orthodoxy. His first peasant novel, "Free thinkers," appeared in 1873. Its hero was one of them, and its moral was against intolerance. It was more real than Björnson's idyllic romances, but lacked their charm.

Garborg's most typical and interesting work was "Peasant Students," which is a remarkable study of a young peasant's mind.

and his student life at Christiania. The author holds that there are two kinds of Norwegians in Norway, the countryman and the townsman, and it is so far true, that the majority of the leading inhabitants of the towns are of Danish, German or Dutch origin, while the peasantry is indigenous. His hero, a peasant, is a renegade from his class. He had observed in his boyhood the difference between the toiling rustic and the official classes, including the clergy. He determined, cost what it might, to belong to the latter. They had, he thought, a pleasant time on earth, and Heaven was easier of access for them afterwards. He awakens the interest of an eccentric parson, who educates him, and inculcates ideals and national aspirations. The contributions of some religious men enable him to prepare for the university. His father ruins himself to further his son's career, and, infected with the latter's example, apes his betters, and indulges in strong drink to do so more effectually. The hero is neither intellectual nor intelligent, though he is not without shrewdness. He becomes a poverty-stricken wretch, and a sycophant who lives on his comrades at the university. He forgets all his ideal aspirations and comes to the conclusion that money is the one thing necessary. Without real religious belief, he prepares to take orders as a means of livelihood. He is unfaithful to the girl he secretly loves and forgets her to marry a wealthy, plain-featured woman, who is far older than himself. Garborg takes the opportunity offered by his hero's career to condemn the university system of Norway, which is chiefly directed to the education of a number of officials after the German pattern, instead of adapting them to a labour State that should resemble Switzerland. The moral of the story is that it would be much better for the peasant to continue to plough his land, while he improves his mind, than to add to the useless supernumeraries of the towns;—at the present time, agriculture is carried on under great difficulties through the dearth of labourers.

A crowd of lesser writers have lately risen to distinction in Norway; they include Hans Aanruds, whose humouristic sketches of the peasant life of Eastern Norway are unsurpassed of their kind; Hans Kinck, who has also written admirable novels about the peasantry—in the Western districts; Knut Hansum, a keen observer of the national civilization, "the creator of the Christiania romance;" Thomas Kragh, whose novels are remarkable for their light and agreeable style, and their freedom from the fetters of convention; William Kragh, the brother of the preceding author, a decadent poet, whose artistic muse enjoyed for a time great popularity; Heiberg, a writer of amusing comedies, in which

current views are the target of his wit ; the historians Sars Melsen, and Clara Tschudi, etc.

At present, perhaps, the literature of Norway is more characteristically national than that of any other country, while its productivity is the greater if we take into consideration the scanty population. It is remarkable for its creative power, imagination, didactic tendency, depth of feeling, and its intimate connection with the people's life. It is essentially democratic and idealist, and its tone is buoyant, and hopeful, though it has some pessimist writers, who chiefly belong to the naturalistic school. It takes the initiative, discusses social problems, and prepares the way for the future through the writings of Björnson, Ibsen, and their imitators ; it has left a deep impress on European culture, and therefore deserves to be studied by all who would understand the tendency of the age.

A. L. HOLMES.

ART. IV.—A VISIT TO UMARKOT, &c.

I HAD long been anxious to visit Umarkōt and to see the exact spot where the Emperor Akbar was born ; but I found the place more difficult of access than I had expected. I tried in the first instance to reach it from the Rajputana side, but could not find anybody who knew the route. At last I arrived at it from the west, or Haidarabad, side by travelling down the east side of the Indus from Lahore to Rahoki Junction. The difficulty is that Umarkōt is not on any line of railway. Though the North-Western Railway has a branch called the Hyderabad-Umarkōt railway, it only goes as yet as far as Shadipalli, and this is thirty-four miles short of Umarkōt. Indeed, according to the natives, the distance is nineteen *kos*, or thirty-eight miles. The branch line, too, is an exceedingly slow one ; there is only one train a day each way, and it takes five hours to get from Haidarabad to Shadipalli—a distance of only fifty-five miles ! I performed the journey from Shadipalli to Umarkōt by bullock-cart, and this, with the necessary halts, occupied twenty-four hours.

The irrigation canals must, I think, have greatly changed the aspect of this part of Sind. Formerly much of the land must have been waste, or desert ; but now the road passes through wide plains of rice-cultivation, and one might have almost thought himself back again in Eastern Bengal. It was evening when we reached Umarkōt and began to toil through the sands which surrounded the Fort on one side. I had been told that there was a Dāk Bungalow, and, of course, there was not one. However, the kindness of the District Superintendent of Police, who fortunately happened to be at Umarkōt on tour, and of the “Mukhtarkar,” or Sub-divisional Officer, relieved me of all difficulty. I slept in a Deputy Collector’s bungalow within the ample enclosure of the Fort, and congratulated myself on being within the ancient walls which had protected the infant Akbar. Next morning, however, I discovered that this was all a mistake, and that, according to local tradition at all events, Akbar was not born within the Fort, but out in the open country, in a spot nearly a mile N.-N.-W. of the walls. No doubt, this was where his father’s little force was encamped, and it is likely enough that the Hindu Rána of Umarkōt would object to the presence of a number of undisciplined Muhammadan Moguls inside his Fort, and I have, therefore, no difficulty in accepting the tradition.

* The Umarkōt Jail is within the Fort-walls, and the Jailor, a member of an old Sind family, kindly took me out to the

site pointed out as Akbar's birth-place. A small cupola, erected in 1898 by Syed Maher Shah of Khajrari, Taluqa Umarköt, marks the spot, and an inscription on it in English and Sindi records that "this stone was erected in honour of Emperor Akbar the First, born here in 1542, reigned 49 years from 1556-1605." Then follow the names of the Deputy Commissioner for the time being, and of others. The monument stands on a rising ground surrounded by a railing, and is approached by a broad grass-path. This is not the desert-side of Umarköt, and there was a garden and other cultivation and trees all round about. Close by was a cotton-field in full pod. Outside the cupola, but on the same mound or terrace, there is a stone shaped like a milestone, and made of Haidarabad limestone, which records in Sindi that this was Akbar's birth-place. It wrongly gives the date as 963 A. H., for Akbar was born in 949, or 1542 A. D., and 963 A. H. is the date of his accession. The error was pointed out some years ago by Kavi Rai Syámál Das of Udaipur in a paper on Akbar's birthday read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1886, but it has not been corrected. This stone was, I was told, put up by Mr. Tyrwhitt, who was Deputy Commissioner of Umarköt some forty years ago. It is, therefore, not a contemporary or ancient record; but I was told that there had been previously a terrace or pukka platform marking the spot. I would suggest that, as the stone is only some forty years old, there would be no desecration in having the date corrected.

The story told to me by the villagers was that, when Humayun and his wife, Hamída Bánú, were flying from the pursuit by Humayun's brothers (they really were fleeing from Mal Deo, the Rajah of Jodhpur, who was in collusion with Sher Shah), they approached Umarköt and came upon a holy man who had his seat near what is now the Resala or Police Lines. He asked Humayun who he was, etc., and when Humayun told him and also spoke of the condition of his wife, who was near her confinement, the hermit bade Hamída Bánú to go and rest at a spot to the northward, which he pointed out, and he prophesied that she would there give birth to a son who would one day become Emperor of all India. Hamída obeyed his voice, and, having gone to the spot, gave birth to Akbar. It was marked by the presence of two bushes, one, an *āk*, (the *Calotropis gigantea* or milkbush), and the other a *bēr*, *i.e.* the jujube tree (*Zizphus jujuba*) and so the child received the name of Ak-ber! Such is the Sindian's explanation of the Emperor's Arabic name, which he supports by pointing to the numerous milkbushes still growing in the neighbourhood.

Umarköt, with its high, old walls of baked earth, is a very

striking place, for it stands just on the borders of the desert, and might be called the Parting of the Ways. Few things are more impressive than the view from the top of the central bastion. Turn one way and you will see luscious greenery, leafy orchards, and verdant rice-fields; then turn to the east, and there is nothing but arid, desert sand. It recalls to the mind the description of the invasion of locusts by the prophet Joel : "The land is as the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness."

* There are several old guns on this bastion, and on one is an inscription in Persian stating that it was the work of Mustapha Beg. Nearer the muzzle is another inscription, also in Persian, stating that the gun came from the workshop of Niyáz (?) Khuda Khan Bahadur, servant of (?) Shahmat Jang, and dated 1160 A. H. On another bastion, beside one of the gates, the spot is pointed out where the last Rajah of Umarkōt leapt his horse from the battlement on the approach of the English and so made his escape. If he did, he deserved to be a comrade in arms of the hero of Kingsley's ballad of *Alte Nahr*, and of the solitary Mameluke who escaped from Cairo. They also show a mark high up on the castle-wall which they say was made by the Rajah's horse when the Rajah was exercising him in the road below ! On the massive, and old-looking wooden gate there is a Persian inscription by Mr. Tyrwhitt.

Inside the fort-walls and below the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow there is a fine garden and orchard with a large well, which is said to yield the best water in Umarkōt. Embosomed among the fruit-trees there is a stone cupola, similar in shape to, but larger and handsomer than that over Akbar's birth-place, which was erected in memory of Herbert Edward Watson, Deputy Commissioner of Thar and Parkar, who died at Umarkōt in February 1894. We are reminded of the monument erected at Bhagalpur over a hundred years ago to Augustus Cleveland, for the inscription says that the building was erected by the subordinate officers and the Zamindars of Thar and Parkar in testimony of Mr. Watson's good qualities and in token of their affection for him. Apparently Mr. Watson fell a victim to the unhealthiness of Umarkōt, for the place is very feverish, and European Officers are unable to stay there through out the year. There is an old tree in this garden, which is said to have sprung from the root of a still more ancient one on which Mārúi, the heroine of Umarkōt, used to swing herself when a child.

This mention of Mārúi leads to a consideration of the proper mode of spelling the name Umarkōt. According to my informant it is properly spelt with an 'ain, عمر کوت, and owes

its derivation to one Umar, a Muhammadan of Delhi, who fell in love with a daughter of the desert, hence called Márúí, and for her sake came and built Umarkōt. The story of the loves of Umar and Márúí is the subject, I believe, of several Sind ballads, and is told in various ways. Táhir Nasyání, one of the historians of Sind, who flourished about the end of the 16th century, wrote a poem about it, presumably in Persian, to which he gave the name of Náz u Niyáz (coquetry and coaxing). Táhir also tells the story at considerable length in his Tárikh Táhiri, or History of Sind, of which there is a good copy in the Library of the Nawab of Rampur. The passage is translated in Elliot's *Historians of India* I 260, and will also be found at page 13a of the Rampore MS. According to the story as told by Táhir, Márúí's conduct and adventures resemble those of the heroine of Manzoni's charming story of *I Promessi Sposi*, and he mentions Akbar's indignation when the tale was mistold by a poet introduced to his Court, and how it had to be correctly given by Mizá Jáni Beg, the last independent ruler of Sind. Márúí, Táhir tells us, was a beautiful desert maiden who lived near Umarkōt, where, indeed, the site of her house is still pointed out. She had been betrothed to a man whom Elliot and Burton call Phog, but who according to Professor Dowson, is named Nabakuk in the Persian MS., while the Rampore MS. gives the more likely name of Bhúnkar, or Bhúngar. Her parents, however, found a better match for her and gave her to somebody else. The disappointed Phog, or Bhúngar, went to Umar Súmra who was the prince of Sind, and who, according to Táhir, was a Hindu, and told him that his own suit was hopeless, but that such a beauty as Márúí deserved a place in the royal harem. At once Umar disguised himself, and, setting off on a swift camel, arrived at Márúí's house and abducted her. But Márúí was virtuous and refused to submit to his wishes, and Umar, like Rudolph in the Italian story, was struck by her innocence and refrained from dishonouring her. He kept her for a year in his palace, hoping that she would consent to marry him; but, when he found her inflexible he sent her back to her husband. The latter acted like Ram towards Sita and refused to believe in her virtue. The news of her ill-treatment reached Umar, and in his indignation he gathered an army and marched against Márúí's village, resolved to punish her husband and her relatives. But Márúí was as wise as she was good and beautiful. She boldly presented herself before Umar and pointed out to him that he, as her ravisher, was the person really to blame, and that it was unjust that he, after having committed one great wrong, should commit another by devastating her country. Umar recognised the justice of her rebuke, and, recalling his

army, and summoning Márú's husband to his presence, he prepared to swear to Márú's innocence and to attest it by undergoing the ordeal by fire. Again Márú rose to the occasion and declared that, if any one must go through the ordeal, it was she herself. She accordingly passed through fire, and, like Sita, emerged unscathed. Umar, not to be outdone in generosity, followed her example and with a similar result. This double miracle removed the husband's doubts; he took back his wife, and everything ended happily. According to a note in Elliot, one Zamiri has also written a poem on this subject, and the story has also been told by Captain Burton in his book on Sind. Elliot points out that, though Umar is described by Táhir as a Hindu, yet he spells the name with an 'ain, and he observes that Umarkôt is generally written with an 'ain. In the Rampore MS., however, Umarkôt is spelt with an aliph,* and Táhir does not refer to its being named after Umar Súmrá. On the contrary, he speaks of Márú's home as being situated near the fort of Umarkôt, as if the name had existed before her time.

I had thought of crossing the desert to Bamer and so getting on to the Rajputana railway, but I was told that the thing was nearly impossible, owing to the famine and the want of water. The distance from the railway station of Bamer was, I was informed, 120 miles, and even if I could get camels and supplies, the journey would occupy about a week. So I reluctantly turned back and retraced my steps to Shadipalli and Lahore. I made the return-journey to Shadipalli by camel, and hired two, one for myself, and another for my luggage, for Rs. 4 or Re. 1-10 less than the cost of the bullock-cart. We started at 4-45 P.M. and travelled till midnight, chiefly by the light of the moon. Near Sufi we had a picturesque crossing of a river by moonlight. After twelve we halted till daybreak in the village of Akhri till daybreak, and eventually reached Shadipalli at 8-20 A.M. in abundance of time for the train.

ABUL FAZL'S GRAVE.

The mention of Akbar's birth-place naturally leads to a notice of his friend and secretary's grave, which I visited not long afterwards. It does not seem to be generally known that Abul Fazl's body, or at least his headless trunk, is buried in the village of Antri, or Antari, about fifteen miles S.-S.-E. of the town of Gwalior. The fact is not recorded in General Cunningham's Archæological Reports and I am

* This points to the name being derived from Amar, immortal, like Amritsar, and on the whole this seems to be the most probable origin of the name.

indebted for the information to the Darbar-i* Akbar, or Akbar's Court, a valuable work on Akbar and his grandees recently published in Urdu at Lahore.

Like Umarkōt, Antri is rather a difficult place to get at. It is a station on the Indian Midland Railway, but the passenger trains do not stop there, and the goods train, which has some third class carriages and does stop at Antri, is often behind its time. The station, too, is about two miles beyond the village, and on the way to Jhansi. I went from Gwalior on an ekka, hoping in that way to get there before evening; but unfortunately the pony was inefficient, or had already been tired out, for we took five hours to go, and the whole of the night to return. The Naib Tahsildar of the village, M. Asghar Ali Khan kindly showed me Abul Fazl's tomb, which most of the villagers seemed unacquainted with. It is a small and unadorned building. A low quadrangular flat-roofed room, reminding one by its shape of the pictures of the Kaaba, stands on a terrace, and on its floor is a pent-house shaped tomb of bricks and mortar. There is no inscription and no ornamentation of any kind. The building stands in the middle of the village and was surrounded by a garden of pot herbs. It had altogether a neglected and desolate look, and one felt surprised that Abul Fazl's friend and master, the Emperor Akbar, had not erected something more sumptuous, or that the Maharajah of Gwalior had not taken more care of the place. But Akbar did not long survive his friend, and his last years were clouded by distress. Moti Khan, an old servant of the *tahsil*, told me that there used to be an inscription in Arabic and Persian, and that he had seen it, but that the stone was removed by a Sahib twenty or twenty-five years ago. I have as yet been unable to learn who the Sahib was, or what has become of the inscription. The Darbār-i-Akbar, p. 488, speaks of Abul Fazl's being fortunate in his resting-place in that the villagers of Antri light up the tomb with thousands of lamps every Thursday. I regret, however, to say that this is a mistake. The villagers hardly know who Abul Fazl, or Fazlu, as they call him, was; they place no lamps at his tomb, and the only person who at all looks after the grave is a wandering beggar.

The place where Abul Fazl was killed does not seem to be exactly known. Moti Khan said he had heard that he had been killed just after coming out from Dattia, which is a railway station beyond Antri and nearer Jhansi. But it would appear from De Laet's account, quoted in Blochmann's life of Abul Fazl,

* Lahore, 1898, at the Rafāh Am Press of Maulvi Saiyid Mumtaz Ali. The author of the book is Shams-al Ulama Maulvi Mahommed Husain Sahib Azad who has unfortunately become deranged.

prefixed to his translation of the *Ain Akbari*, that the murder took place much nearer Gwalior than Dattia and even than Antri. We are told, too, that when the news of Bir Singh's preparations was brought to Abul Fazl's men, they suggested to him that he should fall back upon Antri, which was six miles off, and where there were imperial troops. Abul Fazl was then on his way to Agra, and probably therefore he would not take the direct road to Gwalior, but would leave it and Antri on the right. According to the account in Blochmann's biography, p. 15, the murder was committed on Friday, 4 Rabi'-al-awal, 1011 A. H.=12 August 1602—, at a distance of about half a kos from Sarai Ber (?) and about six kos from Narwar. The whole country in the neighbourhood of Antri is hilly and jungly, and fit for ambuscades. Even now it is haunted by tigers and panthers, and not long ago, when a syce was leading his master's horse by night along the high road between Antri and Gwalior, a tiger, or panther, came out of the wood and put his teeth into the horse's haunch, but did no further harm. Probably Abul Fazl's companions returned to Antri, bringing the headless corpse with them, for Raja Bir Singh sent the head to Jehangir at Allahabad. Who erected the tomb, we do not know; but it may have been Abul Fazl's nephew, Abdur Rahaman. One would not like to be a remover of bones, but still if some fortunate chance laid the grave bare, it would be interesting to know whether the skeleton was headless.

Antri is a very old village, and was once of much greater importance than it now is. It is full of old pukka buildings, and the Naib Tahsildars sent me an inscription on a mosque there which shows that it was erected in 938 A. H. (1531), *i.e.*, in the second year of Humáyún's reign. The Persian is as follows:—

این مسجد به عهد محمد همایون بادشاه غازی بتاریخ غره
جمادی الاول سنه ۹۳۸ هجری تعمیر کرد *

The derivation of the name Antri seems unknown, but probably it alludes to its position within ravines. According to Moti Khan the name is properly Abtari.

ANARKALI'S TOMB.

This is in Lahore, and is also connected with Akbar's memory, but in a much more tragic manner than the tomb at Antri.

According to local tradition, Anarkali, *i.e.*, pomegranate bud, thus recalling the charming Gulnare of the Arabian Nights, and the Balaustion of Browning, was the beautiful wife or concubine of Akbar. One day he was sitting, arranging

his turban by a mirror which he held in his hand, and Anarkali was standing beside him. Suddenly Jehangir, or Selim, as he then was, entered the room and smiled on Anarkali. The hapless girl returned the greeting, and Akbar, who saw in his mirror what passed between the two, rose up in his wrath and commanded that Anarkali should be buried alive. This was done, and all that her princely lover could do was to erect afterwards a beautiful tomb to her memory, and to inscribe on it his own name and an affecting Persian couplet. The story is told by Mr. Eastwick in Murray's Handbook for the Punjab, with the difference that Akbar is said to have seen the signal between the two lovers by means of the mirrors on the walls of the Shish Mahal, or Hall of Mirrors. Mr. Eastwick also says that Anarkali's proper name was Sharifa-un-nissa or Nadarah Begam. There is also an account of the tragedy in Syed Muhammed Latif's history of Lahore, and in Thornton and Kipling's Lahore (Lahore 1876) p. 88. It is a story that for Akbar's sake one would fain not believe; but I fear that it is too true. The tradition certainly receives support from a passage in Terry's Voyage, p. 408, of the edition of 1777, where it is stated that Akbar thought of taking the strong step of disinheriting his eldest son, Selim, "upon high and just displeasure for climbing up unto the bed of Anarkali, his father's most beloved wife (which name signified the kernel of a pomegranate) and for other base actions of his." Terry was Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, and was in India only a few years after Akbar's death.* At p. 387 he tells us of Jehangir's having put one of his own wives to death, under even more horrible circumstances, close to where the English ambassador was residing.

Anarkali's tomb is a lofty and spacious dome, and gives its name to the civil station of Lahore. Inside is a beautiful marble sarcophagus, with the words *Majnûn Selim*, i.e., the enraptured Selim, carved upon it, and also the following Persian couplet:—

آه گر من باز بینم رونے یار خویش را
 آقا قیامت شکر گویم کردگار خویش را

"Ah! If I could but once more see the face of my sweet-heart I should continue to thank my God up to the day of judgment."

* Akbar died in 1605, and Terry speaks of being in India in 1618. The date of the erection of Anarkali's tomb does not appear to be known, but probably was 1600.

† I am indebted for this copy to Mr. Atkins, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore.

Unfortunately the tombstone has been thrust away from its original position under the dome and placed in a corner which is generally so dark that the carved lettering, which, according to Mr. Eastwick, surpasses everything else of the kind in India, can hardly be seen. When Mr. Eastwick visited the tomb, some twenty-three years ago, he found that it had been removed from its original site and thrust into a closet, where it lay, covered with dust and the impurities of bats. Things are not much improved now. When I visited it, I did not see any bats, but the sarcophagus was brown with dust, and heaps of waste paper were lying about. Though not exactly in a closet, it was in a side-portion of the room and close to the wall. In one respect its condition is worse than that which existed in Mr. Eastwick's time. The building was then used as a Church, so that the surroundings were in harmony with the tomb. But now it has become a record-room, and the part where the tombstone is is probably used by the daftaris for keeping their strings and their wrapping-papers. As the tombstone is no longer *in situ* and has no remains underneath it, would it not be better to remove it to the Lahore Museum, where the carved letterings could be seen to advantage, and where poor people could admire it without having to fee a chaukidar?

The building over the tomb has been so long desecrated, that it is probably not advisable to make any change. The desecration was not begun by the English, for the building was given by Ranjit Singh to his French officers as a residence; but the English improved upon their original, for they moved the sarcophagus from under the dome and dug up poor Anarkali's bones *à la* Kitchener. The building was large enough for a human residence; but, when it came to be dedicated to a God who dwelleth not in temples made with hands, his servants felt bound to disturb Anarkali's dearly-bought resting place and to thrust her bones under a turret.

H. BEVERIDGE.

ART. V.—THE COLLAPSE OF SPAIN.

LORD SALISBURY'S apt, but humiliating, description of Spain as a "dying kingdom" savours of the journalist, rather than of the diplomat; nevertheless, since it has been uttered, there is no reason why the most sincere well-wisher of the Spanish nation should shrink from taking note of the utterance. There need be nothing unfriendly in asking ourselves what amount of justification it may have in actual facts, and whether any causes of decay can be found in past history.

Now, no one can deny that, little more than three hundred years ago, the Spanish Empire was on a par with the greatest of world-dominions, alike in power and extent. When Philip II succeeded his father, in 1556, he ruled Spain, gradually extending his power over the whole Peninsula, from the Pyrenees to Gibraltar, and from Lisbon to Alicante. His sway was acknowledged in Sicily and the greater part of Italy; Holland and Belgium were his, if he could hold them, as also was Franche Comté; the whole of North America, except small French and English colonies; the whole of South America after 1580; the Philippine islands and many places in Africa; such an Empire, as had not been traversed by the Roman eagle in his widest flight. By the end of the next century the Spanish navies had been ruined by the English and the Dutch; Portugal and her colonies had been lost; Naples and Holland had revolted; Franche Comté had gravitated to France. In the beginning of the 18th Century Aragon and Catalonia asserted the right to side with Austria in the war of Succession; Gibraltar was reft from the kingdom; and by the Treaty of Utrecht Spain had to surrender all claim to Italy and Flanders. Less than fifty years later the temporary capture of Havana and Manila showed beyond all doubt the impotence of Spain against Great Britain; in 1807 began the terrible struggle against Napoleon in which our country nobly lavished blood and treasure on the Spanish side, without winning any gratitude from the Government or the people. During the reign of the restored Ferdinand—1814-33—all the American colonies and dependencies were lost, save Cuba and Porto Rico, which continued to be held and misgoverned. And now these, too, are gone, and the Philippines are as good as gone, with them; and nothing is left of the mighty Empire of the sixteenth century except a few useless islets and a set of home provinces wasted and disaffected.

History shows that the irremediable decay of great States has usually been due in the outset to the faults and follies of

a single statesman. What occurred in Egypt, Nineveh, and Babylon was repeated in less conspicuous parts of the old world; and the fact forms a noticeable illustration of the dangers of hereditary monarchy, where a single ruler can, by weakness or negligence, undo the labours of his energetic forefathers.

One of the most obvious parallels to the decline of Spain is to be seen in the case of the Roman Empire, which Gibbon shows to have begun about the beginning of the third century of the Christian era, when, to casual observers, it must have seemed as vast in power as in extent. From the Rhine to the Euphrates the known world was enjoying peace and prosperity under the strong rule of a great soldier; and any little trouble in the Northern part of our remote Island must have appeared but as a passing cloud upon an otherwise clear sky. The character of the Emperor Severus, and some of his conditions, were not unlike those presented by the later Emperor Charles V, in Spanish history. Each was by birth a stranger to the central country of his mighty dominions, Charles being a Fleming and Severus an African. Each was wise, stern, and tenacious; each at last wearied of power and confessed the vanity of human wishes in their most complete gratification: the abdication of the later Sovereign being anticipated by the complaints of his prototype. "*Omnia fui, et nihil expedit*" (*I have been everything, and found all vain*) was one of his bitter cries. "My empire will come to nothing if my successors are evil," was another. His successors were his sons, the elder of whom was the infamous Bassianus, known to posterity by the nickname "Caracalla," from a Gaulish mantle that he was wont to affect. And, as his father had presented a forecast of Charles V, so did some part of this monster's career resemble that of Charles's son, Philip II, of Spain. Like in being brought up under the eye of a wise and warlike father, Philip and Caracalla were both destitute of manly vigour. Each killed a brother, the modern tyrant adding the murder of a son. There were, indeed, differences of character between the murderous maniac of the Palatine and the dull plodder of the Escorial; but each watched the cradle of nascent Ruin and each baptised the infant in the blood of his unhappy subjects.

Whether the decadence of Spain is common to all the Latin races on the shores of the Mediterranean is as great a question as whether that decadence is ultimate and beyond control. One thing at least is sure; namely, that the long duration of Latin civilisation has never indicated the possession of stability. The rough adolescence of the old Roman Republic gave little tranquillity and little happiness to the community.

THE COLLAPSE OF SPAIN.

Of the Augustan age we can only see anything through the medium of poetry—and courtly poetry. Tacitus and Juvenal are at hand to show the ways of the time that succeeded Augustus. Under the Antonines a certain amount of welfare, doubtless, existed ; but the whole period from Nerva to Commodus was less than three generations. What followed we know ; the Empire was a scene of civil war, conspiracy, military insubordination ; and every species of villainy and vice flourished, until all was swept away by successive waves of the Barbarian deluge. Since the reconstruction of European society the state of Italy, France, and Spain has been little better ; the student will vainly search the records of those countries for a century of welfare or common order.

In using the convenient phrase "Latin races," one does not mean to imply that the people of the North-West Mediterranean are of the blood of Latium. Even in Italy, the Teutonic element was so largely infused by invasions of Goths and Lombards as to be, in all probability, predominant. In France all that is noble in the national character is due to the Belgian race known as "Salian Franks," with the possible exception of the Celts of Brittany, immigrants from Cornwall or Wales. Reverting to the case of Spain, we know that Peninsula to be the home of many distinct races ; the Iberians of the Basque provinces, the Vandals of Andalusia, the Visigoths of Leon and Castile, and the Gallo-Romans of Aragon and Northern Catalonia. The point to be remarked is that all these races became fused into the three nations of France, Italy, and Spain—as we know them to-day—by the adoption of Roman law, language, and creed.

That is what constitutes the common character and destiny of the "Latin races ;" and it is that to which consideration is due in endeavouring to apprehend the case of Spain. That the higher classes of Spaniards are dignified, courteous, and romantic, and the general population patient, temperate, and brave, none who know anything of the past and present of the Peninsula will deny. But it is equally true that, since the middle of the sixteenth century, all these qualities have been, so to speak, wasted in perennial failure. Philip, in his hour of glory, was unable to cope with the Dutch, or to conquer the English, two petty powers who did not even combine to oppose him ; and who—had they combined—had not the tenth-part of his material resources. And this debility—which has gone on ever since—is entirely due to the character and conduct of the plodding bigot, Philip the Second, son of the Flemish Emperor Charles.

Spain, up to his time, had been the nurse of heroes. After the fall of Rome she had become the object of African cupidity.

For seven centuries her disunited provinces were filled with slaughter by Arabs and Moors, fiercely fought by the Christians with varying fortune. At length the Crescent definitely waned; the Moslems were slowly pushed into the South West ; in the same year Granada was captured, and Columbus landed in America. The union of the various provinces ensued, and the sixteenth century witnessed the vast, though unending, greatness of the Peninsular dominion, with a yearly revenue of 280 millions. The line of Charles V came to an end in his miserable namesake who died in 1700 ; but before that the famous Spanish Infantry had been beaten by the French and Jamaica taken by the English, and the revenue had sunk 700 per cent.

Spanish prestige was now dissolved, and the country lay helpless, a prey to Austrian and French ambitions. Early in the nineteenth century all the Colonies broke into successful revolt, with the exception of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines : and these have been in more or less ungovernable rebellion for many years. To such a pass have bigotry, pride, and sloth brought one of the finest countries in the world.

To all human judgment Spain has sunk to rise no more.

ART. VI.—HISTORY OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

THE Church Missionary Society, which has recently been celebrating its Centenary, claims to be the most successful as well as the most extensive of all the British Missions labouring in foreign parts. It was founded on the 12th April 1799—sixteen clergymen and nine laymen in England having constituted themselves into the Church Mission Society ; and its membership was extended to everyone within the Anglican Communion. At first the Society encountered great difficulties ; aid was not forthcoming ; and indifference and apathy were met with in every direction. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury accorded the society very luke-warm support ; and after the first year of its existence he simply declared that he would look on its proceedings “ with candour.” Moreover, no English candidates were forthcoming as missionaries to foreign regions. The Committee of the Society, however, persevered amidst these adverse circumstances ; and after a while two German missionaries offered themselves for foreign service. Indeed, after the first ten years of its existence, the Society succeeded in despatching only five missionaries to the West Coast of Africa, and all of these were Germans. Two Englishmen about this time went out to New Zealand as missionaries under the Society’s protection ; but they were settlers in the Colony, and supported themselves, and simply worked as lay-helpers in the Mission cause. The first Englishman who was regularly trained as a missionary was Thomas Norton, who came to India with the first batch of Evangelisers in 1816. In 1813 the East India Company was prevailed upon to remove the restrictions on missionaries entering India ; and in 1816, as just stated, a batch of four missionaries was sent to Madras, and one of these was a German, named Rhenius, who has left a reputation as a missionary in South India.

In 1816 the Church Missionary Society extended its operations to the Native State of Travancore in the extreme South of India ; and in 1820 two of its missionaries were sent to the adjoining British Indian District of Tinnevely. The work of the Society in Travancore and Tinnevely has been attended with such conspicuous success that special notice of its labours here will not be amiss. In the Native State of Travancore the then British Resident, Colonel Munro, invited the Society’s Missionaries to establish themselves ; and they thus began their work under his powerful protection.

At first the Society worked in conjunction with the Syrian

Christian Church, which had existed on the West Coast of India from the earliest periods of the Christian Era. In 1837 (*viz.*, on the accession of her Majesty the Queen) the Church Missionary Society decided on acting independently ; nevertheless, friendly relations have been maintained with its ancient ally ; and, when possible, the Society still co-operates with it. The Head-quarters of the Church Missionary Society in Travancore are situated at Cotta-yam, which is a fairly large town ; and a College is now maintained there by the Mission and is regarded as one of the prominent Educational Institutions of South India. The Mission work in Travancore progressed to such an extent that in 1879 it was found necessary to consecrate a special Missionary Bishop for Travancore and the neighbouring Principality of Cochin ; and the Rev. J. M. Speechly was the first Prelate chosen for the newly-created Missionary Diocese, which had hitherto been under the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Madras. In 1885 two Archdeacons were appointed for the new Diocese. One of these was a European, named the Rev. J. Caley ; while the other was a Native Pastor, the Rev. K. Koshi. At present the Church Missionary Society has numerous stations throughout Travancore and Cochin, and maintains many schools and dispensaries. The local progress of the Society may be gauged by a comparison of the following statistics :—

At the time of the accession of Her Majesty this portion of the Mission supported 5 European Missionaries, 63 Native Agents, 54 Schools and 1,800 scholars ; while there were no Native Clergymen and hardly any converts. Fifty years later there were 8 European Missionaries, 15 Native Clergymen, 148 Agents and nearly 20,000 converts ; while there were 131 schools with about 4,000 scholars. At present there are twelve European Clergymen (in addition to the Missionary Bishop), 27 Native Pastors, 466 lay Agents, and 36,000 converts ; while considerably over 9,000 pupils attend the Mission Schools.

In Tinnevely the progress of the Church Missionary Society has been still more marked. As already stated, two Missionaries were despatched to this region in 1820 ; in 1826 a large Mission Church was erected at the Military station of Palamcottah, and operations were undertaken with much zeal. Very little progress, however, was made during the commencing years ; and about a decade after the accession of Her Majesty, when the Zillah Judge of Tinnevely was called upon to furnish a return of Christians employed in his Court, he could find only one Christian, who occupied the exalted office of Court sweeper. Almost identical conditions obtained

among the Collector's Subordinates; and in fact in every Department of the District. By the time, however, of the Queen's Jubilee of 1887, matters were very different; there were upwards of 56,000 Native Christians in Tinnevely; there were over 15,000 pupils (of whom 3,200 were girls) attending the local Mission Schools; and at present the number of Native Christians has increased, and there are 51 Native Clergymen, the European missionaries being employed as Superintendents and as Heads of the Educational Institutions. In 1877 a Missionary Bishop was appointed for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Tinnevely; and recently the Church Mission Society has subscribed to a common Bishopric for both these bodies. The Missionary Diocese, according to the latest arrangements, has been placed directly under the Metropolitan of India.

In the meanwhile the Church Missionary Society had extended its activity to other parts of the world; by 1819 no fewer than 55 Missionaries had been despatched to the West Coast of Africa, to New Zealand, Constantinople, Calcutta and Madras; and by this time the annual income of the Society had attained the respectable figure of £25,000. By 1823 the Bombay Presidency had been included in the Society's operations, and most of the large towns in Bengal and the North-West Provinces were occupied; and during the decade 1813-23 ninety missionaries had been sent abroad. Matters progressed favourably now; the Anglican Church, which at first did not exhibit much enthusiasm for the welfare of the Society, became actively interested in its doings; and in 1841 two Archbishops and several Bishops of the established Church joined the Church Missionary Society.

In the same year the Telugu Mission was started in India, and has proved a great success among the Natives of the northern Circars in the Madras Presidency. Bishop Corrie, of Madras, was the first to advocate the starting of a Mission among the Telugu population of his diocese; but he died in 1836, and the project was temporarily abandoned. The matter, however, was soon taken up by others, and subscriptions to the extent of £2,000 were raised for the purpose of opening a Missionary School at Masulipatam. In 1841 the Reverend F. Noble, of Cambridge University, and Reverend H. W. Fry, of Oxford, came out to India in connection with this special Telugu Mission. Mr. Noble took up the educational work connected with the Mission, and founded the Noble College, which is now a well-known Educational Institution in South India. Mr. Fry, on the other hand, devoted himself to purely missionary labour, and, after doing excellent work, died in 1848. Others, however,

took up his task and good results have been achieved, and in 1860 a Mission to the Kois, a semi-civilised tribe of Gonds, was set on foot. When the Telugu Mission was first started, it had only three Schools with 126 scholars, but, by the time of the Queen's Jubilee of 1887, it was maintaining 133 Educational institutions of various sorts, with over 3,000 scholars. There were then 8,000 converts, and there were 6 Native Clergymen with 179 Native Agents. There are now considerably over 14,000 converts, while 14 European and 18 Native Clergymen are labouring in these regions.

About the time of the institution of this Telugu Mission, two Missionary Agents were sent to accompany an exploring expedition to the Niger. No results were obtained, but the Niger region was thus eventually opened up for Mission labour. One of the two Missionary Agents just alluded to was a young Negro, named Samuel Crowther. He had been rescued as a boy from slavery and had been educated by the Church Missionary Society at Sierra Leone, and was a Catechist at the time. Owing to his intelligent services during the Niger Expedition, he was sent to England, and, after undergoing the requisite training, was ordained in 1843 by the Bishop of London. He subsequently became the first Bishop of the Niger, and is well remembered for his excellent work. One day he met his mother by accident in the streets of Abeokuta having about thirty years previously been forcibly taken from her by slave-raiders. The old woman became one of the first converts to Christianity and was duly baptised. The whole of this region has now been subjected to Missionary influence—this particular branch of the Mission being known as the Yoruba Mission.

In 1844 Missionary labour was extended to the East Coast of Africa, and a station was established at Mombassa. In the same year several Missionaries went to China, and one of these, about five years subsequently, was made the first Bishop of Victoria.

In 1849 the Church Missionary Society celebrated its Jubilee, after a successful career of half a century. By this time there were a hundred thousand Christian converts under its auspices in Asia, Africa, America and Australasia; while it maintained 120 Mission Stations and 350 Missionaries in foreign parts.

After this great progress was made and during the next ten years Missions were established in the Punjab, in the Central Provinces, in Oudh and in the country of the Santals. The Society, moreover, extended its operations to China, Palestine, Constantinople, the island of Mauritius, certain parts of the Northern Pacific and the Red Indian regions of America. As regards India, the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny

gave rise to a great deal of discussion about the attitude of Government towards missionaries in general; but Lord Lawrence declared that "Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen. It is when un-Christian things are done in the name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in an un-Christian way, that mischief and danger are occasioned." Eventually most people came over to this view, and the Society's Mission work was continued. During the sixties, however, interest in Foreign Mission labour abated considerably in England, and no very great progress was made; nevertheless, in 1868 a Mission to Japan was started, and at present it is in a very prosperous condition. By 1872 the period of depression had been tided over; in the following year the income of the Church Missionary Society was largely increased; and a fresh impetus was thus given to missionary activity abroad. In 1875 Persia was brought within the sphere of the Society's activity, and in this connection it may be mentioned that the Church Missionary Society is almost the only English Society which has undertaken work among Muhammedans. In the same year a Mission to Uganda was organised; and the circumstances under which it was started are extremely interesting. The *Daily Telegraph*, of the 15th November 1875, published a letter from Mr. Stanley, which had been written from the Capital of Uganda; and in this letter there was a direct challenge to Missionary Societies to establish themselves in this region. Two days later the Church Missionary Society received an anonymous donation of £5,000 to accept the challenge. A special Mission was consequently sent to Uganda and has been doing excellent work.

In 1879 the Bhil Mission in India was started; and by 1881 Divinity Schools had been established at Allahabad, Madras and Poona, in addition to the School founded at Lahore by Bishop French. In 1886 the Medical Mission at Quetta was instituted; while extensions of Missionary activity took place in China and Japan. Moreover, a Mission Station was established at Bagdad, and missionaries were despatched to Egypt, some of whom subsequently went to the Soudan. For work in the Soudan the Church Missionary Society has a Special Fund, which has been raised in memory of General Gordon. About this time also Missionary Bishops were appointed in East Africa and Japan.

Ever since, it is needless to add, the Church Missionary Society has made great progress; at present there are over 240,000 Christians in various parts of the world who belong to the Society, and of these about 65,000 are Communicants. Nearly 2,300 Schools and Colleges are maintained,

with some 84,000 scholars, while there are 496 Mission Stations with 802 European Missionaries (including 393 Clergy), and 6,097 Native Christian Agents (including 340 Clergy). In India there are 131,000 Native Christians under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. Over 170 European Clergy are maintained, while there are a little over 150 Native Pastors. There are also about 60 European and 3,000 Native lay-helpers. The Society, in addition, employs 14 Missionary Doctors, and it is computed that over 300,000 people are annually treated in the Society's Dispensaries and Hospitals. The Church Missionary Society also maintains some 300 Colleges and Schools, which are attended by 45,000 scholars.

In fine, it is beyond dispute that the Church Missionary Society has been extremely successful; and its missionaries are now recognised both as preachers of the Christian Gospel and as Educators of the various people among whom they labour; but as this paper is simply intended as a historical sketch of the progress of the Society, no opinion is expressed as to the religious merits of its work.

A KEES.

ART. VII.—A SATI HOLOCAUST.

THE greatest Séthupathi of the Ramnad country, or the Maravar country as it was more usually called, was Ragunatha Dévan, known as the Kilavan (Tamil for "old man") in history. He was so-called because he ascended the throne, force of character being the weapon he employed in making his way there, at the late age of fifty-five. He died within the first lustrum of the eighteenth century, after a reign of a quarter of a century. The ordinary Hindu belief is that immediately preceding the death of a great ruler a mighty cataclysm gives warning of what is about to occur. And so it happened in 1709. An intense drought prevailed during the greater part of that year, and at the end of it there was a tremendous cyclone. A strong gale from the north-east began in the early morning, extraordinary rain-fall lasting till noon; then the wind and rain suddenly ceased, and a calm continued till sunset. Shortly afterwards the wind rose again, blowing from the south-west, and lasted throughout the night. The result was a fearful inundation. Vast lakes were formed by the bursting tanks discharging their contents over the low-lying lands. Increased in volume every moment by the rain and by the freshets coming down the river-beds, the lakes overflowed the sinking lands of the Maravar country. In the darkness of night, and almost before the unfortunate inhabitants could realize what had occurred, there came down upon them a mighty wave, carrying in its surging course the wreck of houses and temples, struggling sheep and cattle, the corpses of men, women and children, and half-ripened crops of every description. All that was most useful and valuable in the country was swept away. Thousands of souls were lost in the vain attempt to flee. Only the very bold and vigorous managed somehow to escape. Next morning the sun shone on a most pitiable spectacle. The whole country was submerged, except a few high tracts which appeared like islands amid the surrounding waste of waters. The rice-crop had disappeared; and many cultivated fields were covered with sand and salt-earth. Most of the tanks and wells were fouled and poisoned, and a disastrous famine followed. Then died the veteran, the great Kilavan. The people had looked to him to alleviate their sufferings, and his death seemed to aggravate their miseries. Numbers emigrated, disheartened.

To propitiate the *manes* of the great ruler and in the hope of entering paradise with him, his forty-seven wives sought *Sati*. Some little distance from the town of Ramnad, a large deep

ditch was dug, and filled in with a great quantity of sandal-wood. At the appointed time the body of the deceased prince clothed in rich garments was placed on the pile, which was set fire to in many places whilst the Brahmans performed the usual ceremony. When the flames from the lower part of the pile leapt high, the procession of victims came forth towards the altar on which they were to be immolated. Jewels decked them from head to foot and garlands of flowers crowned their devoted heads. Round and round the pit they moved in procession. Then at a signal from the principal widow they stopped. Holding high the sword which her departed lord had been wont to use, she addressed his successor to the effect that the weapon he saw was that whereby his King triumphed over his enemies, and admonished him to see that he used it for that purpose alone, and not to stain it with the blood of his subjects. "Govern them," she added, "as he did, like a father, and like him you will live many a happy day. There is nothing now left for me but to follow him where he is gone." Thus concluding, she placed the sword in the hands of the new King, and, crying aloud, flung herself boldly on the funeral-pyre invoking the names of her gods.

The second widow was a Kullar by caste and the sister of the Tondiman Rajah of Pudukottai, who had been appointed by the Kilavan shortly after he commenced his reign. He was present; and into his hands his sister had to deliver the jewels with which she was adorned. As he took possession of them he wept bitterly and embraced her tenderly. But she was quite unmoved. Gazing for a brief space now at the pile and now at the attendants, and crying out at intervals: O! Siva, Siva, she sprang on the burning mass as boldly as did the first.

The remaining forty-five widows now followed one after another, some going to meet their fate with firmness, while others did so with an abstracted and bewildered air. It is said that one of the latter so completely lost her nerve, that she ran and threw herself on the neck of a Christian soldier who happened to be by, and implored him to save her. The man, alarmed at the public attention attracted to him, shook her off so violently that she lost her balance and fell headlong into the pit. With whatever exhibition of courage these women threw themselves on to the pile, yet no sooner did they feel the heat from below than they frantically strove to escape from their doom. Rushing hither and thither, struggling and fighting, tumbling over one another, they struggled in vain to reach the edge of the pit, whilst the air resounded with piercing screams and groans. To smother their cries and to hasten the consuming of the mass, heavy faggots were

thrown on the heads of the victims, and their voices grew feebler and feebler till they were finally lost in the crackling and roaring of the flames. The bodies consumed, the Brahmans approached the reeking pile, and, after the performance of certain ceremonies, collected the charred bones and ashes, and, securing them in rich and rare clothes, conveyed them to Rameshwaram and there consigned them to the sea. The funeral pit was now filled up, and a temple erected on the site in honour of the King and his faithful wives.

Father Martin, of the Madura Jesuit Mission, writing about this time, says that, when the Kilavan's wives immolated themselves, *Sati* was practised only by the wives of Princes, and no women of ordinary rank, not even Brahmans, were required to sacrifice themselves when their husbands died. But women of the Rajah caste, pretending to believe that they were descended from the ancient sovereigns of India, and in consequence bound to follow the customs of their ancestors, indulged a morbid vanity by performing the act of self-cremation. Very rarely did Brahman widows think proper to go through the ceremony, and the practice was altogether unknown amongst other castes. Father Martin further gives it as his opinion that no woman of princely rank could avoid *Sati* without disgrace and loss of honour: and that the hesitation of some was overcome by the constant entreaties and remonstrances of their relatives, their courage at the supreme moment being fortified by intoxicants. These remarks, made in 1713, are confirmed by those of Abbé Dubois made a century later after a long residence in Mysore. It appears, however, that princesses in Madura were not absolutely bound to consent to *Sati*, and were not always despised and held degraded on account of their refusal; for we read that the great Queen-Regent, Mangammal, declined the honour and yet reigned long and prosperously—the regency was in fact a reign—and, notwithstanding her amours, left behind her a more honoured name than most of her predecessors did.

E. H. B.

ART. VIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF WESTERN NEPAUL:

TANSEIN is situated a little to the eastward of Palpa, the old capital of Western Nepaul. The latter spot contains a well-known shrine of Bhairava which is held in veneration by the people, but it is now an insignificant place, containing only a few dwelling-houses. Though Tansein has recently grown into more importance, it was unknown to our old atlas-makers. The latitude of Palpa is $28^{\circ} 8'$ North and the longitude $83^{\circ} 30'$ East. Srinagar, which is 1,000 feet above Tansein, is an uninhabited place, whence the snow-capped tops of the Himalayas are visible. Some eight miles from this place, is the small hamlet of Kheva, whence the Gunduk may be seen flowing, in a narrow glen, down the hill. Here lives Colonel Meen Bahadur, the late representative of the Nepaul Government in British India. He has a solitary hermitage on this spot, whence he commands a view over the whole of the beautiful scenery below. This gentleman belongs to the family of Rana which has the upper hand in the State. According to their traditions their ancestors, in the beginning of British rule in India, migrated from Odeypore and settled here. In course of time, by the sheer force of their skill, fortitude and genius, they seized the post of Prime Minister, and they still retain a monopoly of this, with the other chief posts. Colonel Meen Bahadur himself is a staunch follower of Swami Bhaskaranand of Benares and a learned Sanscrit scholar. The climate of this place is far better than that of any town in India, the temperature being as low in summer as that of the plains in the beginning of winter. The population consists of 10,000 souls resident at Tansein, which is the present military station of Western Nepaul.

The majority of the people follow a peculiar kind of Hinduism in a mechanical way, but certain low castes follow Budhism, and are very primitive in their manners, customs and dress. The Brahmans and the Ranas alone belong to the Aryan family, and they exhibit all the intelligence, genius and civilization of that great race. It is difficult to ascertain when the country was Hinduised ; but even a superficial observer can at once distinguish the different classes by their features. The orthodox religion of the Benares school is observed by the people of higher caste only. The Brahmans alone can be said to possess the pure religion of their ancestors, and, from the donations they receive from the Ranas, have become immensely wealthy, and consequently possess the greater part of the land. The Ranas themselves are becoming anglicised and

are gradually adopting European manners and customs. They are half-educated men, with only a smattering of English and Sanscrit ; but when they come into contact with an educated inhabitant of India, they affect to know everything and thus betray their ignorance and expose themselves to ridicule. At the same time they are very much afraid of the English, and, therefore, hate them. In spite of apparent friendship, if England once loses her strong hold of India, they will leave no stone unturned to crush her.

What most strikes a foreigner here is the recognition of the principle of toleration by the State. Proselytism is not allowed, and is punishable ; but adherents of all sects are allowed to follow their different religions freely, and if they disturb their fellow-citizens in following their manner of worship, or persuade them to change their belief, they are punished by the State. Even a man who changes his religion is punished. Buddhism is professed by the Newars, who correspond to the Bania class of India, but are here regarded as Sudras. They have no objection to animal diet, and will freely partake of buffalo's flesh. Unlike the Hindus of the North-West Provinces, who would prefer death to flesh-eating, a Hindu of Nepaul is very glad if he gets flesh once a week. Animals are freely sacrificed at the altars of the gods and goddesses. There are a few Brahmans who have left off taking flesh in obedience to a vow, like certain foolish Hindu women in India, who leave off taking a particular vegetable at some holy shrine in obedience to a vow for their life. Religious fanaticism, which is the characteristic of the Indian people elsewhere, does not exist here. Adherents of different religions live peacefully and safely together without any feeling of ill-will. The number of Mahomedans is small and they are very scattered. They do not form an important factor in the population, but are looked down upon as a degraded caste and treated with small consideration. It is a matter of great wonder to find "the faithful" thus yield to the yoke of "the infidel" and refrain from the observance of religious ceremonies and customs for which their stronger and more sensitive brethren in India are ready to become martyrs !

Custom here, as in all countries, plays an important part, and is observed tenaciously by the different castes and tribes. Different dialects are spoken by different tribes, who are mutually unintelligible ; but there is a *lingua franca* which is intelligible to all, and is spoken by the higher castes only in their households ; it is called *parbati* or *pahari*. The dress of the people is peculiar, consisting of a coat with strings at the four corners and tied in front, surmounted by a cap which is round, but shorter in front than behind. All Nepalis, whether boys or children, males or females, wear a girdle round

the waist, and say that without it they could not move. The higher castes and the wealthy people wear trousers, but the poorer classes go half-naked, contenting themselves with a piece of cloth with a string worn round the waist for the sake of modesty.

In order to protect themselves from cold in the hills they wear a dirty coat round the upper part of the body, tied by strings and a girdle. The dress of the females is much simpler and more becoming. They wear the *dhoti* round the waist and a shift round the upper part of the body, keeping the head bare and the face unveiled. They like to adorn their hair with flowers, and thus present a very attractive appearance to a native of the North-Western Provinces, where respectable females are secluded from the public gaze. Physical beauty, however, in the women is rare. The wearing of ornaments, which is the cause of so much crime in India, is comparatively rare here. Gold earrings and ornaments are, indeed, worn, but among the upper classes the females are generally satisfied with the flower-ornaments which they make with their own hands. The males do not wear the *dhoti* and care little for ornaments. The sepoys and officers, however, wear a *chand* and a *tara* made of silver or gold, according to their respective grades. The *chand* is a disc, with an image of some goddess on it, and is worn on the front of the head-dress, and the *tara* is a circular string tied round the head-dress. This is the military uniform and is granted by the State free to all its servants. The police wear only a *chand* stuck in their *himama*, a head-dress peculiar to munshis and old-fashioned clerks in India.

The purdah system in its worst form is unknown, the women of the higher castes appearing in public when occasion requires without a veil. Notwithstanding the liberty they thus enjoy, adultery is very little known. Among the Rana class, an adulteress and her paramour are both beheaded. A Brahman can kill any person without undergoing the extreme penalty of the law. A Brahman is here all in all; but the poor fellow is not extensively read in Sanscrit. He is granted free land by the State and receives donations from the wealthy officers. He attends and waits on his master like a sycophant of the worst kind. He will not cringe and bow, but will raise his hands to offer his benedictions. He is subservient and servile, but if once an encroachment be made on his rights with a view of stopping some malpractice which he regards as sanctioned by his *shasters*, he will raise the standard of revolt. As his person is holy and the abode of the gods, he cannot be beheaded or otherwise punished by the State.

The common weapon of all castes is the national *khukri*, which serves alike for killing an animal or an enemy;

and for cutting the boughs of trees for fuel. The incomes of the people are scanty and their wants are few ; but they are contented and satisfied. They are parsimonious to an extreme degree ; willingly starving themselves, or living on gruel, in order to lay by money. Both high and low are greedy of gain, and will accumulate wealth even at the risk of life.

They are mean, but faithful to their masters. They dislike foreigners ; and look upon the people of India with contempt, calling them *madhesi* in disgust. Sanitation is unknown here. The sweeper class is a limited one, and the Ranas alone pay for sweeping the latrines once a month to a sweeper, called here *pondé*. The accumulations of filth which thus arise and are left to decompose in course of time, produce various zymotic diseases, and cholera annually causes great havoc amongst the people.

The staple food of the people is rice. Wheat, of which the people of the United Provinces are so fond, does not grow here. Animal diet is freely used by all, without religious scruple. The people of the lower castes are very fond of parched rice, like the corresponding classes in the North-Western Provinces who are partial to parched gram. Bhatmās is a peculiar grain of the hills which, when parched, tastes not unlike the parched gram of India. Very few vegetables are grown and those of a very poor kind. No fruit worthy of the name is to be had ; though guavas, mangoes and oranges of an inferior description are grown. The people cannot prepare the delicious sweetmeats of Agra or Delhi. If they did not take animal food, their constitution would not withstand the cold climate of the hills. They boil the flesh, and, mixing it with salt and other ordinary spices, partake of it freely. To crown all, they allow flesh to lie putrid for weeks and continue eating it in this state. Flesh is not sold in overt market as in India ; so the people, in order to keep soul and body together, preserve it in a rotten state. Fish is similarly kept for months and greedily eaten by the people. The Ranas have adopted the European manner of eating, and freely use fork and knife. The Brahmans avoid eggs and pork ; the higher castes do not take the flesh of cocks or the eggs of hens. But the Ranas and others willingly partake of pork. Beef is not eaten by any, except the *chamdr*, who will make a feast of a dead cow, though the killing of a cow is a heinous sin and a felony punishable with death. The Newars gladly partake of buffalo's flesh.

WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND COINS.

27 Goruckpuri paisas	...	...	make 1 seer.
8 seers ...	...	...	„ 1 dharni.
16 dharnis	...	...	„ 1 man.

One Goruckpuri paisa is equivalent to a tola or a Company's rupee in weight.

MEASURE OF CAPACITY.

10 muthis (handfuls)...	...	...	make 1 mána.
8 mánas...	...	...	„ 1 páthi.
20 páthis ...	...	...	„ 1 muri.

GOLD WEIGHTS.

10 láls or rattis	...	...	make 1 masha.
10 mashas	...	...	„ 1 tola.

COIN.

40 Goruckpuri paisas	...	...	make 1 mohur.
2 mohurs	...	...	„ 1 rupee.

2 Company's rupees are equivalent to 5 Mohurs of Nepaul.

There are 60 ghatís in one day and night. The day is reckoned from the rising of the sun. At 10 *ghatis* of the night, a gun is fired. The year is luni-solar like that prevalent in India ; but, for all civil purposes, the month is counted from the *saukranthí*.

No distinction is observed between civil and criminal cases ; all being tried alike by a district officer, called here *subá*. The appeal from him lies to a higher officer ; and a second appeal is allowed. In appeals, the officer giving judgment is made a respondent. The other party, who is a respondent in English courts, is not at all responsible ; but the judge alone has to vindicate himself before the higher officer. The Legislative Council consists of the Prime Minister as the head, and other legal members at Katmandu, which is the metropolis of Nepaul. To this august body appeals from the decisions of the subordinate officers also lie. By the criminal law, which was framed by Maharaja Jung Bahadur, who was the first man in Nepaul to repudiate the old and unsuitable law of the *smritis* and adapt the Hindu law to the wants of the age by studying the laws of European countries, where he had gone with this express object, no difference is made between culpable homicide and murder. Every act which results in the death of a person, whether such act be done intentionally or not, is punishable with death ; provided the death results within a period of 21 days. Cow-slaughter is a capital crime, and, therefore, punishable with death. The Brahmans, however, enjoy immunity from the punishment of death, the extremest punishment that can be inflicted on them being that of life-imprisonment, or banishment for life. Expulsion from caste and enforced slavery for crimes committed against society are some of the punishments provided by the Penal Code of Nepaul. *Dithás* (judges), without possessing any legal knowledge, but having only their own common sense to guide them, decide the cases that come before

them. Under such a system, where there is no case-law or legal literature, miscarriages of justice, as may be imagined, are frequent. To crown all, there is no class of pleaders or mukhtars to assist the untrained body of judges. In civil cases plaints are not stamped, but are presented on plain paper with the sum of one rupee, irrespective of the amount of the subject-matter of the suit.

The postal system is well managed as far as the condition of the country allows. On every letter not exceeding one tola in weight a stamp of one anna is affixed. As there are no railway communications, on account of the mountainous character of the country, delay necessarily ensues.

There are military and police establishments like those existing in India. The soldiers are trained after the European fashion, but they are very poorly paid, the subsistence allowance granted to a common *sepahi* not exceeding Rs. 4, which, considering the market rate of food-grains prevalent here, is not sufficient even for a single man. Thus extortion and persecution of the people by the soldiers are inevitable. Not only do they live in a chronic state of starvation, but, they are unlawfully and compulsorily employed by the officers in their menial work and are entirely without training. Officials are not paid monthly, but annually. There are two kinds of troops, one the new and the other the old, known here as *nai paltan* and *purani paltan*. The former are paid in cash from the Treasury, and the latter receive a kind of paper in the form of a cheque called *tirja*, payable at sight by the landlord named thereon to the bearer thereof in kind or in money. The higher officers, such as Colonels, Generals and Captains, are granted villages, from the revenue of which they realise their pay. Under such circumstances, these officers, being vested with full authority, try their best to get more than the villages can yield. They grant pattas to whoever promises to pay them most, and are thus landlords with licenses for extortion and tyranny. Under such circumstances, if the ryots live in penury and semi-starvation, it is not a matter of wonder. The organisation of the police is in no way better than that of the military establishment. Yet, notwithstanding all these shortcomings, the number of crimes perpetrated is small. The country enjoys tranquillity and peace, but for these blessings it has to be thankful rather to its stronger neighbours and favourable situation than to its own strength.

Though the Government of the country is nominally monarchical, the sovereign has no power and is a mere tool in the hands of the Ranas, who constitute an oligarchy, monopolising all the high posts and reserving the loaves and fishes for themselves and their families. There is no public opinion ; poli-

tical agitation is unknown, and the people calmly submit to the ruling power. They are satisfied with their position and have no idea of criticising the actions of their rulers. Some of the Rana officials publicly carry on trade to the utter disregard of the interest of the people. There is no printing press in the whole State and consequently there is no newspaper.

In a word, the best governed part of Nepaul compares unfavourably with the worst governed part of British India. The present nominal King is Prithwi Birbikramsáh. But, as I have already said, he possesses no power and is a mere tool in the hands of his Minister. The first Prime Minister of the Rana family was Jung Bahadur, who, as is well known obtained the Ministership by the slaughter of many innocent persons, and has made it hereditary in the Rana family. According to the order fixed by him, the brothers first get the post one after another, and then their descendants in the same order. After Jung Bahadur, Ranadip became Prime Minister, but, after a reign of a few years, he fell a prey to the designs of his ambitious nephews. He was, indeed, an imbecile and fickle Minister; and it was his weakness that led to the memorable Civil War of 1885, in which many innocent lives were lost. Great credit is due to the then Resident, who, by his fortitude and presence of mind, saved the lives of the refugees who had thrown themselves on the protection of the English, and many of whom are still living in diverse parts of India, under the benign Government of Her Majesty, the Queen. After the Civil War, Bir Shumsher Jung was chosen Minister. An attempt was made by his younger brother to assassinate him; but it failed, and the assassin was exiled to a distant part of Nepaul where he might have no opportunity of fomenting a fresh rebellion. The King and his Minister are called *pán* (*páñch*) and *tin sarkár*, from the insignia they respectively bear.

Marriage among the Brahmans and the Ranas is celebrated in the Brahm form; but amongst the Newárs and the Muggers, it depends upon the choice of the bride and bridegroom, and, therefore, resembles very much the system of courtship known to Sanscrit writers under the name of Gándharva marriage. A man may abduct a girl and keep her for four days. This forms a valid marriage. If the parents object to the bridegroom and succeed in tracing out the girl within the period of four days, the abduction does not constitute a valid marriage and is therefore voidable. Divorce is unknown among the higher castes, but among the lower classes a woman may live with any one she pleases, and her second husband has to pay compensation to the amount of sixty rupees to the quondam husband. Consequently there can be no such offence as adultery or rape in the case of these classes, nor is there any

difference observed between them by the framers of the criminal law ; while among the higher caste they are next to impossible, since a paramour is allowed by law to be beheaded. Polyandry does not exist, but polygamy is the general rule, and monogamy is the exception. The Ranas have several wives, besides concubines and slaves. The married wives of the Ranas are called Ranis ; and if a slave or a concubine becomes a mother, she is thenceforth called *Nami* and is respected as a wife duly married in the Brâhma form. On account of the existence of the Sati system among the higher castes, and the want of the sanctity attached to the institution of marriage among the lower classes, widow-remarriage is unknown. Truly speaking, intermarriages are allowed, provided a man of lower caste does not marry a woman of higher caste. Such intermarriages as are not sanctioned by the sages are punishable according to the caste of the woman. The idea of chastity exists among the Brahmans and Kshetriya and more especially among the Ranas. The paramour of a woman of the above mentioned classes is allowed by law to be beheaded. The illegitimate offspring are not allowed the privilege of partaking of food from the same dish or drinking water from the same glass with the legitimate children. They get a smaller share of inheritance ; but in other respects no distinction is observed. To the great credit of the Nepaulese, it may be said that early marriage is unknown. Owing to the scarcity of suitable bridegrooms, the daughters amongst the Ranas often remain unmarried till very late in life, but to their credit infanticide is not at all practised.

The architecture of the country is of the old Hindu style. The houses have two or three storeys, the uppermost being thatched or tiled according to the rank of the inmates. To every house is attached a plot of arable ground on which rice and other vegetables are grown.

There is no courtyard in the centre of the house as in India. The temples are of peculiar construction and have pinnacles ; but between the pinnacle and the floor there are projecting tiles indicating storeys.

The mode of salutation is peculiar and differs with the caste of the parties. A Brahmin will only uplift his hands in honour of his master for the purpose of benediction, but, before another Brahman, he will lie prostrate and touch his feet. All other castes also prostrate themselves at the feet of a Brahman. Members of other castes salute their superiors by a slight inclination of the body, and by moving the fingers in token of honour before the forehead. At lamplight, the domestic servants salute their master ; and children and wives touch the feet of their patriarch. The female slaves chant songs and hymns in the evening in honour of the household gods.

The Ranas never go out in public without a State umbrella over the head, and two men to support them on either side. A peculiar kind of conveyance, known under the name of *kathi*, is used only by the officials. A man ties a wooden seat by means of a leather-belt to his waist and so carries his master. He is supported on both sides by men, so that he may not fall under the weight.

There are two kinds of slaves, known by the terms of *keta* and *bāndā*; but the sale of children is confined to one caste, who are known by the name of *kamardā*. Indeed, slavery is looked down upon by the rulers of the country here, and every attempt is made to discountenance it. The higher castes are strictly prohibited from selling their children and are liable to punishment in case they attempt to dispose of them. A male slave can be had for Rs. 100, and a female for Rs. 300. At the time of the transaction, the parties enter into a written contract without any formality, and the title deeds thus executed entitle the holder to the custody of the person of the slave. In cases of misconduct, he has a right to inflict slight chastisement. The master procures a female slave for the male slave, and their offspring are sold like cattle. If a slave runs away without the permission of his master, the latter can have a summons or warrant issued for the arrest of the former; but if, fortunately, he makes his escape into British dominions, where slavery is penal, he becomes free. Sometimes these creatures are manumitted by kind-hearted masters for their good services, and thenceforth their status is changed, and they attain to the more dignified status of *ghalli*. Slaves of the above description are known by the name of *keta* in the language of the country. The better looking of the female slaves are as a rule reserved for the use of their master, and the children born of such women belong to the caste of the father. There is another class of slaves known under the term of *bāndā*. Persons other than Brahmans or Ranas voluntarily enter into a written contract for a certain term as a security for a loan advanced, or to be advanced, by the creditor, to render him services for the stipulated period, or till the debt is paid. Such a *bāndā* can also be sold like a *keta*. The lower castes such as the *Mugger*, and others, also become *bāndā* to a person who stands as a surety for them, or to any one who pays the fine for them in criminal cases.

The inhuman institution of Sati still prevails in full force in Nepaul. In India it is believed that women in former times, when they immolated themselves on the pyre, did so under the influence of a peculiar kind of ecstasy known as *sata*, which made them insensible to all bodily pain. But it is certain that women here who consent to burn themselves with the

dead bodies of their husband are in most cases, dupes of the priests. On the death of the husband, these men persuade the widow to burn herself with the corpse, and if she consents to die, she is taken with the dead body to *Rurerkshetra*, known here popularly as *Keri*. This dismal place is 8 or 9 miles from Tansein, and is situated on the bank of the Gunduck. According to the popular belief, every person on the approach of death is taken there so that he may die in the holy river, which, on account of its sanctity is called the Ganges.

Before the *sati* is burnt, camphor is stuffed into the ear and the wood is placed over her so that she may not run away from the pain of burning, while, still further to prevent her from escaping, people stand near her on both sides. If camphor is not filled in the ears, burning resin is inserted in them, and thus the poor creature dies by sudden shock. Every attempt is made to burn the head first and to produce a shock to the brain in order to kill the victim with as little pain as possible. In cases in which the above devices fail, the death pangs of the woman, who struggles hard to disentangle herself from the heap of wood which is piled on her, are excruciating. The enlightened Ranas, however, regard this barbarous custom with abhorrence and very rarely sanction it. Before a woman can become a *sati*, she is required by law to obtain the sanction of the Governor of the Province in which she resides. If a woman is young and persists in the idea of self-immolation, notwithstanding the persuasion and pecuniary temptations of the governor and the entreaties of her relatives, she is granted the sanction required. This restraint was intentionally provided by Maharaja Jung Bahadur in the hope of gradually putting a stop to the practice.

ART. IX.—ANDRE CHÉNIER.

Œuvres poétiques de André Chénier ; nouvelle édition, mise en ordre et annotée par M. Louis Moland. Paris Garnier Frères.

AN interesting list might be made of persons who have come into the world at the wrong time, and passed through it as wanderers, who had missed their true epoch. Some of the Anglo-Indian heroes, for example, have the air of Ironsides who would have been quite at home in the days of Henri Quatre or Oliver ; while Taine founded his study of the French Empire on a similar theory, according to which Napoleon Bonaparte was a belated condottiere who had strayed into a mistaken century, and whose true place would have been in the days of Machiavel ; leading the forces of Guelf or Ghibelline, carving out minute principalities with a mediæval broadsword. The case of André Chénier, in such a scheme, would rather come in as that of one born too soon than of one born too late. Under Louis Philippe he might have been a greater and a wiser Lamartine, perhaps a President who would have prevented the Second Empire ; but at the end of the 18th century he found nothing ready for him, and passed away, to all appearance, a blighted blossom, victim of Fate's blast of irony. What, then, is he to us ?

Nothing, perhaps, but one of the most interesting of Frenchmen ; an illustrious instance of exceptional possibility. At a moment when it almost seems as if the gifted nation that holds the further side of the narrow seas had exhausted the mandate of her civilisation and was on the eve of hopeless retrogression, it may be well to glance at the brief career of a Frenchman who, more than a century ago, anticipated the attitude of the best men of our own day and resisted the contagion caused by an epidemic of criminal imbecility.

The language in which Chénier described the state of France in 1793, and the duty of a good citizen as he conceived it, is not out of date yet :—

“The multitude secretly abhors, while approving by its silence, the atrocity of men and the abomination of measures. Life is not worth having at the price of such disgrace. When Magistrates and Generals come out of the gutter to serve their country, there is one man left who has a different ambition : and he does not think to serve her ill when he says : ‘This land, which has brought forth so many prodigies of idiotic baseness has also produced a few men who have neither renounced intelligence nor abjured conscience.’”

It was a bold challenge, and he backed it with his life. He

neither joined any party nor held aloof from whatever promised to be a useful movement. As he had hitherto stood in letters, so now he would in politics. He had been content to write in the authorised style and to play the game of poetry according to the somewhat artificial rules recognised in the Academy. His earlier poetry had been clear, correct, objective: though it had something of novelty which he felt might keep it from immediate or universal acceptance. He endeavoured for a season to use his pen as a more practically-effective instrument, but he believed he could unite moderation of opinion with his passion for justice. When Louis XVI had kingly power. Chénier had addressed him on behalf of the Huguenots; when the sceptre had passed into the control of a group of homicidal maniacs, he dared to address the Reign of Terror on behalf of the dethroned King. Add this further distinction; that—whether as poet or as politician—Chénier was always himself, never an imitator. This originality proved to be at once the ruin of his personal interests and the glory of his subsequent reputation.

So peculiar an individuality appears to demand the usual explanation: was there not something in the origin and environment of the man which rendered it inevitable that he should be what he was? Probably there will be many to say that there was; even that in the case of every man such must be the fact. Yet one is made to hesitate when one sees how totally different a man his brother became in precisely similar conditions. The question is thus found to be one of the deepest scientific nature, which each of us will prefer to answer for himself.

In the meantime let the facts be briefly noted, for whatever they may be worth. In the latter part of the reign of Louis XV, the Consul-General for France at the City of Constantinople was one Louis Chénier, who took to wife a Cypriote lady of beauty and talent, said to be descended from the royal line of Lusignan. The family name of this lady was Santi d'Homaka—or so it is given by Sainte Beuve, who adds the *piquante* information that her sister was the grandmother of another famous Gaul, the late Adolphe Thiers. Mme. Chénier is said to have borne four sons, two of whom only emerge into the ken of posterity: about 1765, when the family retired to France, we hear of these, namely, André, born 1762, and Joseph, who was two years younger: there was also a sister, who grew up to become the wife of Count Latour de St. Igest, and a third brother, of whom we know only that he lived to be a husband and father. M. Chénier père, went to Morocco as representative of his country at that Court; and the education of the boys was conducted under the Greek mother.

It might be imagined that a Hellenic lady, brought up under Osmanli rule, would be ill-qualified to undertake a charge of this kind : the literary distinction of her sons, however, suggests a contrary expectation, which is fully confirmed by the little that we know of the mother. In Guy's *Voyage Littéraire* are to be seen two *Letters* on modern Greece from her pen, which have been pronounced both clear and learned ; she taught her boys to read, write, and speak classical Greek ; and about the time of her settling in France, she sent them to the famous College of Navarre. Here André gained the first prize in French declamation five years later, and the word used by the biographer (*discours*) shows that this was an original composition by the lad of sixteen. In 1781 André left school and entered on a life of pleasure and literature in Paris. The first considerable poem of which a copy has been preserved is on a theme furnished by Propertius (III. 3, in which he noted that he had included ("according to my custom") passages from other Roman poets as well as thoughts of his own. The piece was originally composed on the 23rd of April 1782, just before a visit to the opera ; and is noticeable for the decision with which the author, in his 20th year, announces his intention to unite wine, woman, and song in the scheme of his existence. Accordingly he opens with a paraphrase of these four lines of his original :—

Me juvat in prima coluisse Helicon juvena
Musarumque choris implicuisse manus.
Me juvat et multo mentem vincere Lydeo,
Et caput in verna semper habere rosa.

Which graceful programme our young bard "extends" in eight lines which may be thus rendered :—

On Pindus, in my youth I learned to stray—
For Love, the god of poets, led the way—
Where the nine sisters, in those sweet resorts,
For ever dance, I mingle in their sports ;
So long as youth goes bounding through my veins
I mean to sing Love's happiness and pains,
With cherished friends my hours of life employ,
And share the raptures of unceasing joy.

An Epicurean ideal, from which, nevertheless, a prospect of ultimate seriousness was not to be excluded. A time would come when pleasure charmed no more ; a rural retreat was then to be sought where natural science was to be studied, with practical gardening for the resource of leisure : but even there pleasure should be sought in the hours of evening, though of a kind more appropriate to old heads and hearts.

Some friends will come, long tested by their truth,
Pleasure—though not the pleasure of my youth—
Shall to my sober feasts its balms accord
And autumn flowers shed perfume on my board.

Such, then, was our poet's plan ; in realising which, after the fashion that we all know so well, events were to give but scant assistance. This piece was not finished, or made public.*

In 1783 Chénier made a brief experience of soldiering, joining the Angoumois infantry, quartered at Strasburg. He had already attracted attention. Charles Palissot de Montenoy (1730-1814) was then an important figure amongst Parisian critics : he had written a comedy called *Les Philosophes*, in which he ridiculed the ideas of the rising schools, Diderot, Rousseau, etc., he also produced a *French Dunciad* on the lines of our English Pope. Amongst the critical essays of Palissot may be found a note on the young poet in which he speaks of the pleasure that he has felt from the few writings which he has seen from the pen of Chénier, which struck him, he says, not only by the signs of poetic talent which they show, but still more by "the character of masculine and deep thought which can only be found in a man of genius."

Nor was this appreciation of a severe and somewhat old-fashioned judge the only encouragement afforded to the youthful aspirant. The foremost lyric writer of the day was Escouchard Le Brun (1729-1807), a would-be classic, whose frigid pindarics are now forgotten by all but literary historians. Mr. Saintsbury, in his valuable "Short History of French Literature," has observed of him that in his old age he lived to celebrate Napoleon : a confusion with another Le Brun which Mr. Saintsbury shares with Napoleon himself, who believed the Ode in his honour to be by Escouchard, though it was really from the pen of a younger man of the same surname (V. S. Beuve "Nouveaux Lundis," VI. 114, and "Portraits," III. 155). The Pindar of Paris, however, was the undoubted author of a poem addressed to Chénier, in which he was good enough to say :—

Thy laurel soon will shade Parnassus side,
I guess its greatness by its growing pride ;
Glory, and friendship, glory's master still,
Shall place our names on Memory's sacred hill

Under such auspices our young poet quickly deserted the career of arms, and returned to Paris, where he became intimate with many prominent men of the time, among whom Palissot, Lavoisier, David (the painter), the scholarly Brunck, and good old Malesherbes are most easily recognised by an oblivious posterity. Among other friends of that date are to be noticed the Chevalier—afterwards Marquis—de la Luzerne ; and the Pole Niemcewicz famous for clinging to his national tongue in exile.†

* V. Final Note.

† V. Morfill's *Slavonic Literature*, p. 187.

Meanwhile, the mention of the Polish poet brings us face to face with a curious question. To some lines of a somewhat later date appears the following signature :—"Niemcewicz, always the friend of Saint André;" and Palissot about the same time described the young poet as "Chénier (Marie de Saint André)." Now Chénier was by no means a saint, at that or at any other moment of his brief career; and the appellation can only be taken as a sign that he in extreme youth aspired to the rank of nobleman. How far this was justified is perhaps a question of no great importance, yet it has its interest as bearing on the notion we are to form of that masculine and profound character which we have already seen attributed to him. The father is always designated as "Mons. Louis Chénier;" but the later members of the family have used the "particle;" and our André was certainly entered in the Royal Army as a "cadet-gentilhomme," implying much more than our English style of "gentleman-cadet." M. Chénier, père, finally retired from service in 1784; and André was soon after placed in diplomatic employ: may not some authority have been given to the family which justified the apparent assumption? One would like to think so.

A few years followed in which travels in Switzerland and Italy alternated with the life of pleasure which we have seen promised to himself by the poet. In 1787 he went to London as Secretary to M. de La Luzerne, already mentioned, and for the next three years continued to fret—more Gallico—amid the phlegmatic society and beneath the leaden sky which are obligatory elements of every good Frenchman's estimate of our country. Nevertheless there were consolations: in some untranslatable Greek elegiacs the poet warmly recorded the charms of British loveliness; and a more respectable flame was apparently kindled by the once well-known Maria Cosway (née Hadfield), the wife of the miniaturist of that name, herself a skilful artist and a great figure in the London artist world of her day. Daughter of the Irish proprietor of an hotel at Leghorn and his Italian wife, the beautiful Maria studied art at Rome, and then came to London, where she married her vain and eccentric husband, to whom she seems to have made an indifferent partner and from whom, indeed, she ultimately separated. About twenty years of age, and variously known to foreigners as "Miss, Mistress, and Miladi," she was for a short time a considerable element of André's London life; and it was to her that Niemcewicz addressed the lines subscribed by him as "the friend of St. André." Of these there is not much to be added; they are in the old fashioned style of Alexandrine panegyric, and only deserve notice as showing that some sort of *liaison* must have existed to call out the Polish poet's homage.

André himself wrote several things in the Cosway's honour : thus a piece called "The Slave," of which only the fragment of less than 150 lines has been preserved, was dedicated to "Milady Coswai" in verses of which we have another fragment. There is also a short ode in Italian (addressed to Mrs. Coswai, Pall Mall, London) which need not detain us further. Whether the attentions of the poetical secretary offended the husband is not recorded, but the pair were parted, and Maria retired to a religious seminary at Lyons in 1804. In 1821, however, she was again living in London, but died at Lyons a few years later.*

In August 1790, when André returned to his beloved Paris, the preliminary warnings of the coming eruption were already audible. The Bastille had fallen more than a year ago ; the King and Queen had been brought from Versailles by the mob ; the work of sedition had passed from the hands of the Duke of Orleans into the rougher hands of the Jacobin Club. And now was to be added the sinister portent of military insubordination, to culminate—for the moment—in the adventures of "brave Bouillé" in Lorraine, and the mutiny of the Vaudois Regiment called "Chateau Vieux," of which a graphic picture is given by Carlyle. Bouillé was resolute and capable, and he dealt with the mutinous Vaudois, so that half the Regiment were shot and the rest decimated by order of Court martial ; some sent to the gallows, to the galleys the remainder. The connection of this affair with André Chénier will appear in the sequel.

For the present we are to consider him as living in his father's house, in the Rue du Sentier ; enlisting in the National Guard, and contributing in prose and verse to moderate journalism. Mme. Chénier and her younger son espoused the doctrines of the extreme Revolutionists ; and the division of opinion among the inmates of the house soon disclosed itself to the public. In 1791, appeared André's "Jeu de Paume," probably begun in 1789, but not finished until the death of Mirabeau had been followed by the ill-fated "constitution" and the summoning of the new Parliament. The poem ends with a mournful warning. Liberty, which the poet refused to recognise as the gift of violence, would yet be the supreme lawgiver ; the Jacobins would be ultimately condemned,—

"The inexorable force of Destiny
 Drags to that sovran Place
 Your trembling majesty ;
 There shall be heard the weeping human race ;
 There, armed with lightning sits the unblenching judge,
 Who hears the People ; and your sceptred brass
 Shall rattle, collapsed in dust."

* According to André's Italian ode, Mrs. Cosway was a mistress of the piano and violin.

It seemed the swan-song of expiring virtue, but the prophecy had its fulfilment that did not tarry, though the prophet did not live to see it. In the spring of the year 1792 after the return from Varennes, a new complexion was attributed to the conduct of the Vaudois soldiers; "journal responds to journal," notes Carlyle; "Joseph Chénier the Jacobin to his brother André, the Feuillant;" and the remnant of the Vaudois are to be released, and sent from the galleys at Brest to be gloriously entertained in the Hotel de Ville. André's indignation found vent in an ode, the only other piece of verse known to have been published, with his name, during his lifetime.* The ode (or "Hymn" as it is called by the author) is on mock-heroic lines and thrills with bitter humour; attacking Collot d'Herbois, the promoter of the affair, with a scorn which was not omitted from the debit side of poor André's account now running. Joseph Chénier had been one of the promoters of the reception of the Vaudois convicts, but André had refrained from involving him in the attack on his colleague Collot: nevertheless one cannot suppose much domestic happiness prevailing in the Rue du Sentier, while the household was thus distracted by momentous issues.

The year wore on in deepening gloom. Early in August the injudicious manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick reached the French capital, which at once replied with the assault on the Palace. The unhappy Louis took refuge with the Assembly, which soon afterwards voted for his deposition; and the difference between the father and mother, and between the two brothers—as in many other families of those miserable times—tended to utter separation. No positive rupture occurred, however. The father continued under his own roof at Paris; while André betook himself to Versailles, where Joseph appears to have had an apartment, or even a small house; this was ultimately assigned as a residence to André; who, however, before settling there, made an autumn tour in Normandy.

The trial of the King followed, in which André is said to have aided Malesherbes in preparing the defence: the fore-doomed Louis addressed his judges in a speech of much skill and dignity, which was afterwards ascribed to André by Chateaubriand. All, however, that can now with certainty be affirmed from first-hand evidence seems to be that André wished, and hoped, that an appeal to the people would be allowed. The Assembly, as we know, voted for sentence of death without appeal, by a small majority; André's brother being one.

Joseph Chénier was now Deputy for the Department of

* *Final Note.*

Seine-et-Oise, and openly adhering to the Jacobin party : and he seems to have used his influence for the protection of an indiscreet brother, the moderation of whose opinions was by no means extended to his language. André, indeed, retired from journalism ; and his acrimony was confined to verse which was not printed, though it leaked out in MS. and helped to swell the bill of enmity. As before in London, his retirement was cheered by female friendship, he became intimate with Mme. Pourrat, and her daughters, the younger of whom he sang under the style of 'Fanny.' Sainte Beuve has written of the 'delicacy' of this liaison, and nothing in the odes written under the Fanny rubric betrays a want of respect : let us hope for the best.

In any case the Idyll was of short duration. On the 7th of March André was arrested, as it seems, by a mistake or mere chance. Being on an evening visit to a lady named Piscatory, he was apprehended, by an officious emissary of the Committee of general security charged with a warrant against Mme. Piscatory's son-in-law, who happened to be from home. Taken next morning to the Luxemburg, he was refused admission by the custodians ; but the emissary was not to be deprived of his prey and accordingly threw André Chénier into another prison, that of St. Lazare, where he was left under a special warrant issued by the Committee about a fortnight later. The interest of his writings at once becomes intensified : during the ensuing months he continued to compose odes and short satires, which were regularly transmitted to his family ; included among these are two famous pieces "The young Captive," and the address to his brother. For the most part, these "Iambics" breathe furious invective against the Jacobins, of whom many are named.

Of the two poems here cited, the former is the best known. In it the poet represents himself as a prisoner already under the cloud of his own fate, overhearing the lamentation of a girl who is in the like evil case, and who urges her youth as a plea against a possible death-warrant. The situation is pathetic, but the execution may appear to modern taste unequal and marred by artificial phrasing. It is at least gratifying to know that the poor young lady's blood was not shed upon the scaffold of the guillotine.* She was a Duchesse de Fleury, who escaped by means of a bribe to her jailers, divorced her Duke and lived to be the wife of M. de Montrond (Talleyrand's follower), whose acquaintance she had made in prison. It seems unlikely that so small a sum as one hundred louis (£ 80)—which was the price of evasion in the other case—would have been wanting to a man so well-connected as André Chénier ;

* v. final Note.

and he probably trusted that his father's money and his brother's influence would be exerted for him, and procure his release. In one of his prison elegies—"Iambics," as he called them—he compares himself to a sheep penned up for slaughter, but expresses a faint hope :—

"What help of friends? Ah! sent by some dear hand
A word of cheer across these sombre yards
The fever of my heart perhaps had fanned,
Joined with a gift of money to my guards;
But all goes headlong, yours the right to live,
O friends! Live then, as happy as you may;
Postpone the doom those ruffians long to give;
I too perhaps in some serener day
From care and tears have turned my face away."

These are sadly sincere accents: and when we turn to the ode addressed to the prosperous Jacobin brother, we seem to hear a yet more tragic tone :—

"My brother! May no keen adversity
In his successes mix;
May stage and forum both his triumph see;
May power and fortune ever be
Poured on him, in the measure that he seeks;
May all the gods of art, from day to day,
Pamper his every sense;
And when at last he yields to time's decay,
May a fair monument display
His glory to surrounding monuments!"

Nevertheless, nothing came to break the gloom but hope; vain as human hopes are wont to be, yet having their share in keeping up the poet's heart. *Sursum corda!* André's verse shows that the prisoners danced, flirted, gambled even: and when the voice of the grim apparitor, calling a fresh name, had ceased to echo in the corridors, congratulated one another that their names had not yet been sounded. At last came *Juin*, with its prison-plots, called by Carlyle "the stereotype of *Tinville*," but perhaps not wholly imaginary—who knows now?

In any case André was accused of sharing in the desperate attempt of the lambs against the wolves; on the 25th of July he was tried, sentenced, and executed; his last recorded words—with hand on head—"Yet surely there was something there." Three days later the Terror came to its unexpected and unlamented end.

If we try to estimate the value of Chénier's poetry, we must bear in mind two peculiar circumstances. He wrote at a time when the pseudo-classic school had exhausted its mandate in producing Pindar Le Brun; and Chénier's work was not apparently intended for publication. Judged by these two standards it assumes a special character. From the days of Ronsard to those of Leconte de Lisle no French poet has used the

thoughts and images of ancient times with so much knowledge and with so little affectation.

Next to the peculiar accomplishment of André Chénier is his lack of vanity and his devotion to the art of poetry for its own sake. In place of the pose of the ordinary French writer, ever on the look out for effect, success, applause, or profit, he writes, "as the oyster produces pearls, or the silkworm her golden threads" (to which he might have added, "or as the asp does venom"). One poem is addressed to Fanny, another to Marat, as love or hate inspires him; but to the printer or the publisher, nothing. It was not until his poor trunkless head had mouldered under the cruel street for a quarter of a century that his songs broke silence.

They seemed to please at once, and to gain in favour year by year. Their savour of Hymettus was sweet enough to palates long cloyed with Boulevard caramel. It was *naïf*—let the word pass—and the learning lay hidden in charm, like the sword of Harmodius wreathed in myrtle.

Here, for example, from the 8th epigram of Theocritus is a couplet on a young fellow who died in autumn, Chénier says, with what Sainte Beuve called exquisite sentiment :—

"Unhappy shepherd ! In the cruel seas
Thou sinkest with the sinking Pleiades."

And the following is the translator's comment :—

"This is the end of it : 'Unhappy Shepherd, under the very fall of the Pleiads you have fallen.' In translating one should preserve the opposition of the words 'the sea has received him with those stars.' So, in the "Maid of Scio," we find him noting that the mad girl on the rocks would make a picture, and fancies her survivors recalling a song which she may be imagined singing :—

"Will he return no more ? Perhaps he will. . . .

No ! in his tomb he waits and hearkens still :

I die for him ; though true in death he be ;

I go to him ; he cannot come to me.

Still more instructive is the spectacle of the poet in his workshop given by Sainte Beuve in his account of the fragmentary "Hermes." This was to be a poem in which, like a modern Lucretius, André undertook to deliver in metrical form an exposition of the philosophic system just then coming under notice in the hands of Buffon and Lamarck. Here too, though the matter was to be of the very newest, the Greek and Latin authors were to supply the manner. The methods of Empedocles, of Aratus, of Virgil and of Lucretius were to be employed to make agreeable and popular the theories of Holbach and the discoveries of Cabanis.

That anything would have come of the attempt, who can say? All that possibility was shorn off by the axe of Fouquier-Tinville; but that it was germinating in the young head is a proof that Chénier had not forgotten the study of Science to which he had looked forward that evening before the opera in 1782.

A good French critic has observed that André Chénier did not belong to his epoch (*'n'était pas du tout de son temps'*). Under a garb of classic polytheism he maintained the love of animated nature: sensuous, but purified by the sense of abstract beauty. Moreover, it was his fortune that—*felix opportunitate mortis*—he did not publish what he wrote. When at length his poems appeared posthumously, the last dregs of the age of Reason were disappearing and other hands had already begun to attack the stucco temples of the rouged and periwigged Muses of the past, so as to draw men's attention from their superannuated charms. Already Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël had combined to sound a new key-note, which, whether as Realism or Romanticism, was to effect a change in taste as great as any which the overthrow of privilege had caused in politics; Béranger was giving models of simplicity; while, amid much tawdry medievalism, another volley was discharged at the plaster Pantheon by the *Muse Française* and the *Conservateur Littéraire*. Roger Collard, Maine de Biran, and Charles Nodier led an attack from other quarters; and when, in 1839, Sainte Beuve produced his powerful analysis of André's genius, the very man-in-the-street had to acknowledge the voice of a new master, speaking from the tomb.

The thought expressed in Chénier's last words was not inspired by his seat on Fouquier's ghastly tumbril, as it occurs in some of his previous prison-poems. But it indicates the confidence with which he regarded his own genius, a confidence amply justified by his posthumous renown.

National partiality has made English critics compare Chénier with Keats. Each was an independent lover of the Muses who died young, but we must not strain the analogy; for nothing could well be more distinct than the poetry of a medical student fed upon Lemprière, from that spontaneously secreted by a Frenchman saturated with real Greek feeling from his mother's knee. Chénier's charm is unique: he sees the eternal beauty of man, woman, land and sea, as that beauty was revealed to a vanished race who had enjoyed its first fruits, and almost its monopoly. He was a gentleman, too, by birth and education; and an artist who united modern passion with the sensuous expression of ancient Hellas; pouring poetry into politics and pelting his opponents with an almost hysterical vituperation. Were one obliged to find a match for him among

English poets, 'one would be disposed to compare him with Mr. Swinburne, as we knew him five and twenty years ago

But whether he resembled one or other of our English poets, André certainly illustrates a universal truth. Men may, perhaps, be the product of their surroundings; but the same surroundings produce very diverse men, and are modified by them in turn: who can say that the surroundings of any remarkable man would have been the same if he had never played his part there? The objective of a planet like our Earth is to be inhabited, to be full of life as highly intelligent and effective as possible. That end not being obtainable by Conscription only, inducements must be held out for voluntary service. The propagation and prolongation of sentient life must be made attractive by being—or seeming to be—connected with enjoyment and spontaneous effort. Soon or late the bait has done its work, and the ablest man lays his hand upon his brow, and confesses that he has been cajoled. And yet he has not lived in vain if he has influenced his contemporaries by holding up a standard of effort, and left posterity a legacy of bright ideal. To whatever nation the student may belong, he can hardly avoid the conclusion that 19th century literature owes to our poor André a sense of honour, grace, and justice that are not to be found in such otherwise great poets as Hugo or Musset. We, therefore, salute in him a type of some of the best results of that mighty movement which appeared to carry him away. Such men are indicated by the words of the Jewish philosopher:—

"In the sight of the universe they seem to die, and their departure is taken for misery, and their going from us to be utter destruction; but they are in peace.

"For though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality!"

Note.—The only poetry published by André Chénier consists of the "Jeu de paume" less than 500 lines (Bleuet, 1791), and a still shorter piece—that on the Swiss—which appeared in the *Journal de Paris* of the 15 April, 1792. The "Jeune Captive" was produced a few months after the writer's death in the *Décade Philosophique*, with an editorial note to the following effect:—"The author had studied much and produced little. Few know what a loss his death has been to poetry, philosophy, and classical scholarship." The "Jeune Tarentine" appeared in the *Mercur* of 1 Germinal IX., and some of its lines were quoted in Chateaubriand's *Genie du Christianisme*, about two years later. The first attempt at a collection of the metrical works of Chénier was in an edition by H. de Latouche, published by Baudoin, Foulon and Company in 1819, which during the next four years went through three issues.

ART. X.—THE LAND LAWS OF BENGAL.

CHAPTER I.

The Landlords and the Settlement.

I INTEND to deal in this article with the Land laws which are in force in this Province. In connexion with them one subject is of so engrossing importance as to dwarf almost everything else—the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. In no part of the country, except in Oudh and Benares, is there anything like it, and nowhere else is the state of the landed aristocracy, as well as of the ryots, better or more prosperous than in Bengal.

It is said by many that the Permanent Settlement was simply the result of Lord Cornwallis's desire to introduce into Bengal the forms of land tenure which prevailed in England. This notion is wholly erroneous. The Settlement was nothing more or less than the old revenue system of the Hindu and Mahommedan periods, resuscitated and revived from the chaotic state into which it had been submerged during the frequent wars which broke out in Bengal before the battle of Plassey. The only misfortune was that the Permanent Settlement increased the former revenue at least four-fold. Let us see, first, how the land was taxed in India in Hindu and Mahommedan times.

Under the ancient Hindu law the demand of the king is limited to a twelfth, an eighth, or, at the most, a sixth of the produce. It is also declared that in time of war, if he should take one-fourth, he would commit no sin. A sixth of the actual crop constituted, therefore, the utmost limit of demand under the ancient Hindu system. The texts of Manu, Baudhyana and Jagnavalka on this point are well known, but still I quote them here for the benefit of the reader.

Manu says :—

(১) ‘পঞ্চাশভাগ আদেয়ো রাজা পশুহিরণ্যয়োঃ

ধান্যানামষ্টমোভাগঃ যষ্ঠৌ দ্বাদশ এব বা।’

B VII. 130 verse.

Baudhyana :

(২) ‘ষট্ভাগভূতোরাজা রক্ষকঃ প্রজাঃ’

Buhler, p. 192.

(1) A king should take a fifteenth part of all wild animals and gold, and an eighth, sixth, or twelfth part of crops.

(2) A king should protect his subjects by taking (only) a sixth (of the crops).

Jagnavalka :

- (৩) পুণ্যং ষ্ঠভাগমাদত্তে ন্যায়েন পরিপালয়ন
সৰ্বদানাধিকং যস্মাৎ প্রজানাং পরিপালনং ।

These are some of the oldest authorities on the subject. ^{337.} But even in Kalidas's time, when Vicromaditya reigned in Ujjain, there was this limitation to the taxation of land by Government. That jesting Jacques, Bidusaka, thus refers to it in the Sakuntola :—

- (৪) 'কো অবরো অবদেসো তুস্মাৎরায়ানং নীবার ছউভায়ং
অস্মাৎ উপহরন্তু তি ।'

So in Raghu :

- (৫) 'ভানু্যঙ্ক্ষষ্টাক্ষিত সৈকতানি
শিবানি বন্তীর্জলানি কচ্চিৎ ।'

What the Mahommedan Emperors did with reference to the assessment of the land revenue is matter of history. The great Akbar's revenue system, which is held out even now as a model of fiscal policy based on justice and humanity, limited the land-tax to a third of the crops. Allauddin Khilji and Sher Shah did the same.

It is useless to enter into an academic discussion regarding the proprietary rights of the Zemindar class of old. Suffice it to say that the statement of English writers that there never was a class in ancient India of that description is a most gratuitous and unwarrantable assumption. As a matter of fact, the Landlord class is not a creation of yesterday, or of the time of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal. It has existed since the days of Manu, and has always risen phoenix-like from the ashes of all past monarchies in Bengal. In the Seventh Chapter of the Institutes of Manu there is a vivid description of the village Chiefs. They were the lords of from twenty to a thousand villages; were armed with revenue and judicial powers, and discharged in the villages the functions of the sovereign. This they had continued to do through the dark and stormy periods of the Moghul Emperors, and even for some time after the assumption of the Sovereign power in Bengal by the British Government. These people

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- (3) A king takes a sixth (of the crops) by justly ruling his subjects. This gift is the most precious of all, as it entitles the subjects to be governed well.
- (4) What other pretext have you kings save and except the taking away of the sixth part of the crops?
- (5) Are those waters of the holy places whose sandy banks are strewn with the sixth part (of the crops) beneficial to health?

were nothing but the true types of the Zemindars of the Mahomedan and modern periods. *An impartial historian thus writes on the subject :—‘ From all this concurring evidence, it is clear that the sovereign’s proprietary right in the soil was, in Hindustan, as in Europe, more nominal than real ; that, prior to the Mahomedan conquest, the land was divided amongst individual proprietors, and that the bhoomia of Rajputana, the malik of Bengal, the meerasadar of Southern India, the nair mul guenies of Canara, and the jelmkars of Malabar, were all hereditary landholders, with legal rights, of which they could only be dispossessed by the violence of despotic power.”

Mr. Shore says : “ I consider the Zemindars as proprietors of the soil, to the property of which they succeed by right of inheritance.” It is an undeniable fact that the Zemindars had lived for centuries in great splendour on the produce of their lands, which had quietly come down under the existing tenure through successive generations ; that they had the power to sell, to alienate, or to mortgage ; and that, so long as they paid the full quota of Government revenue, they enjoyed secure possession of their lands.

After assuming the civil administration of Bengal, the policy of discountenancing all permanent property in land was steadily pursued for some time by the British in India, who were perpetually picking holes in the tenures by which it was held, even where the deed of grant expressed in the plainest terms that it was perpetual, “ from generation to generation.” They also indulged in the vain delusion of an existing precedent for resuming all lands as Sovereign. Both Colonel Todd and Sir Thomas Munro mention that the power of the King to do this had become obsolete all over the country.

The question of a permanent settlement of the land revenue of Bengal was mooted almost simultaneously with the accession of the British to power, and Warren Hastings expressed the greatest unwillingness to sanction it, casting grave doubts on the rights of the Zemindar class. Francis, too, opposed it with great vehemence, and his defence of the proprietary rights of the land-owners is one of the ablest Minutes that we have on the subject.

It was reserved, however, to Lord Cornwallis to take up and settle this important question. The Mahratta and Mysore wars had left the finances of the country in a sorry plight, and the temporary settlement of the land brought the Government to the point of bankruptcy. There was no less than several crores of rupees of land revenue in arrears, and the authorities were in great difficulty.

* Mr. Buchanan.

To surmount this difficulty both Lord Cornwallis and the Court of Directors made the greatest efforts. The only way out of it appeared to be a perpetual settlement of the land revenue and the recognition by Government of the rights of the Zemindar in the soil. This Cornwallis conceived to be essential to the relief of the country, the condition of which he described as wretched in the extreme. "I am sorry," he observes, "to be obliged to say, that agriculture and internal commerce have for many years been gradually declining; and that at present the inhabitants of these provinces are advancing hastily to a general state of poverty and wretchedness." He also adds, "I may safely assert that one-third of the Company's territories is now a jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts."

In pursuance of his plan, Lord Cornwallis entered into a permanent settlement of the land revenues for ten years, which was afterwards declared unalterable, and the Zemindars of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were formally constituted legal and perpetual proprietors of their respective estates, on the payment of a fixed rent to the State.

There is not the least doubt that, in abolishing a land-tax increasing at the pleasure of Government with the produce of the land, Lord Cornwallis acted in the right direction and upon a most just principle. The greatest English statesman of the day, Mr. Pitt, stamped the measure with the seal of his approbation, after giving the subject the careful consideration which it deserved. Indeed, the distinguished character of Lord Cornwallis and the authority which the permanent settlement derived from the approbation of Mr. Pitt, of Lord Grenville and Lord Melville, clothed it with a veneration which for many years precluded the agitation of any question as to its merits. (Common's Committee, App. p. 67.) In the Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, 9th April 1813. Lord Wellesley observed: "Every Governor of India had acknowledged the justice and policy of the principle of the permanent settlement, and he was satisfied that every person qualified to be a Governor of India must do the same. It formed the corner-stone of the Government of India, and the extension of the principle to the conquered provinces would found a solid basis for that Government to rest upon." On the same occasion Lord Grenville urged the insertion of a clause in any charter to be granted to the Company declaratory of the adherence of the Indian Government to the principle of permanency.

Let me now examine the principle on which the amount of revenue was assessed and settled on the lands. After long discussion, it was at length fixed at the average amount of the collections for the last three years. In the division of the

produce two-fifths were allotted to the ryots ; of the remaining three-fifths, constituting the rent of the State, ten-elevenths were taken as the Government share, and only *one-eleventh* was left to the Zemindar. In this distribution it will be a revelation to many to learn that only a poor one-eleventh of the crops was given to the Zemindar. Having imposed an exorbitant land-tax on the soil, it was a very questionable policy on the part of the State to give little or nothing to the Zemindar, who was really the proprietor of the land and responsible to Government for the regular discharge and payment of this heavy amount of revenue. Still, in the face of these simple facts, there are not wanting people, both here and in England, who fulminate both in and out of season the most incredible story that, in the settlement, the Zemindar was the only person who was really benefited, and that the Government and the cultivator were cheated out-right. On the contrary, the fact is that it was the State and the ryot who took everything and the Zemindar was nowhere.

It will be interesting to take a glance at the different annual amounts of revenue assessed by successive Governments in Bengal during Moslem rule. The assessment made by Sher Shah was almost the same as that of Todar Mull. It amounted according to the exaggerated estimate of Sir John Shore, to about a crore of rupees (Rs. 1,06,93,152). For nearly two centuries after this, up to the time of Kassim Ali, this figure remained nearly stationary, the utmost increment on paper being a third of a crore of rupees. During the administrations of Shujah Khan, Jaffir Khan and Sujauddin, the exact amounts of revenue were fixed at Rs. 1,31,15,907, Rs. 1,42,88,186, and Rs. 1,42,45,561 respectively. The standard revenue of Todar Mull seems to have been all that the country could bear. Inconsiderable as was the augmentation during the rules of Shujah and Jaffir Khan, it was got by the most cruel oppression. In the reign of Meer Kassim, who was only a puppet in the hands of the English, this oppression reached its height. The assessment imposed by Kassim Ali came up to $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores, and is stated by Sir John Shore to have been mere "pillage and rackrent." But this was certainly far less than what was assessed as revenue during the first year of the Decennial settlement ! Yet it was a well-known fact that Kassim Ali's revenue of $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores was not realized to the full extent ; indeed, half of it was left outstanding and could not be recovered by any means whatsoever. Thus the assessment of the country during the first year of the perpetual settlement even went beyond the 'rackrenting' of Kassim Ali. It stood at Rs. 2,68,00,989. What, then, will be the surprise of the public when I say that the assessed land revenue of Bengal stands at the grand figure of Four Crores at the present day ?

There is a consensus of opinion that the assessment is excessively high. Munro, the great patron of the ryotwar system, says that, but for this obstacle, which retards the progress of cultivation and is the cause of large tracts of wilderness being still found in a country naturally fertile, population would increase even faster in Hindustan than in America. In the evidence before the Lords' Committee in Parliament in 1830 it was admitted that the land-rent appeared exorbitant, but it was said at the same time that it was paid without much difficulty ! Before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1831, it was asserted that nine-tenths of the revenue of the Government of India was derived from land. Dr. Hunter, in his Manuscript records of Bengal, admits that the assessment was 'high,' but qualifies it with the statement that it was not 'too high !'

The consequence of this high taxation became at once apparent. The Zemindars, unable to pay this exorbitant amount of revenue, speedily fell into arrears, and, under the stringent enactments of the Government, their estates were immediately and absolutely sold. The greater number of them were, in fact, utterly ruined. In the year 1796-97, the land advertised for sale bore a rent of Rs. 28,70,061 Sicca; and that actually sold yielded an annual rent of Rs. 14,18,756. In the year following lands bearing a rent of Rs. 22,74,076 were sold up. It is observed in the Fifth Report, p. 56, that "among the defaulters were some of the oldest and most respectable families of the country, the dismemberment of whose estates at the end of each succeeding year threatened them with poverty and ruin, and, in some instances, presented difficulties to the revenue officers in their endeavours to preserve undiminished the amount of the public assessment." Thus, in the course of a very few years, most of the great Zemindars of Bengal were reduced to distress and beggary. The Settlement produced a greater change in landed property in Bengal than has, perhaps, ever happened in the same space of time in any age or country, through the mere effect of internal regulations. (Fifth Report 1812, p. 60.) Mr. Tucker, in his evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832, affirms that, of the three largest Zemindaris, those of Rajshahi, Nadiya, and Burdwan, the whole of the first and part of the second had been sold prior to 1799, and that a very considerable number of estates passed into the hands of the merchants and bankers of Calcutta. Even as late as 1821-22, when the sales were much fewer than in the years immediately following the settlement, the number of estates sold for arrears of revenue was 396. The great severity of assessment led at last to the sale of nine-tenths of the lands of Bengal. (Evidence of Mr. Trant before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, and of Mr. Holt Mackenzie.)

Perhaps in no country in the civilized world is the land-tax so high as in India. In England the land-tax was nominally levied at 1s. in the £ of rental of an estate up to 1689*. In that year it was resolved to draw supplies from real property more largely than before. The valuation made in 1692 has remained unaltered even to our own time. According to that valuation one shilling in the pound on the rental of the kingdom amounted in round numbers to half a million sterling. The rate in time of war amounted to four shillings in the pound. In the year 1798, after the disastrous period when England drew the sword against her American colonies, this land-tax was permanently fixed at twenty per cent. of the annual value of the land. A great part of the land-tax has been redeemed; and at present about a fiftieth part of the revenue required in time of peace is raised by that impost. The land-tax at four shillings in the pound brought about two millions into the treasury.

While $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the annual value of land was appropriated under the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, only $\frac{1}{4}$ th was appropriated in England as the share of the State, or imperial revenue. The land-tax here is thus thrice that of England! A most preposterous state of things undoubtedly this is, for lands in England are of far greater value than those of this country, and agriculture there is in a far more flourishing state! In France the land-tax is an eighth of the rental of the land, but in India it is a little above half; hence it is quadruple of what it is in France.

Nowhere in European countries is the land-tax higher than a fourth of the rental, except in Turkey and Russia. In Turkey, as in most Mahommedan countries, it extends to a third, a fourth, and sometimes even a fifth, of the produce of the soil, according to its fertility. If the lands are irrigated at the State expense, then even a half of the crops is allowed as the share of the State. Russia's case is peculiar, three-fourths of her territories in Asia and one-third in Europe being either sandy deserts or frozen plains.

Briggs, in his excellent work on the Land-tax of the ancients, mentions that it was a fifth of the gross produce in Egypt and one-tenth in Greece, Persia, China and Burma.

The Permanent Settlement is the backbone of all the land-laws of Bengal. It is the keystone on which the arch of

* Land Tax since the revolution, 1688, 1s.,—1690 to 1692, 3s.,—1693 to 1697, 4s.,—1698 to 1699, 3s.,—1700, 2s.,—Additional duty, 6d.,—1701, 3s.,—1702 to 1712 4s.,—1713 to 1715, 2s.,—1716, 4s.,—1717 to 1772, 3s., 1772 to 1776, 2s.,—1727, 4s.,—1728 to 1729, 3s.,—1730 to 1739, 2s., 1733, 1s., 1740 to 1749, 4s.,—1750 to 1752, 3s.,—1753 to 1755, 2s.,—1755 to 1766, 4s.,—1767 to 1770, 3s.,—1771 4s.,—1772 to 1775, 3s.,—1776 to present time, 4s., (Tegg's epitome of Universal History, page 53).

all real estates and land tenures is built and rests. Regulation I of 1793 granted full and absolute rights to the Zemindars; formally declared them proprietors of the soil, and allowed them to hold possession of their lands for ever and enjoy the fruits of their improvements, on payment of a fixed yearly revenue.

It is, no doubt, often said with great force that the Permanent Settlement left the ryots entirely at the mercy of the landlords, who oppressed them in all sorts of ways for the purpose of filling their pockets. The true facts of the case, however, will convince everyone of the incorrectness of this opinion. In fact, they go to show a very contrary state of things. While the Zemindars were burdened with a most exorbitant demand of land revenue, which they had to pay as regularly as clock-work without consideration of flood, drought or famine, they had hardly any means of realizing rents from their tenants. "Land-holders had no direct control over them: they could not proceed against them, except through the Courts of Justice: and the ends of substantial justice were defeated by delays and costs of suit. Farmers and intermediate tenants were able to withhold their rents with impunity, and to set the authority of their landlords at defiance" (Fifth Report, 1812; p. 60.) In another part of the same document the Collector of an important district says:—

"It was notorious that many of the Zemindars had large arrears of rent due to them which they were utterly unable to recover, while Government were selling their lands for arrears of assessment. Complaints of the inefficacy of the regulations were very general among the Zemindars; and it required little discernment to see that they had not the same powers over their tenants which Government exercised over them."

The harsh and extortionate terms of the Permanent Settlement, combined with the obstinacy of the tenants in withholding rents, brought on speedily the ruin of the landed aristocracy of old. It was not the protection of the ryots, but of the Zemindars, that became absolutely necessary, and Government set itself to legislating about it. But the legislation came too late!

The resumption of vast tracts of waste land and jungles and of numberless revenue-free tenures, granted by Mahomedan and Hindu Sovereigns, was another injustice and hardship inflicted on the Zemindars. Mr. Rickards observes on this point. "It was really the intention of Lord Cornwallis to include in the Permanent Settlement all those lands which were fertile and extensive, and which, yielding, when improved, a valuable produce, would enable the Zemindar to pay the

exorbitant tax on the cultivated parts. When it was discovered that the Zemindars were enriching themselves by the cultivation of these untaxed wastes, it seems to have excited a notion amongst the British that they had got too good a bargain. Accordingly doubts were suggested respecting the rights of the Zemindars to these lands. Inquiries were from time to time made, and commissioners were appointed, apparently with no other view than to find a flaw in the titles of the Zemindars and to resume or to seize upon these lands, the cultivation of which was the source of so great a wealth. These inquiries, conducted by those who had an interest in the confiscation of the lands, terminated as might have been expected. Those which were exempted from taxation were now resumed and assessed; and the Zemindar had his remedy in a suit against the Government before the British revenue courts, which generally gave judgment against him. It is mentioned in evidence before the Lords' Committee that the proprietor of a great estate in the Sunderbunds, who had brought into cultivation an extensive waste, was called upon, notwithstanding the permanent settlement of the land-tax, to pay an additional tax on the produce of this land. He disputed the claim: but, being cast in a suit before the revenue courts, he was subjected to ryotwar settlement and compelled to pay fifty times more than the original rent. (Minutes of Evidence before Lord's Committee, 20th February, 1830. Evidence of Mangles, p. 49.)

In these resumption cases, the resuming officer received a commission on the value of the lands resumed and brought on the taujih or revenue-roll register. (Administration of Hooghly District. By G. Toynbee, C.S., p. 68.) Clearly these officers were most interested in giving judgments against the landholders, and how far real justice could be done in such cases can be better imagined than described.

Mr. Maishman, the historian, writing about these resumption proceedings, says: "There can be no doubt that the resumption of these lands, or rather of the rent of them, inflicted great unpopularity on the Government at the time: but the irritation did not outlive the generation affected by them. The addition made to the rent-roll of the State by this procedure, amounted to about Thirty lakhs of rupees a year, while the machinery of investigation cost Eighty lakhs."

Regulation II of 1819, well-known in the province as "Doem Kanun," was followed by others—IX and XIV of 1825 and III of 1828. They governed these resumption proceedings.

The number of revenue-free estates in Bengal comes up to 44,663 and the amount of cesses realized from them is Rs. 2,69,040. They were originally given by Indian Sovereigns

for some pious purpose, such as the endowment of a temple or mosque, or the encouragement of learning.

The reward of some splendid and meritorious service to the State, especially for military achievements, often consisted in grants of such lands in ancient times.

It is not generally known in this country how far feudalism was prevalent here, and moulded the land-tenures of this province. When the Aryans came here, they were mere military adventurers. They assembled their followers and kinsmen, and, having conquered extensive tracts, parcelled them out amongst their chiefs, very much upon the plan of a military fief. Such is the case with the greater part of the Zemindaris along the Western frontier of Bengal, where, while the peasantry are mostly of the wild forest tribes, Koles or Gonds, the proprietors of the villages are Rajputs. That these latter came as conquerors as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is well-known amongst themselves, and the origin of their possessions by allotment from the chief on the tenure of military service is also admitted. The relation between the holders of the several lots and the representatives of the first leaders, or the Rajas, is more or less perfectly preserved, and retains almost universally some impress of its origin. A similar state of things prevails in Palamu, Sirguja, Chota Nagpur, and elsewhere in the same direction. Mr. Augustus Prinsep, of the Bengal Civil Service, in his interesting account of the origin and progress of the feudal Zemindari of Palamu, says that similar feudal institutions may be seen in many of the Zemindaris of Bengal and Behar. During the course of the inquiry preceding the Permanent Settlement, it was found that the Pergunnah of Monghyr was divided among the descendants of two Rajputs, to whom the family tradition ascribed the first settlement of the country under grants from the Emperor Humayoon, having taken it from the wild inhabitants of the wilderness, which was then without the smallest vestige of cultivation. (5th Report 238. Letter of Mr. Davis, Assistant Collector.)

The British Government has also maintained its feudal sovereignty with respect to the chiefs of these divisions. The revenue settlement of Chota Nappur is merely a nominal system, the Zemindars holding the lands under previous arrangements of military service, which were necessary for the purpose of keeping in check the wild and fierce tribes of those places. This large division, with its immense forests and hills, its capabilities as a seat of mining industries and a wide field of commercial enterprise, pays a sum of about Four lacs only as revenue to Government, while Bengal pays no less than two and half crores and Bihar one and one-fifth crores. The Zemindars of Orissa

are also the representatives of feudal chiefs, holding their lands by the tenure of military service. (Asiatic Researches XV, 229) But there is no permanent settlement in Orissa.

It is a significant fact that, wherever feudalism was in existence, there the masses and the cultivators were reduced to serfdom. This exactly took place in Chota Nagpur, where the insurrection of the Koles was due to the conduct of the Zemindars who strictly insisted on the performance of pre-dial services.

CHAPTER II.

The Sale Law and the Cesses.

Of all the measures affecting the landed interests in this country, there is none more harsh or severe than the Revenue Sale Law. It is a Draconian Code which is administered in a way little to be desired. No matter whether you have realized your rents from your tenants or not, you must pay every pice of the exorbitant land revenue before sun-set of the fixed day of payment, or your property will be sold out! Once you are in arrears, you can't pay the money before the sale day; that is an imperative rule. Be it a pice or ten thousand rupees, it is all the same; the estate will be sold on that fatal day, and even if it goes for a song, you can't bid for it, nor can you advance your arrears for satisfaction! There are a few Collectors, whom God in his infinite mercy has created with an exuberance of the milk of human kindness, who do take money even after the day fixed for payment. But they are exceptions to the rule. The Civil Courts are generally as powerless to interfere as the man in the moon. Their jurisdiction is of an extremely limited kind. You must bring the suit within a year of the finality of the sale, and your grounds must have been set out in the petition of appeal before the Divisional Commissioner; for no sale can be set aside by the Civil Court, unless such appeal has been preferred and the grounds specifically taken. If the purchaser has taken out a certificate of sale, you are lost! The taking out of a certificate cures all sorts of irregularities. Even irregularities are not sufficient to vitiate a sale. It must be shown to be illegal, and you must prove substantial injury and hardship before you can get the sale set aside in the Civil, or revenue Court. Mr. Beames, late of the Revenue Board, was in charge of the amending of the Revenue Sale Law some years ago. The bill was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* and one salutary provision was inserted in it, to the effect that any defaulter paying the arrears of revenue due before the day of sale would be entitled

to do so, provided he paid a penalty equal to one-fourth of the amount of the arrears. The penalty was, no doubt, an excessive and exorbitant amount, but still this provision would do a great deal in mitigating the hardship of unlucky Zemindars. Sales of estates whose revenue falls below 500 rupees, are never Gazetted. Hence, cases often occur where-in sales take place without the slightest knowledge of the owners!

One might think that, with the rigorous provisions of the "Sunset Law" and the heavy burden of revenue on their backs, the evils of the Zemindar class were sufficient unto the day thereof! The Permanent Settlement, which was ushered in with all the solemnity of a sacred covenant, was not kept permanent for long. The proclamation issued on the 22nd March, 1793, said that "the assessment was irrevocable and unalterable!" But in 1862 the Government imposed the Zemindari Dāk Cess, for improving the system of delivery of letters between Police officers and Police stations and Magisterial offices. Now, when there is hardly a village in the most out-of-the-way place in moffussil where there is not a post office either within or close to it, the necessity for keeping up this tax, which is really an addition to the land revenue, no longer exists. It is levied even with greater rigour than the land revenue itself. It has to be paid half-yearly, and double the amount is to be paid in case of default! It will probably amuse many to learn that the big clock which now adorns the southern portion of the General Post Office building in Calcutta, was constructed out of the proceeds of the Dāk Cess levied from the land-holders of Bengal! In the very first year of the existence of the Bengal Council, the Zemindary Dāk Bill came up for discussion. Both Mr. Peterson and Prosunno Coomar Tagore described it as a "police tax." The then Advocate General, Mr. Cowie, said that he could not understand upon what principle a charge rendered necessary for public purposes of a district, having relation, as it had, to the carrying out of criminal justice, should be a burden upon a section rather than upon the whole of the land-holders of the district. A section, moreover, was introduced into the Bill, at the instance of the Zemindars, to the effect that Zemindary dāks should not be established or maintained where Government dāks existed. The 4th Section was accordingly introduced by Mr. Cowie and the Bill was passed. With the rapid extension of communications in the province by means of rail and river and the establishment of Government Post Offices throughout the country, the Dāk Cess is an anachronism in many places at the present moment; yet, instead of the burden being reduced gradually, it is being made heavier year after

year. It is anything but fair that an obligation for the performance of a service which in a rude state of Society was discharged by the Zemindar's own servants and without any expense or trouble to themselves, should be converted into a permanent means of increasing the general revenues of the country at the present time, when Government Post Offices do the very same service far more quickly and efficiently and at the same time without any additional cost to the State exchequer. In the district of Burdwan this Cess amounted in 1859 to Rs. 2,880, but in 1879-80 it was raised to Rs. 6,397. The receipts on account of the District Post Cess came up to Rs. 3,13,666 in 1872-73, and the total sum levied in 1895-96 was Rs. 3,35,996, being an increase of more than Rs. 20,000! The Administration Reports are studiously silent as to the proper working of this Act VIII of 1862, or as to the rate at which the Dâk Cess is levied and enhanced at the end of every quinquennial year. This Cess is not recoverable from ryots or tenants unless there is a special contract.

But the solemn deed of the Permanent Settlement was reduced to a farce when, in 1871 after the lapse of nearly a century, the Road and Public Work Cesses were imposed on the people of Bengal, in the face of unanimous opposition from Zemindars and ryots alike. In spite of all specious arguments to convince them that it was not a violation of the settlement, they were never convinced, for it touched their pockets. It took away one-sixteenth of the income of their estates at one stroke of the legislative pen. The plea put forward was that the Zemindars had failed to carry out improvements in their estates, and hence State interference was necessary. The Cesses were levied evidently for the construction and repairs of roads. Considering that the Zemindars of Bengal have spent on works of public utility and charity an amount of money which in many instances is far beyond their circumstances and which will on comparison be found to be far more than has been spent by the land-holding classes of any country in the world—not even England excepted—the plea put forward for the intervention of Government was a miserable one. There is not a road in a district which has not been constructed at the cost of the Zemindars! Notwithstanding the Duke of Argyle's able despatch to justify this taxation on the ground of its not being in violation of the terms of the Permanent Settlement, the land-holders and ryots as a body rightly considered that it involved a serious breach of faith and a cruel mockery of private rights, calculated to inflict a deep wound on their future welfare and prosperity. These Cesses are now paid

almost simultaneously with the land revenue, and all arrears are charged at the rate of 12 per cent. interest per annum.

The Road and Public Works Cess valuation rolls are prepared in the most perfunctory manner. Sometimes the parties come to know nothing about it, and the Deputy Collector and his underlings do whatever they think proper. Instances are not rare where estates have been valued at double their proper valuations, and this increased rate realised for a long time. We often find most valuable estates sold for nothing by the Road Cess Department for arrears due, the owners knowing nothing about it. People never get proper notice!

At each revaluation at the end of every five years the amount of cesses is increased by leaps and bounds. The law is that it can be increased only if the returns made by landholders show an increment. But the cess office discredits these returns in innumerable cases at its sweet will simply to swell the amount of cesses and show to Government the *good* work done by it. This rose-coloured valuation roll then serves as a public guide; it is published in the Government Gazette and comments are made in administration reports on the growing prosperity of the landlord class and the heartless mode of their squeezing the tenantry!

To add to their misfortune, the Zemindars have been saddled recently with the burden of the cesses on rent free lands. So long this amount was being realized by Government direct from the holders; but being unable to do this any longer on account of the extreme uncertainty of their existence, which is more or less the product of the imagination of the official brain, the Government conceived the benevolent intention of shifting this burden suddenly on to the landholders and remunerating the latter with a liberal commission of 50 per cent. on the realized amount! The Zemindars have to pay the cesses in the first instance and recover it afterwards by suits. As a matter of fact not a single pice is realized in many cases, and they have to pay the whole of this amount out of their own pocket? The Hon'ble Dampier thus writes on the subject:—The duty thus imposed on the Zemindars was found to be burdensome and most distasteful. Items recoverable were often unknown, and the amount of many was so trifling as to make many of them not worth collection. In one case which I came across it could not be represented in any coin. Lakhi-raj-dars are not in the position of ryots, but are independent and in a normal state of antagonism to the Zemindars'.

The Road and Public Works Cesses realized from Bengal amounted to Rs. 83,21,993 in 1895-96. One of the most salutary provisions now introduced into the Cess Act is that the debtor can, by paying the arrears of Cess on the 30th day

after sale, with a penalty of 5 per cent. on it, get the sale set aside and the property restored.

But all this will appear a mere flea-bite in comparison with the great hardships suffered by the landlords and tenants of those parts of the province where the so-called blessings of artificial irrigation and drainage have been introduced by Government. The costs incurred for their construction are simply enormous, and, I dare say, nowhere has the Public Works (Waste) Department frittered away money more wrecklessly and imprudently than here in Bengal. I shall take into consideration the first scheme that was taken in hand by it—the Dankuni Drainage Work. The work cost about four lakhs of rupees; but, I believe, no less an amount than six lakhs of rupees was realised from the public, including interest at 5 per cent. and costs of repairs and maintenance. At first these four lakhs of rupees were apportioned out amongst the Zemindars of the place whose lands were benefited by the drainage, and thus their liabilities were settled. The rule is that, if any owner cannot pay these charges at once, he is allowed to enter into an engagement with the Collector of the district for payment by instalments with 5 per cent. interest per annum within the space of ten years. After some instalments had been paid, defalcations of a very heavy amount took place in the Department. Immediately a clean sweep of all the ministerial officers of the Department was made by the Collector and fresh blood imported from outside. After four or five years, when interest had accumulated to the extent of one-fourth of the principal outlay, vigorous efforts were made for the realisation of the whole money. In the meantime the engagements bonds were mostly lost and the account books were in a state of hopeless muddle. But the whole matter was* placed in the hands of a Deputy-Collector of the old Campbell School, who was bent on realising this money by any means. Drastic measures were at once taken, and people of high position, wealth and respectability were threatened with bodily arrest by warrant, unless the money due was paid off. The drainage is the first charge on the land, and owners asked the Collector to sell their estates, along with the worthless improvements made by the drainage works. But the Collector would do no such thing, as he knew full well that the exorbitant charges would in no case be covered by such a sale! A landholder who sold away his lands to another, was put under arrest for several hours

* This Deputy has been in the district for the last ten years at least and his unpopularity has become quite phenomenal. He should have been transferred long ago according to the rules of the service, especially as he has his family residence at Hooghly.

because he would not pay the money. Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore and the Maharajah of Dighapatya, who purchased a valuable property worth five lakhs of rupees, were saddled with a drainage charge of no less than two lakhs of rupees, including the cost of the Howrah and Rajapur drainage. They paid as much as they could, till even such Croesuses could pay no more. Like ordinary mortals, they, too, had to enter into engagements with the Collector. It was found at last, that a good deal of money had been taken by the Deputy-Collector twice over from them. Repayment was politely asked for, but was refused ! Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore was obliged at last to bring a civil suit to get back the money, and after much money and time had been spent in prosecuting the suit, it was fully decreed, with interest and costs against the Government.

Knowing the iniquity of their proceedings, the Government could not muster courage to file an appeal in that case to the High Court ! But how many village landholders had the same means and courage as Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore, and the credit of exposing the abuses of the Drainage Department before a Court of Justice was left to him ! As for other petty Zemindars, they were simply brought to the verge of poverty and ruin. The proceedings of the Hooghly Drainage Department with reference to the realisation of the charges incurred in the Dankuni drainage construction are simply a record of havoc and devastation. Hardly a single petty landholder remains in possession of his property. The drainage charges were out of all proportion to the benefits derived, and to pay large sums of money with heavy interest at 5 per cent. to Government after the lapse of ten years, the ordinary term of the engagement, and sometimes more than that, was simply impossible. The interest alone came up to more than half the original amount due for the drainage. Add to this the costs of Government. But Government money, good or bad, must be realised some how ! Claims which the account books showed were satisfied years ago, were revived all on a sudden, and the Deputy-Collector, when asked the reason for it, calmly replied that the word "payment" was written by mistake ! People did not know by whom the money was paid ! Co-sharers of an infinitesimally small part of a Zemindari were saddled with the entire drainage charges of it and the whole sum was forcibly realised from them alone. This arbitrary system of realisation gave rise to an amount of oppression which has hardly had any parallel in the history of the Civil Administration of any district. On appeal before the Collector, the poor Zemindars fared equally ill, or rather worse ! In one case, wherein the party was one of the millionaires of the

district, the Collector glibly wrote an order to the effect:—
 “Put him in to jail and he will pay the money! The drainage of Howrah and Rajapore has cost nearly twelve lakhs of rupees, and no one knows what is in store for the people. No one would like to see the bitter experience of the past repeated! With regard to one Zemindari, I personally know that a drainage charge of about two lakhs of rupees has been imposed on it! The Zemindar, one of the richest men in the district, has, however, been unable to pay anything up to now on account of these enormous drainage charges. Whatever money he has paid, and he has paid a pretty large amount, has gone mostly in liquidation of interest! What a pretty position! The Ampta and Madaria drainage is estimated to cost Rs. 9,50,359! The Executive Engineer considered not only that this was a most costly scheme, but that it was not at all necessary. Still it is being pushed on! We have also other irrigation works in Bengal. They are constructed in the delta of Orissa, where they form an extensive system of canals, and in the South of Behar, where the flood discharge of the Son has been intercepted to irrigate lands comparatively thirsty along the south banks of the Ganges.

Are these works a necessity? To this question there is only one answer, and that is a strong negative. This is the testimony of not only the large body of Zemindars and ryots all over the province, but of some of the most experienced and able officials.

Dr. Hunter says:—“In Sindh irrigation is an absolute necessity: in Lower Bengal it may be regarded almost as a luxury!” Mr. Cotton, Chief Commissioner of Assam, thus writes about such works in his interesting *brochure* “New India:”—“If some of the great irrigation works, specially in Southern India, have been magnificently successful, it is no less the case that irrigation projects have been extended to tracts of country where they are altogether unnecessary and unsuitable, while the interest payable on the cost of their construction remains a heavy annual tax on provinces which can profit nothing from them. These works are too often a source of oppression to the people whose lands are irrigated.”

That is also the opinion of Mr. Skrine, who, in his “Laborious Days,” says:—“In Bengal Proper, with the sole exception of South Bihar, irrigation by means of canals has been a failure!” I shall quote here below a couple of frankly damning statements regarding these irrigation schemes from the administration reports of District Officers themselves. The Collector of Hooghly writes thus about the Rajapur drainage:—

“Last year was one of unprecedented and continual rain.

during May, June and July. Paddy, which was twice transplanted, was twice destroyed, and it was not till the middle and end of August that the level of water in different drainage basins was sufficiently reduced and transplantation completed for the third time." (*Calcutta Gazette*, 1895-96.) Now what is the good of these costly drainage schemes if water cannot be drained off and transplantation of paddy successfully carried out by the cultivators at an early stage. The same officer writes "crops in portions of the Dankuni basin are reported to have not been good, as the sluices are said not to have worked properly." (*Calcutta Gazette* 1895-96).

"Irrigation revenue demands were enforced mostly by the process of law, the people resisting them to the last. The recoveries of arrearages of former years were so vigorously carried on, that the actual collections exceeded those of any previous year, except 1874-75. It is impossible to record this result with any satisfaction, as it seems certain that the arrears and the difficulty of enforcing payment were mainly, if not solely, due to the extreme poverty of the people. It is melancholy to read of 12,714 certificates having been issued for the recovery of arrears, after abandoning all claims for less than one rupee, and making remissions on other grounds; and this is a district where irrigators have, as a rule, dealt fairly with the Government, and have always been ready to pay when they had the means. One can hardly read the description of the revenue operations of the year, and, it may be added, of previous years, without a wish that if the state of the cultivators is such as it is described to be by the Collector and his subordinates, irrigation, which, according to them, only enhances the difficulties of the people in ordinary times, had never been introduced at all." (Irrigation Revenue Report, 1896-77).

I do not like to dwell much on the the general advantages and disadvantages of canal irrigation in India. It is now the opinion of many high and responsible officials and non-officials that irrigation of that sort merely acts as a stimulant for a short time and eventually reduced the productive powers of the land. Lieut.-Colonel Corbett in his book entitled "Climate and Resources of Upper India," writes :—"Canal plant grows too quickly; it is, in fact, forced, and it consequently cannot draw sufficient support from the soil fast enough to keep pace with its rapid growth. The produce gets worse as the soil becomes more exhausted!"

It is said that irrigation does temporary and precarious benefit at the cost of the permanent sterilising of the soil.

I shall close this subject with the following gloomy picture of the effects of irrigation in Upper India :—"While our canals had been ruining the fields of the cultivators, our tax-

collecting machinery had been grinding on as if nothing had happened to alter the condition of the cultivators. To meet our demands, these villagers had had recourse to every device which the ingenuity of misery could suggest. They had borrowed money at extravagant rates of interest. They had become the mere farm-slaves of the money-lenders residing in their villages. They had sold the trees on their estates. They had sold their daughters, their silver ornaments, their brass utensils, as many of their cattle as they could spare, and even the rafters of their houses."

This is the testimony of no less an officer than Mr. Sherer, of the Indian Civil Service, who was deputed by Government to visit the distressed districts and report upon the condition of the people and the soil! It is a pity to add a single word to it!

Drainage and irrigation charges are often imposed with impunity even on those who are not in the least benefited by them and whose lands are situated as far from the canals as the East is from the West! By the drainage of swamps the fish supply in the Hooghly district has been immensely diminished!

That most unpopular of taxes the Income Tax is slowly but surely encroaching on the profits of the land-holding class. The law has excluded all agricultural lands and profits from its fearful grip! But the elastic conscience of the Income Tax department can find loop-holes everywhere. No Zemindari can exist without markets and fisheries! A Deputy Collector, who has grown wise in his generation in the work of this cursed department, told me seriously that he always assessed the income-tax from non-agricultural sources at an eighth of the net income of every estate! How grossly unfair! Every corn-field teems with fish during the greater part of the year and is hence assessable! Markets in the out-of-way mofussil, save and except in rare cases, bring in but a small pittance! To bring these within the purview of the Income Tax Act is nothing short of a Machiavellian policy!

Last, but not least, an education Cess is hanging like a Damocles' sword over the head of the land-holding class! We are only waiting to see when it falls, and fall it *will* one day or another, with a terrible crash! All the public bodies consulted have protested with one voice against its imposition, but it will be imposed all the same, for when has Government acceded to the wishes of the people where its revenue is concerned? This Cess is for the education of the masses—a perfect hallucination for the fire-brand and the patriot! They are only waiting for an opportunity to introduce it. But for plague, pestilence and famine, the bolt would have fallen on our head long ago!

Education, however, will have very little effect on the masses if their health is not properly looked after. The Government by its recent legislation can levy water-rate on land-holders with impunity for the benefit of the tenants. *Mens sana in Corpore sano*. It is very good of Government to legislate in these matters. But is there none else save the Zemindar to pay? Mass Education forsooth! Already the Zemindars are supporting nearly all the educational institutions of the country by establishing schools and colleges and *pat-shalas*; and the District Board funds are being largely utilized for the encouragement and extension of primary education throughout the country! By the digging of tanks, wells and reservoirs and by constructing canals in East Bengal at their own cost, they have done a great deal towards the supply of pure water in the villages of every district. But still the Government is not satisfied and will not rest content until they lose all sympathy with the people by making them act under compulsion!

Let any one look at the numerous blessings in the shape of taxes, enumerated above, that have come down from the Government to the Zemindar body, and say whether they are not far too crushing and onerous for any community in any country in the world to bear! That the Zemindars of the present day still stand the strain of these taxes is more than a wonder!

That the assessment of land revenue in Bengal under the permanent Settlement was high, is admitted even by many Indian historians. Mr. Marshan, whose views towards the rulers of this country during John Company's administration were always animated with a sense of high admiration, writes thus about the revenue settlement of 1793 :—"Before dismissing the subject it may be worthy of remark, that, with all his benevolent and generous sympathies for the natives, Lord Cornwallis was not able to advance beyond the traditional creed of England, that all her colonial and foreign possessions were to be administered primarily and emphatically for her benefit. No effort was to be spared to secure the protection, the improvement, and the happiness of the people; but it was with an eye exclusively to the credit and the interests of the governing power. He closes his great minute on the permanent settlement with this characteristic remark: 'The real value of Bengal and Bihar to Britain depends on the continuance of its ability to furnish a large Annual investment to Europe, to assist in providing an investment for China, and to supply the pressing wants of the other presidencies.'"

This "traditional creed" is no new thing. It has been said and sung in blank verse by Cowper, "Disinterested good is not our trade!"

Bishop Heber, writing about the assessment made at the Permanent Settlement, says that even as far as the Zemindars were concerned it was extremely unequal, and in many instances oppressive and ruinously high.

The same high and excessive assessment was fixed in other parts of the country wherever the Zemindary Settlement was introduced subsequent to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. In Benares and Oudh, the tax was raised from its amount in 1801, of 13,52,347 Sicca rupees, to a sum of 19,16,148 Sicca rupees, being an increase on the existing tax of more than 40 per cent., and a foretaste to the oppressed peasantry of the blessings they were to derive from British rule.

We all know that the ryotwari settlement was introduced in parts of this country avowedly for the good of the masses. But it is really startling to read the description of it given by no less an individual than Colonel Munro, the great patron of that form of settlement :—" Was the assessment fixed the highest assessment which it was thought fit in any case to exact for the land? Yes. It was a maximum assessment, which was never expected to be wholly raised; it was an assessment, the total of which was avowedly too high at the time to be realised, without occasional and partial remissions; and it was recommended afterwards to be reduced. Was any abatement made? No." (Evidence before Lord's Committee March 30, 1830. p. 176.)

How recklessly the revenues of this country have oftentimes been settled under the freedom-fostering rule of the British Government can be well imagined from perusing the following, which I take from Mr. F. H. Skrine's *Laborious Days*, page 45 :—" The author of the first settlement of land-revenue of Hoshangabad, who held the title of Political Officer, was one of those sanguine men who believe that peace and security attract capital and increased population as if by magic. Under this impression he raised the revenue of Hoshangabad proper by seventy-three per cent. in the first year, and so *crescendo* till the demand for the fifth year was fifty per cent. above that exorbitant total. The case of Seoni, immortalized by Sterndale's facile pen, was even worse. The demand there was screwed up from Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 1,39,000 in five years! The unhappy Zemindars were, of course, unable to satisfy these claims, and the exactions and cruelties which followed, must have made the people look back on the Pindari raids with something like regret!"

The opinion of Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, Chief Commissioner of Assam, in his *New India*, regarding the excessive assessments of land revenue is so sincere and weighty that I cannot help quoting it here. This is what he says :—

" So it has come to pass that the action of Government has

occasioned the most widespread dissatisfaction and discontent, that, in hundreds and thousands of cases, the Government has been plunged into litigation with its own tenantry, that the principal officers of the Revenue Department have been mobbed by despairing ryots in the streets of Calcutta, and that it has become necessary to revise the settlements, reduce the assessments, and remit revenue demands which ought never to have been made."

Take also, by way of illustration, the following extract from Dr. Buchanan's *Statistical Survey*, Book IV. Chapter VII, on the district of Dinagepore, which is quoted in the Fifth Report (1812):—

"The natives allege that although they were often squeezed by the Moghul officers, they preferred it to the mode that has been adopted of selling their lands when they fall into arrears, which is a practice they cannot endure. Besides, bribery went a great way on most occasions, and they allege that, bribes included, they did not actually pay one-half of what they do now."

If the assessments are so high where the boon of a Permanent Settlement exists, what is the state of things where it does not? The assessments are increased at regular intervals, and what is the result? I shall answer this in the words of Mr. Cotton: "If, so surely as production increases, the Government demand be increased also, it is impossible to expect that the peasantry will labour for the improvement of the land or the extension of cultivation. There is no sense of security, which alone will attract capital and intelligence to agriculture. A bare margin for subsistence alone remains, and the result is that indebtedness extends year by year, and that famines recur with ever-increasing frequency and severity."

In Orissa, Chittagong and some other parts of Bengal where the permanent settlement has not been introduced, this is exactly the state of things. In the North-West Provinces, Punjab and Central India it is worse!

But how have the landowners of the settled tracts in Bengal discharged their duties towards their ryots and the public? History in its fulness of time has given its verdict, and I quote from a modern historian of India on that point:—"Under the genial influence of this territorial charter (Permanent Settlement) population has increased, cultivation has been extended, and a gradual improvement has become visible in the habits and comforts of the people; and the revenue of the provinces of Bengal and Behar have increased to fourteen crores of rupees a year, of which only four crores are derived from the lands."

It is now admitted beyond question that, but for the exertions of the Zemindars, Bengal would never have become as

prosperous, as advanced and as contented as it is now. It was through their exertions that the reed and the bulrush made way for the rice-crop. The jungle retreated before the axe and the plough. The swamp became firm land. In felling forests, reclaiming waste lands and swamps, and building roads, bridges and canals, they have spent an amount of money which few private citizens have done in any part of the civilized world. The Government of India has freely endorsed this view and publicly made the following announcements in the *India Gazette* of 20th October 1883:—"The Bengal of to-day offers a startling contrast to the Bengal of 1793; the wealth and prosperity of the country have marvellously increased—increased beyond all precedent under the permanent settlement. A great portion of this increase is due to the Zemindari body as a whole, and they have been very active and powerful factors in the development of this prosperity."

Gibbon, in his history of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," says that the rapacious ministers of Constantine had exhausted the wealth of Gaul, by exacting twenty-five pieces of gold for the annual tribute of every head as land-tax. The humane policy of his successor reduced the capitation to seven pieces. A moderate proportion between these opposite extremes of extravagant oppression and of transient indulgence, may therefore be fixed at sixteen pieces of gold, or about nine pounds sterling, the common standard, perhaps, of the impositions of Gaul. As the rolls of tribute were filled only with the names of those citizens who possessed the means of an honourable, or at least of a decent, subsistence, the comparative smallness of their numbers explains and justifies the high rate of their capitation, (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Chap. XVII, p. 254.)

Now let us compare this with the land-tax which the Zemindars of Bengal have to pay. The number of revenue-paying estates is 203,259, and the amount of revenue paid is about four crores, which, with the Road and Public Work Cesses and the Dāk Cesses payable on them, comes to about five crores. This will give about Rs. 250, or £25*, as the annual tribute of every head. Now it is clearly more than double of what Constantine used to realize from Gaul, and for this the emperor has been branded as a rapacious monarch in history! What would that great historian have said had he lived in this age and surveyed the panorama of land-tax in British India, as imposed by the Government?

* The equivalent of Rs. 250 in sterling, at the present day, is not £25, but £16-13s-4d. In his comparison of the actual and original amounts of the land revenue of Bengal, the writer similarly overlooks the fall in the value of the rupee.—ED. C. R.

In England there are 972,836 landowners, and the land-tax which they pay to Government is only two millions sterling. This will give about £2 as the annual tribute per head in that country for land-tax. It is a strange anomaly that a Bengal Zemindar has to pay as capitation tax for land no less than twelve times what an English land-holder pays ! Yet we know for certain how enormously rich are the English landlords in comparison with their poor brethren in Bengal.

I have sufficiently shown that it is not only in Bengal that this land-tax is exorbitant, but it is so everywhere in this country ; far more so where the "boon" of a Permanent Settlement has not been conferred.

Has this enormous demand been ever remitted, even during times of famine, flood and drought ? Never, as a rule. On the other hand, no less sympathetic a ruler than Lord Ripon wrote a strong Minute on this subject, and it was decided that demands of land revenue can only be suspended at the most to be realized again at nearly seven per cent. interest per annum as arrears. So that, instead of remissions of revenue having ever been made, steps have always been taken to realize it at an advanced rate even in times of utmost distress.

Here are some cases of hardship which are still hanging fire in Hooghly, showing the arbitrary and oppressive way in which Government can proceed to realize its land revenue. The facts are as follow :—In Hooghly defalcations of a very large amount of Government revenue took place from the Collectorate treasury some time ago. The man in charge of the revenue department who did away with most of this money, was brought to trial and convicted. Government, anxious to realize the defalcated amount, gave notice to many of the Zamindars that, unless they could produce their revenue receipts they would be held liable for these arrears, and their estates would be sold up if the money due was not paid ! As these arrears extend over no less a period than twelve years or more, it is more than probable that the revenue receipts in many cases are not forthcoming. The duplicate receipts have all been destroyed in the Collectorate, as the rule is to destroy them after the lapse of every three years ! Is it fair for Government to call on the Zemindars for payment at such a distant date, especially when it is highly probable that the money has been embezzled by its own-officers ? In ordinary cases every estate which falls into arrears, is speedily brought to public sale before the next instalment of revenue becomes due. Why has this rule been departed from in these cases, and arrears accumulating for several years kept in abeyance ? The claim is such a trumpety one that the Government has not yet ventured to sell off most of these estates. What an unnecessary harassment to

the landholders for the fault, not of themselves, but of the Government officers! The treasury had been robbed under their very nose, and systematic jobbery for a series of years has been going on in the revenue department. The Government of Bengal, perhaps, with full consciousness of the fraud perpetrated by its own men, coolly makes the following remarks in its administration report of 1895-96:—"A net discrepancy of Rs. 46,510 was discovered between the figures of the Estates Ledger, and those of the Accountants' Register of Land Revenue, of which amount Government has been defrauded. The French Government had regularly paid land revenue for their estates in Chandernagore to the late tauzinavis, who misappropriated the whole or part of a sum of Rs. 6,541 paid to him on this account. This Government has no claim upon the French Government for the sum which he embezzled. With the other Zemindars, against whose estates short payments have been found, the case is different, and it has been decided to call upon them to make good the arrears, and, failing payment, to sell their estates."

I conclude this Chapter with the observations of no less a person than Sir William Hunter in his paper on India and Great Britain, about the land tax in India:—"The vast bulk of the revenue of the land, which in England finds its way into the pockets of private individuals, belongs in India to the Government. India comes very near Henry George's ideal of the one-tax State. In India the land-tax is the greatest of all taxes, the mainstay of the revenue."

ICH DIEN.

ART. XI.—WHY THE NATIVE PRESS SHOULD BE LICENSED.

THE radical and unalterable reason why an unlicensed press is successful in England and the reverse in India, is to be found in the simple fact that in England the people are free and homogeneous, in India they are subject and heterogeneous. Principles which apply in a free western nation, obviously need not necessarily apply, and probably will not apply, to an altogether anomalous rule like that of the English in India. Every school boy is acquainted with Milton's magnificent pleading for a Free press. Given the conditions with which he had to deal, his arguments are unanswerable. But it hardly needs higher intelligence than that of the average school boy to perceive that the same arguments are entirely fallacious when used to support a Free press in India. Milton's basic proposition was that Truth stands in no need of artificial safeguards. Closely allied with this was an implied and perfectly justifiable belief that free discussion in the England of his day had for its object the discovery and maintenance of truth. Errors and excesses in one direction would be corrected by sober counsels in the other. Even the inflammatory effect of seditious and mischievous opinion upon the mind of the nation at large was not greatly to be feared, because the nation, as a whole, was vitally interested in maintaining the best form of Government, the highest political ideals consonant with its native genius. Even in a country so fortunately situated as England, where the principles of rational liberty earliest took firm root, where a sturdy independence of character disciplined by an intensely law-abiding spirit, combined with high daring and a well-regulated conscience, to form, if not quite the highest type, certainly one of the highest types of civilised man; even under conditions so favourable, it may very well be doubted whether Milton's great genius could have discovered adequate arguments in favour of allowing absolute freedom to a Jacobite press at the close of the Stuart dynasty. It is obvious that in the disturbed and angry state of parties at that time, seditious and malignant attacks upon constituted authority originating in a fixed opinion irreconcilably hostile to the Crown, must have been dangerous to the general peace; must have deliberately courted more serious mischief than could be counterbalanced by temporarily violating a venerable sentiment. No doubt the Law as then administered was active enough and powerful enough to deal exemplarily with offenders who mistook license for liberty. And where the law of the

country expresses with reasonable accuracy the sense of the people, it can be trusted to vindicate popular disapproval of the ravings of a dangerous minority. For that reason, perhaps, as much as for any other, the English people has never been in any serious risk of suffering from its inflexible adhesion to its beloved privileges. The freedom of the press was, by no means, among the earliest of them; it did not become a part so to speak of the national character, till that character had developed and been trained by severe discipline to understand, and not to abuse, it. No one is better aware than the average Englishman, that his beloved privilege of free speech ought to be under certain restrictions, chief among which are, that any proportion of truth which it may contain shall not be altogether out-weighed by the danger it occasions to the public, and that, if the subject is at all material, it is essential that there should be valid grounds in the mind of the person raising it for believing in its truth. If it could be supposed that an influential section of the English press should give itself up to disseminating systematically seditious and dangerous falsehoods, no one doubts what view the British public would very soon and very sternly take of the conduct of such journals. It is, therefore, principally on account of idiosyncratic qualities, largely peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon race, that a Free press becomes among them a valued and a useful institution. Not a single reason of the same kind can truly be advanced in support of the Free Vernacular press of India.

In the first place the danger always in some degree inseparable from the existence of a Free press, the danger of inflaming the masses against authority, is infinitesimal in England, while in India it is real and serious. In England the people choose their own rulers, and have every means of seeing that they are well and justly governed. The risk of inciting disaffection in any large body of the people is quite too remote to need consideration. There is no race division; all are alike Englishmen, proud of their name and proud of their country. The spirit of patriotism is vigorously alive, and where patriotism flourishes, the administration need never fear internal revolt and disruption. How is it possible to extend the parallel to India? So far from the conditions under which we have allowed our English notions about a Free press to approve the birth and growth of a Vernacular Free press being in any sense parallel, they present a series of vivid contrasts. In England the people are free; in India the people are slaves. In England the people are wrapped up in and form an integral part of the Government; in India those of them who use the press are almost without exception irreconcilably hostile to the Government. In this country the Government represents an alien

race of conquerors, so that, while in England the invaluable centripetal and cohesive force of patriotism confirms and supports the Government, in India whatever substituted emotion does duty in the breasts of demagogues and politicians for patriotism expresses itself in an intense and undying hatred of the ruling class. In name the controllers of the Native press are our fellow-subjects ; in fact they are our deadly enemies. If any one objects that such language is too strong or too sweeping, let him candidly and without prejudice study the leading anti-Government papers of the Deccan, for the past two years. It is impossible to deny that they breathe a spirit of rancour and disloyalty which is wholly incompatible with good citizenship. Their so-called criticism is not criticism at all ; it is a long tirade against Government, Government men and Government measures. Every imaginary fault is greedily seized upon and held up to execration ; of the innumerable merits of British rule there is never a whisper. Where the facts exhaust their ingenuity, it vindicates itself in fabrication. The stream of misrepresentation and lies which is poured forth continuously in the vernacular " free press," beggars description and wearsies refutation. It is not, perhaps, any separate lie, however monstrous, that is of great consequence : but the malevolent spirit which propagates one calumny after another, constantly railing at and reviling Government, is of the very greatest consequence. We should always bear in mind that a subject race is never likely really to love its conquerors. The apathy of the masses, and bondsmen slaves by heredity and tradition, generation after generation in turn bowing the neck to one foreign yoke after another—is too often misinterpreted into an intelligent appreciation of our good government, and a reasoned determination to uphold it. It may be true that the ryot infinitely prefers the cold unsympathetic justice of the Englishman to the tyrannous dishonesty of the Brahmin. Sunk and degraded though the masses are, it would be strange if they had not sense enough for that. But their sentiments towards us are characteristically passive, not vigorous enough to withstand the cajoling of superstition and religion. The Native press appeals to them in their own jargon, stirs them with shibboleths centuries old, plays upon the easily excited passion of race antipathy, and sets before it from first to last one object and one alone, to make Government and the governing race odious in the eyes of the people.

It may very well be asked, if all this is true ; how comes it that any Government, at once rational and powerful, submits to the vilifications of a subject press. The answer which the Anglo-Indian Government would probably give would be of this kind. The Native press is certainly most objectionable in

its tone ; it does more harm than good, but we cannot condescend to gag it. Our position is unassailable ; our hands are clean ; what does it signify that a handful of blatant discontented men waste their time week after week in misinforming such of the public as will listen to them of our motives and our measures ? It pleases them, and it does not really hurt us. Besides, the principle to which they would instantly appeal if we endeavoured to interfere, is a principle to which every Englishman adheres ; any invasion of it would provoke the most furious clamour at home, and we do not care to face an outbreak of that kind.

The first part of the argument is of a piece with a great deal of English sentiment upon Indian problems. That sentiment is very apt to invent. The first part of the argument is characteristic of the English attitude of mind ; of that insular pride which cannot bear to place itself quite on the same level as other people, and is always extremely impatient of acknowledging that criticism touches it. It is also, no doubt, the outcome of a worthier feeling, the consciousness of honestly doing our duty by our subject peoples. But, while it is amusing, if we look at it in the first light, and quite natural if we look at it in the second light, it may still be doubted whether it is wholly true. The attitude of superb indifference to hostile criticism in which the Government habitually indulges may be carried too far. It is generally supposed to indicate firmness, strength and a confident virtue ; but it is possible that less flattering observers may interpret it differently, and imagine that what Government puts down to a noble and proper pride, is due to pusillanimity or indolence. No Oriental could realize any other motives for allowing a dependent to besmirch his honour. It would appear quite incredible that such outrages were ignored out of a spirit of profound contempt for the perpetrators and of profound respect for the principle under the abuse of which they shelter themselves. And there is now a growing feeling among Englishmen themselves that the Government is carrying toleration in this matter too far, and that the time is ripening quickly for withdrawing from our native subjects a privilege which they have, almost without exception, grossly and systematically misused. It is at this point that Government will, of course, fall back upon the second part of its argument ; however expedient any such measure might be, we shall, no doubt, be told that so long as the temper of the English people at home remains what it is ; so long as their ignorance of the conditions under which the Government of this country is carried on remains as dense and dogmatic as it unfortunately still is, any attack upon the liberty of the Press in India would excite an opposition at home too furious to be faced. The bulk of the English voters, to

whom the Liberty of the Press is a sacred phrase, are totally incapable of drawing the most obvious distinctions between conditions in which one and the same principle may be most salutary or most dangerous. Not only so, but they are totally ignorant of the true state of affairs in India. All that they know of India is derived from Macaulay, or the Radical stump orator primed up for the occasion by the young Indian in London. Unfortunately Macaulay's splendid powers were employed to give permanent point to the common misconception among our countrymen at home, that, immediately the English official is to the East of Suez, his whole nature changes, his whole moral fibre deteriorates, and he assumes with Eastern office the hateful vices of the Eastern despot. The better educated class of Englishmen are beginning reluctantly and slowly to abandon the belief in what may be called Macaulay's Anglo-Indian ; more than half against their will, the logic of simple facts is convincing them that their brethren employed in the administration of India are almost as honourable and efficient as themselves, and a hundred daily examples prove the truth of the old saying : *Coelum, non animam, mutant qui trans mare currunt*. But it takes a long time to disabuse the popular imagination of a vividly conceived type, and it is extremely doubtful whether in spite of the easy facilities now existing for intercourse between India and England ; in spite of the fact that England is flooded with Anglo-Indian officials, retired or on leave, the whole mass of whom hold, and perhaps rather tediously express, the same views on all radical points of the Anglo-Indian administration, the average man in the street would not rather trust any exuberantly verbose young Ghose or Chatterjee on Indian problems, than the most deliberate assurance of the most veteran Anglo-Indian Administrator. The former, they see for themselves, belongs to the people for whom he so eloquently pleads ; the latter they more than suspect of being a blood and iron bureaucrat. They cannot and never will forget Nuncomar. And it seems almost as true to say that they have not faintly realised, and never will realise, the utter imposture of the patriotism to which the young Ghoses and Chatterjis treat them so generously. A sovereign democracy, with all its good points, has its drawbacks, and among the most marked of these is the difficulties in which it finds itself in understanding Imperial subjects, and the difficulties it throws in the way of better informed people who do understand them and desire to solve them. Admirably adapted as the British character is for ruling itself within the four corners of its dear Island home, it is by no means so well qualified to exercise a collective and effective control over the huge oriental dependencies of its crown.

Exactly as this is true, so is it certain that Demos will resent it ; he does not wish or care to hear of the defects of his intelligence. His passions are easily excited. Liberty is a cry to which he is always ready to give a hearty, roaring response. The rare and scattered Indians he has seen are in his generous eyes his brothers in more than name, fluent speakers, wonderful manipulators of political phrases, and past masters in all those histrionic and deceptive arts by which Demos is most easily imposed upon. They speak to him with glowing eyes of the downtrodden millions of India, of whom they know very little more than honest Demos himself ; they paint the wrongs which the brutal bureaucracy of England inflicts upon them in the name of a free and noble people. At this Demos is naturally enraged. It is part of the strength of his character that he is always in sympathy with the weaker side, and he has never been conspicuous for anything like a supra-normal discernment of Truth. He generalises rather rashly from the words of his dusky fluent friend that the suffering millions are all as well educated in Johnsonian English and the principles of Mill as the speaker himself, and it never strikes him with a sense of incongruity that, if it were so, their suffering is barely intelligible, but their silence under it nothing short of a miracle.

It is in this frame of mind, perhaps, that Demos is approached upon the subject of gagging the Native press. The very word is odious and an outrage on that sense of universal freedom and brotherhood in which the British public expansively indulges. It would be perfectly idle to hint ever so vaguely at fallacies in the major premiss of Demos' simple argument. They are our fellow subjects, he says, and, therefore, free ; it is the inalienable privilege of the free-born Briton to have a Free press. "Don't talk to me of Gagging ; we do not live under any despotism now-a-days I should hope." If you were to try to stem this torrent of platitude by suggesting that names were very often empty sound, and that the underlying reality was something very different from what an honest Briton might suspect from the promising labels on the cover, Demos would either not understand a distinction so subtle, or would fly into a rage and put you down as one more prejudiced official. Yet, in sober earnest, it is the principal object of this paper to insist, rather than point out, for the pointing out has been done so often, to insist upon the facts and get rid, as much as possible, of misleading phrases. It is because of the solid and perhaps insurmountable resistance, founded upon a misunderstanding of the elements of the whole subject, with which any proposal to curb the present intolerable license of the Vernacular press would

be met at home, that it is allowed to insult the Government and disgrace itself with the most perfect impunity. If it were possible to undermine the foundations of that misunderstanding, to put the position of the English in India clearly and simply before the common Englishman at home, to gain his attention and keep it until he had mastered the A. B. C. of that great problem of which he holds in his horny-hand the ultimate key, the position of the Executive in India would be incalculably strengthened, and our relations with the subject races would lose much of cant, and gain much in wholesomeness. Whether, however, the tribunal to which effective appeal has sooner or later to be made is qualified yet, by education and intelligence, to cope with a subject so complex and special as England's position and duties in India, is a question which few people would be sanguine enough to answer unqualifiedly in the affirmative. But while there is much in India which the Englishman at home will never even faintly understand, there are some comparatively simple considerations making for the conclusion that it would be no bad thing to substitute a discreet system of licensing for the present extremely indiscreet liberty of the Native press. It is these considerations, the simplest possible and lying upon the surface of our history and everyday experience, that will be selected.

The word history suggests one cardinal fact which ought never to be forgotten in summing up the true position. I mean that the English won this country by the sword and keep it only by the same means. It is a very unpopular truth, and it is kept in the background as much as possible, so much so indeed that recent generations seem to forget that it is a fact at all. It is not brought thus prominently forward merely because of its minatory sound, but because it is most essential in any fair and unprejudiced examination of what right the people of this country can fairly put forward to maintain a Free press. It may be assumed that, once the question is mooted, it will be defended by the natives as of right and not as of favour only. The value, then, of stating it at the outset upon a basis of historical truth cannot be over-estimated. Conceded that we have the power, as I suppose nobody will seriously deny, to break up every seditious press and flog every seditious Editor to-morrow, 'the broader question—that which, to the honour of England be it said, lies on the conscience of every Englishman from the first to the last day of his service in this country—next arises.

Have we the moral right to curb absolute freedom of utterance in India? Exception must be made of particular cases which fall within the reach of the criminal law. These the law

deals with as they arise, and they present no further difficulty. What is meant by the main proposition is whether, owing to essential and constant factors inherent in our rule over India, and paying every regard to political morality and political expediency (in so far as the two can be reconciled), we do not find ourselves in the result not only justified in withholding, but obliged to withhold, from our nominal fellow-subjects certain blessings and privileges of the almost perfect freedom we ourselves enjoy? And in particular, whether, looking first among these privileges to the freedom of the press, it is not our duty to ourselves and to the public tranquillity to put a permanent check on the publication and wide dissemination of seditious and disloyal literature?

The primary duty of Governments, as of individuals, is self-preservation. Political suicide is no more justifiable, indeed it is a great deal less justifiable, than individual suicide. For in the death of a State is bound up a mass of other interests entirely incommensurate with what is lost by the death of any individual. It is true, perhaps, that the British rule in India is not, strictly speaking, definable in such terms as a State, or a Nation, or even a polity. It is an abnormal growth, the result of a vast and unparalleled experiment; in its inception it may not have mattered essentially to the well-being of England, as then understood, whether the experiment succeeded or failed. The incentives to acquire an Indian appanage of empire lay rather in the necessity of forestalling other European nations with the like ambitions, than in any definite notion of Empire-making, or of the long train of political consequences to be drawn in the wake of what were at first mercantile rather than national conquests. But at the present day the Indian portion of the British Empire is of vital importance. And, although the British rule in India is altogether unlike anything of the kind that the modern world has ever seen, it is perfectly true to say that any deliberate relinquishment of it would amount, from the point of view of the Empire as a whole, to political suicide. No one pretends that the most fatuous Radical statesman has yet gone the length of consciously advocating, in so many words, anything quite so foolish as this. But a great many Radical gentlemen—it would be an excess of politeness to call them statesmen—have undeniably advocated over and over again, with a pitiful warmth, measures of which the ultimate logical result seems to be the overthrow of the British Power in India. Trifling as the libertine utterances of a few scurrilous rags may appear, as a proximate cause of any result so vast and appalling, it is worth while to enquire whether they do not tend in that direction.

It is a truism as old as man that small beginnings may make unpleasantly large endings. The source of a mighty river appears very insignificant, but the river in full flood is the reverse of insignificant. If, then, on a fair consideration of the spirit and purpose of the free Native Press, we are reluctantly forced to the conclusion that whether a directly efficient cause or not, it is nevertheless distinctly a cause which might contribute, and is intended to contribute, to the overthrow of the established order, those who are responsible for the stability of the Government are bound to see that it does not grow beyond the reach of repression. To take any other view falls little short of advocating political suicide. When harsh truths of this kind are bluntly stated, easy-going folk are apt to smile in a superior way and talk vaguely of the folly of alarmist utterances. The importance of preserving an unruffled calm in the face of any and every contingent catastrophe is gently insisted upon, and it is hinted plainly enough that those who predict dangers are afraid of their own imaginings. But it is surely no indication of fear, to examine rigorously significant phenomena of daily occurrence, to forecast their inner meaning, and, if possible, to neutralize in time their perilous potentialities. There is a broad distinction between true courage and mere foolhardiness. It is the part of the former to realize the full contents of every germ of danger, and to be prepared to grasp any nettle, however poisonous, with a firm hand. The feeling which really underlies the expressed sentiments of most responsible men in this country, when they discuss the Native Press, is that the danger of suppressing it is much greater than any danger to be apprehended from allowing it to continue on its evil ways. And from the personal standpoint this is no doubt true. No individual runs any appreciable risk from the malignant calumnies of lying agitators; while any Governor who passed a gagging act would incur so much odium both in this country and at home, that it is not much to be wondered at if Governors prefer to let the noxious weed alone. We salve our consciences over what we feel uneasily to be but at best an imperfect discharge of a primary political duty, by pretending that, after all, the press of India has not much influence; and that it serves a useful purpose as a safety valve for all the poisonous gases of disaffection that would be otherwise generating in secret. This is a poor piece of sophistry, almost as poor as that other feeble argument sometimes advanced in support of the freedom of the Native press, that here and there they do good by bringing to light some real grievance that might otherwise have escaped the notice of the authorities.

Considerations of this kind must always be more or less relative. In the case under discussion we are to consider the relative good and evil done by the Native Press. The good is infinitesimal; in fact, it may very well be doubted whether any can be discovered; the evil is enormous and daily on the increase. Neither is it true to say that the Native Press wields no influence. It does not sway the people as much as it desires to do; otherwise there would be a general revolt to-morrow. But some of the worst papers have a large circulation, and the circulation by no means fully represents the numbers who actually read and imbibe the poison. Another melancholy indication of the pernicious uses of the press is to be found in the notorious fact that, precisely as a paper is irreconcilably opposed to the Government, its circulation increases. There are Native journals of the most vicious character which have a circulation about three times as great as any English paper, and a circle of readers about thirty times as great. This huge body of crude and inflammable native opinion, uninstructed, restless, ignorant, often fanatical, takes its political doctrine from the writings of men who are almost the avowed enemies of the Government. It reads nothing on the other side, because there is nothing for it to read. It is constantly told that its rulers are foreigners, haters of the old faith, tyrants, often even murderers; every inducement is held out to make the native brood on a sense of race injustice and race antipathy, and to cultivate ideals which could not long co-exist, were practical effect to be given to them, with the British rule in India. This picture is not in the least over coloured. Surely it is of a kind to make thinking men seriously reconsider the situation, and turn over the old effete arguments for continuing to the Native Press a freedom that never should have been granted.

It is easy to foresee that at this point a certain class of sentimentalists will protest that where there is so much smoke there must be some fire—that the inveterate hatred which is evinced in all the utterances of the Brahmin press must have an adequate cause; that presumably that cause must be the injustice, or want of sympathy, shown by the ruling to the ruled race. This proposition entirely neglects one all powerful and constantly operative cause, the permanent and prolific potency of racial distinctions, and of racial subjection. It is absolutely untrue to say that Government is ever wilfully and consistently unjust: on the contrary, its conscience is almost morbidly sensitive to the faintest reproach on this head, and it is rather in the habit of exaggerating and insisting upon the theoretical equality of all subjects of the Empress. But it is as true that it is contrary to the most deeply seated

principles of human nature that any large body of educated, ambitious alien opinion should ever be sincerely loyal to a foreign domination. It is mainly because Englishmen generally shut their eyes to the fundamental fact that in India we are a Government founded on conquest and force, that we find so many theories as plausible as they are false almost universally current and popular. The Englishman is constitutionally and pre-eminently a free man, incapable of submitting patiently to any alien yoke ; and he dislikes the idea that an enormous number of his so-called fellow-subjects are quite differently situated in the vast and ever increasingly complex scheme of the Empire. He prefers to hide the disagreeable fact behind a pleasing and congenial fiction. The chiefly important functions of a Free press are its educative, its critical and its informatory functions ; and its value is in precise proportion to the efficiency with which it discharges them. Let us, then, examine by this test the value of the Free Vernacular press. A Free press ought, in theory, to educate uninstructed opinion ; it ought to teach a class of readers whose capacity for independent and unguided reflection is very small, to think wisely upon questions of policy and government ; and if it is actuated by a becoming spirit and responsibility, it should also teach them to think calmly and rationally. But the mere statement of these primary obligations suggests large possibilities of abuse. It is one danger inseparable from the existence of a Free press, that it use its opportunities and its power to disseminate evil instead of good. In a nation where a free press is so to speak organic, an integral part of the nation's growth, any pernicious tendencies it may display in this direction, can be easily and almost automatically corrected. It is only on the very improbable and unnatural hypothesis that the entire press of such a nation should be in league to corrupt the national morality and subvert constituted authority, that the danger would become serious and real. And if such a condition of affairs were conceivable, it could only be because the nation was out of sympathy with the Government it had itself appointed and desired to be rid of it. The Government, however, being in reality the creature of the nation, it is quite impossible to imagine any such abnormal conditions persisting to the point of danger. Under normal and everyday conditions, it is almost an essential part of the constitution of a free people that its press should be free. But the case is manifestly different where the press speaks for a subject race. In the former case the educative functions of the press are, speaking generally, beneficial and extremely useful. It discusses national questions in easily intelligible language and presents to the

mass of its readers arguments and ideas which they would be unlikely to find for themselves. Above all, the press invariably takes sides, so that the masses can, if they choose, read everything that is to be said on both sides of any debateable subject. And lastly, with whatever animosity any section of the press may be animated against a particular measure, a particular party, or a particular politician, it is impossible that it should be in any true sense seditious or disloyal. On certain subjects, such as the conflict between capital and labour, its teachings may be inflammatory, and it may be answerable for mischievous ebullitions of class feeling. But, on the whole, it is as deeply saturated as the bulk of the people with the characteristically English veneration for law and order, and the equally characteristically English dislike of sensationally extreme and violent methods. In India every material factor in the problem is altered. The Free Vernacular press has no interests in common with the Government. It is the organ of a small but influential faction of disaffected men, who desire nothing so much as to embroil the relations existing between the Governors and the governed; whose constant object it is to obstruct the authorities; whose consciences, if they possess any, are so blunted by racial and fanatic passion, as to be insensible to any civic obligations. The educative influence of a Free press in such hands must inevitably be entirely evil; and, in fact, recent experience accumulates rapidly to prove that it is, if possible, more evil than tolerant men anticipated.

The educative function of the press in India is thus seen to be wholly misused. It does not attempt to form a sound and loyal public opinion. It is not, like the Free press of a free country, in opposition, because the opposition are as interested as the ministerial organs in maintaining the essentials of good Government, while the Vernacular press aims solely at undermining and subverting an alien authority which it hates irreconcilably. To take a simple illustration. During the last three years the Western Presidency has been devastated by plague. The sufferings of an ignorant people under such a visitation are almost indescribable. They do not understand the simplest principles of hygiene and sanitation; they are naturally altogether blind and indifferent to the enormous pecuniary interests at stake, the destruction of trade, and the tremendous additional strain imposed upon the machinery and finances of Government. They can hardly be expected to comprehend the complex necessities compelling a sorely taxed administration to have recourse to every measure, however seemingly drastic, which, in the opinion of competent scientific advisers, may stay the progress of the pestilence.

No one can feel more deeply for the people, no one can sympathise more sincerely with the terrible sufferings, hardships and sorrows to which they are inevitably exposed during a virulent epidemic of plague, than the present writer. Left to themselves, they would, no doubt, infinitely prefer to die in thousands, than attempt to combat the plague by means of evacuation, segregation and inoculation. But the Government of a country has larger interests to protect than any individual, and it would be criminally neglectful of its responsibilities if, out of a false or timorous sentimentality, it permitted itself to fall in with the passive mood of the bulk of its ignorant subjects. Where the distance between the intellectual level of rulers and ruled is so enormous as it is in India, it becomes inevitable under these conditions that the latter should regard with unreasoning distrust, discontent, even, perhaps, animosity, the stringent preventive and repressive measures of the former. They realise keenly enough the present discomforts which these measures entail upon themselves, but they have not a spark of that enlightenment which might help them to see that Government is actuated solely by a desire for their own good and the prosperity of the country to which they belong. They are like children who hate the doctor and his healing draught, because the taste is bitter. What part has the Free press of Western India taken in dealing with the peculiar passions excited by Government plague measures? Has it ever counselled the people wisely? Has it attempted to point out to them that Government plague regulations are the outcome of the highest available scientific advice, and may, therefore, be presumed to be likely, if loyally obeyed and carried out, to check the spread of the disease? Nothing of the kind. The press has, almost unanimously, and from the first, harped upon the invidious theme of race distinction, has vilified almost every conspicuous officer engaged in carrying out the Government plague policy, has pandered disgracefully to the besotted ignorance and superstition of the people, has inflamed their anger at what they imagine to be the unnecessary hardships inflicted upon them, has in every possible way striven to foment a dangerous spirit of discontent and to excite them to hatred and contempt of their rulers. Here if anywhere, was a splendid opportunity for the Free press to vindicate its claims to be a beneficent educative power. The men who control it are not so ignorant as to be able to claim even the poor indulgence of a misguided sincerity. They knew, as well as the officers whom they unceasingly abused, that the policy of Government was founded in enlightened humanity. But they had not the honesty to say so. On the contrary they went to the people, week after week, day after day, with poisonous lies in their mouths.

They taught them that Government was unmeaningly harsh to them, and wickedly indulgent to Englishmen. This dangerous calumny has not been confined to the anonymous writers of Vernacular journals. Men who claim to be in the very front rank of educated native opinion, who brag freely enough of their political reputations and their unsullied honour, have not been above stooping to use it when it suited their purpose. Yet they at least knew perfectly well that, in exempting Europeans from certain plague restrictions, Government was acting upon a then well-grounded belief that the European was practically immune, and not in the slightest degree upon the unworthy motive of emphasising race distinctions. The point would hardly deserve notice except as illustrating how very thinly the veneer of English phrase and English sentiment covers the underlying native conscience, even in the highest products of our various training schools. A gentleman who parades his honour as quite on a par with that of any British officer and almost in the same breath works himself into a fine spurious rage of indignation over an injustice which he knows perfectly well is no injustice at all, is an interesting and significant study. It is not, however, surprising that the implacable enemies of Government who control the Vernacular press should lay so much stress on this particular lie when it evidently passes current with men in a very different position, men whose connexion with Government ought to have taught them to use their abilities and influence to better purpose.

As separable and distinct from the educative function, the other two functions of a Free press are comparatively insignificant. The critical efforts of the press may be looked at from two sides, from the side of the Government which is commonly the object of criticism, and from the side of the people for whose benefit the criticism is undertaken. In the latter point of view the critical is hardly distinguishable from the educative function, and need not be separately discussed. Obviously if the press abuses the powers it has for educating the dawning intelligence of the masses, it will likewise abuse the powers it has for placing before them a criticism of the measures of their Rulers. And this is not only *a priori* predicable, but is a fact to the general truth of which experience will, I think, testify. Criticism, to possess any real value, ought to be, in the first place, impartial; in the second place, honest; in the third place competent. Failing any of these qualities it is *pro tanto* less valuable; failing all of them it is altogether valueless. But the criticism which the Native press usually bestows upon the policy of Government is rarely either honest or impartial. It is vitiated by a radical bias against the

integrity of the Rulers. The writers for the press know as well as any one that their main premiss is false, but that does not deter them from using it in almost all their most popular arguments. On the assumption that the Government was sincerely and honestly striving, at least, as much for the welfare of the people as for its own, it would be almost impossible for the average Native Editor to fill a column of political criticism in a year. But on the extraordinarily fecund hypothesis that the governing body is malevolently bent on repressing every higher aspiration of the subject masses, political agitators find no difficulty in manufacturing virulent attacks on almost every large measure of Government policy. Where the interests at stake are imperial, the common cry is that the expense is unjustly charged upon the already over-taxed ryot; where the interests at stake are local, the Free press teaches the people that Government is actuated by a covert spirit of racial animosity and ineradicable injustice. Viewed from the other side, it is plain that the Government cannot derive much benefit or assistance from criticism of this kind. Here and there instances might be found where an intelligent and enlightened native opinion has thrown light upon some difficult problem of internal administration; but such instances are, I fear, the exception proving the rule. Those who are responsible for the government of the country are not likely to profit much by a criticism which breathes a rancorous hatred in its every line, and imputes to the authorities a kind of injustice of which their whole lives and work offer the completest refutation. It is the well-known practice of the Government to circulate excerpts from the Vernacular press to administrative officers, partly for their information and occasionally, perhaps, for their guidance. The passages which are thus collected week by week under the supervision of a Government official, do not truly represent the worst phases of the malignancy of the Free press. But, although very much worse illustrations might easily be procured, these are frequently quite bad enough. It is difficult to imagine a worse training for a newly joined official, than the weekly perusal of selections from the Native press. With whatever high ideals of doing good to the people over whom he has been placed, with whatever philanthropic hopes of establishing between himself and them something like a genuine sympathy, with whatever sanguine illusions on the subject of our common brotherhood, he may have entered upon his career, his mind must soon be poisoned and embittered against the subject race by these specimens of their hopeless inaccessibility. He turns away sick and discomfited from a contemplation of so much evil for so much good.

It is in vain that Englishmen spend their lives in holding up high standards of justice and impartiality before eyes that are wilfully blind. If the Free press truly reflects the sentiments of the peoples of India, then our unceasing efforts to raise them to higher levels, to implant in them some moral responsibility, to cultivate in them the germs of rational good citizenship, have been labour thrown away. It is not the purpose of this paper to prove that the Free press does not, in truth, represent the sentiments of the masses, any more than the foolish verbiage of the Congress does ; but it is part and the chief part of its purpose to show clearly that, while the Free press is dominated by this peculiarly noxious spirit, it has no valid claim to continue Free. Freedom is an inestimably valuable gift which carries with it high responsibilities. In such a complex case as that of our Indian Empire it is shackled by numerous implied conditions, and where those conditions are systematically violated, the question assumes a sudden and sharp prominence, whether it is not time to revoke the gift ?

Before passing on to another topic, I may illustrate by a common example the character of the criticism by which the Native Free press is distinguished. Cases unfortunately occur with some frequency in which Englishmen, by rash acts of temper, become answerable for the lives of Natives. In ninety-nine out of every hundred of these cases there is no serious intention to kill, and death is hardly more than an accidental result. But the Native press fastens upon every instance and insists with groundless bitterness that, where the law is invoked between the White and the Black, it becomes a mere travesty of justice. The insinuation, not always even veiled in decent language, is that the judicial tribunals of the country deliberately prostitute their honour and integrity to racial prejudice. The calumny is as vile as it is unfounded. And the men who sedulously propagate and repeat it know perfectly well that it is so. There was a certain notorious case in which an unfortunate officer shot a native woman in the mists of the morning, mistaking her for a bear. No reasonable being ever had the slightest doubt but that the killing was a sad accident, and, under all the peculiar circumstances of the case, an accident for which there was a good deal of excuse. But the Native press seized upon it, and for years made capital out of it, pretending to believe that there had been an intentional miscarriage of justice. Not very long afterwards, precisely the same thing occurred, but this time the delinquent was a native customs peon. He was never even brought to trial, and I waited with some curiosity to see whether the Native press would exhaust itself in malignant vituperation

over this case. But, as far as I was able to ascertain, no local paper ever mentioned the occurrence. It did not suit them; they could not make it a peg on which to hang their false tirades about racial injustice. So with one accord they passed it over in silence. It is notorious, and no one is better aware of the fact than the editors of the Native press, that not a month passes in which natives are not treated in all the Sessions Courts of the country with precisely the same legal indulgence as that which, in the case of English offenders is invariably made the text of a furious attack on the judicial administration. If there is anything amiss with the leniency of which the papers always complain when an Englishman is the recipient of it, they have the same cause of complaint in thousands of cases yearly brought against their own countrymen. But they never allude to them. They pretend not to see that, if there is an evil to be remedied, it is an evil inherent in the law itself, not in the administration of it; and such criticism as they indulge in is vitiated and useless as it centres on a basic falsehood.

Reflections on the informatory uses of the Press must be sufficiently obvious. A Free Native Press might discharge a valuable duty to the Government by keeping it informed of events and currents of Native opinion of which it might otherwise obtain no knowledge. And to a certain extent the Native press does in this way supply a want. But, unfortunately, the character of the particular items of news which it sedulously purveys is monotonously uniform, and usually limited to instances of what it chooses to consider injustice and oppression on the part of the Government agency. Unremitting enquiry and investigation prove that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the information given by the Press is wholly untrue, or grossly, and apparently purposely, exaggerated. Very few real abuses have been brought to light by this means. Nor does the Native press, as a rule, honestly indicate important currents of Native opinion. Indirectly it no doubt does so, by the peculiar tone which pervades it in the discussion of certain lines of policy. But its object can hardly be described as informatory. It does not wish to warn Government of hidden dangers, but rather to inflame the causes of discontents and so aggravate, by secret and allusive methods, any dangerous feeling of the existence of which it may happen to be aware. If we take such notorious instances as the cow-killing agitation, the Shivaji cult, and the more recent Ganpati propaganda, impartial observers must reluctantly conclude that the Native press was in conspiracy and warm sympathy with a mass of dangerous and inflammable opinion; that it did not desire to expose the tendency of that opinion, but

rather to work on the fanatical and ignorant prepossessions of the subject races and to augment the embarrassments and difficulties with which in such delicate matters the Government found itself obliged to cope.

Whenever information that might be essentially valuable to the Government is specially within the knowledge of the Native press, it may be said with reasonably general accuracy, that it is sedulously withheld ; it is only that kind of information, possessing little intrinsic value, which serves the purpose of disaffected political agitation, that is freely and irresponsibly offered.

The apologists for the freedom of the Native press mainly rely on the safety valve argument. They maintain that, for good or evil, the unrestrained utterances of the organs of Native opinion are exceedingly useful to intelligent readers as expressive indicia to deep undercurrents of popular feeling which would not otherwise come to the notice of the ruling power. And this argument is obviously closely connected with the topic I am now discussing. I think its importance is much over-rated. One part of it is that the feelings of irritation and disloyalty which find free expression in the Vernacular papers would constitute, if the press were forbidden to utter them, a hidden canker, and a focus of seditious organization, the potential dangers of which are incalculable. This is a specious proposition ; but its force depends mainly upon the true establishment in this calculation of a ratio between cause and effect. It may very well be doubted whether, apart from the energy of the disaffected press as a fomenting agency, its own particular propaganda have any firm hold on the sentiments of the masses. The party responsible for the worst section of the Vernacular press is a small party. It contains a disproportionate share of a kind of perverted ability, but the grievances which excite its animosity are mostly personal to the clique and of a kind which the masses would not, if left to themselves, feel with any keenness. There is very little real sympathy between the educated Brahmin of our schools and the ryot, less a great deal than between the ryot and the district officer. But, by means of the Press, this solid and purposeful body of irreconcilable opinion makes itself felt to an extent altogether out of proportion to its true political importance. It does not put its own grievances, which, for the most part, amount to no more than an unsatisfied ambition, in the forefront of its programme. But it appeals with considerable skill and power to the religious and racial prejudices of the ignorant peasantry. On these, the main texts of its diatribes, it does not hesitate, as I have already pointed out, to pervert the truth wholesale, and to mis-

represent both the motives and the character of the governing body. The ryots have no means of checking the surprising facts which are daily laid before them, and when these disgraceful instances of injustice are accompanied by a running commentary invoking their superstition and the deeply laid foundations of their ancient faith to rise in protest against the indignities put upon them by an unbelieving and unsympathetic race, it would be surprising if the effect did not greatly exceed the means and the true causes of the agitators. Put in another way the disloyal sentiments with which the Native press abounds are not so much a safety valve for the escape of a superfluity of such feeling, permeating the uneducated classes in an ascertainable volume and intensity, as the productive cause of as much of it as really does exist unexpressed and undefined. It is a very hazardous and a very reckless assumption that the opinion of the seditious Vernacular papers represents any large body of popular opinion outside the school to which the writers themselves belong. But it is reasonable to suppose that if publicists of that temper are permitted to disseminate their ideas with impunity and to fortify them with imaginary facts, and all the weight of racial and religious bias, they will succeed in time in creating a correspondingly wide and undesirable temper in large sections of the rural community. It is too much the fashion to pretend to mistake what we all know was originally, and even at present principally is, nothing more than a potential cause, for an unavoidable and on the whole salutary effect.

There is another unamicable feature of the Native Vernacular press to which it is questionable whether a parallel can be found in the Free press of other countries. I refer to the practice of black-mailing in which many of the lowest and most needy papers freely indulge, on which, indeed, they mainly depend for existence. This is a moral rather than a political evil, and is of a kind which Government cannot very well attempt to deal with wholesale. It has not any very large or direct relevance to the broad principles upon which I claim that the whole Vernacular press of India should be subject to a system of discreet and temperate licensing. But it has an indirect value of its own for the purposes of this discussion, as an evidence of the moral level of the classes into whose hands the management of so great a power as the press may, at any moment, and very constantly does, fall. Black-mailing individuals is an offence of which the most degraded portions of any national Free press may not, perhaps, be entirely guiltless. But the peculiar conditions of our rule in India expose a certain large and wealthy class of our subjects in a very marked degree to this indefensible persecution. I refer here, of course

to the Rajahs and Administrations of protected States. A number of Vernacular papers exist almost entirely on the profits they make out of the fears and sensitiveness of native rulers. Nothing is easier than to set up a press in the neighbourhood of an Agency and to terrorise Chiefs, by threats of exposing internal abuses, into paying ample hush money. Papers of this class have no justification whatever. Their complete and immediate suppression would be an unqualified blessing. And it may very well be doubted whether the best known and most influential organs of Native opinion are always above having recourse to this infamous means of replenishing the exchequer.

The existence of such an evil, if it flourishes to the extent I imagine it does, is not so much a reason in itself for curtailing the liberty of the entire Native press, as an indication of the startling want of those high moral qualities, in those who set up as educators of native opinion, which should form an essential prerequisite to the establishment and wholesome growth of an irreproachable Free press. The crisis of the Boer War has, unfortunately, revealed a depth of malignancy and baseness in certain sections of disloyal Irish opinion at home which can hardly be surpassed by the worst Indian agitators. And there will, no doubt, be found apologists of sedition to argue that the case for licensing Vernacular papers in this country is no stronger than it is for licensing Fenian papers at home. The test of this argument is the extent of actual and potential danger properly attributable to the causes under comparison. There can be very little doubt that, however virulent and disaffected the Fenian and Roman Catholic-Irishry may be, they could hardly constitute any real imperial danger. But the same spirit, diffused over the vast and alien population of India, might produce the most dreadful and far-reaching consequences. And, apart from that predominating consideration, there is a very general feeling that the Irish have recently far exceeded all legitimate limits of free and allowable criticism. It would not be at all surprising, and it certainly would not greatly shock the public conscience at home, if some of the worst Fenian offenders were punished with extreme rigour.

One ground upon which any measure such as I now advocate is always stubbornly combated is that it is retrogressive, and unworthy of the great principle of political education which has always underlain our government of this country. It has been the aim of successive administrations to foster in the people a spirit of self-government, to create, wherever possible, a spirit of civic responsibility, and to admit more of our fellow-subjects, day by day and year by year,

to a participation in the machinery of Government. In furtherance of this programme, we introduced a system of local self-government, we conceded full liberty of the press, we instituted trial by jury—all the characteristic and most prized privileges of a free people. But, in doing so, we greatly over-estimated the intelligence and ethical progress of the agency available, and we ignored the cardinal fact that the people is not free. Very few who are competent to speak with authority, dare say that any of these experiments have proved successful. But fewer still have the courage to avow the fundamental error and to suggest the withdrawal of privileges which the Indian people is not yet fit to enjoy. Moral enervation appears to paralyse our responsible rulers in face of the difficulty they have created. They will not own that their theories were premature and presupposed many non-existent conditions. They refuse to do more than feebly reiterate that any corrective steps would be painfully retrograde. If you have given a child a dangerous weapon to play with and find that his inexperience in handling it is likely to result in a tragedy, you would hardly call it a retrogressive step to take it away again in time. In a concrete instance of this simple kind, everyone's common sense would approve your action as both humane and prudent. Precisely the same considerations apply on a larger scale and, therefore, more forcibly to the administrative problem I am dealing with. The existence of a Free press in India, under present conditions, and managed as it is now being managed, constitutes a real and growing danger to the entire community. Have we the courage to face the facts and throttle the evil while there is yet time? The remedy is so simple and rational that, once we disabuse our minds of sentimental and theoretical prepossessions, it can scarcely fail to meet with general approval. Let the Vernacular press be licensed; let those papers which exist only to vilify Government and its officers, to stir up sedition and ill-will, to pervert the truth and misrepresent everyone of our motives, be sternly and uncompromisingly suppressed. There are some reputable and long-established Vernacular papers, such for example as the *Rast Gofar*, or the *Indian Spectator*, which would have nothing to apprehend from the introduction of a system of licensing. Indeed no paper which deserved to be free would be anything but free: the curbs would be applied only to those rancorous irreconcilable spirits whose senseless rage against authority is not rooted in pure motive, sincerity, truth or patriotism, but in the vile soil of splenetic vanity and absorbing selfishness.

TRUTH.

ART XII.—THE SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE ARYAN HINDOOS.

WE propose in this and succeeding articles to trace the genesis and give a historical account of the social customs and practices of the Hindoos prevalent in the Vedic, the Epic, the Rationalistic, the Buddhist, the Pauranik and the Modern periods, noticing which of these customs are universal and invariable and which of them local and variable, and how and when the latter underwent modifications.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HINDOOS DURING THE VEDIC PERIOD.

(B. C. 2000 to B. C. 1400.)

The history of Aryan Hindoo civilisation forms a bright chapter in universal history. Ancient Hindoo culture and progress have been pronounced by competent authorities to be unique in the history of the world. No other nation of ancient or modern times can show so brilliant a record of thirty centuries of progress. It contains all the essential features of what is called the philosophy of history through successive ages—the religious, intellectual and political advancement of the Hindoos, as well as the excellence of their social and domestic customs and institutions. It presents, in short, a faithful picture of their successes, failures and struggles in forming and developing a national life. It is not correct to say that the Rig Veda was the beginning of Hindoo civilisation. “Even before the Aryan stock,” says Professor Max Müller, “was separated and dispersed to all the corners of the world, they had nearly all the ingredients of a civilised life.”

Hindooism, according to Mr. C. B. Clarke, consists in the observance of the manners and customs of a particular place at a particular time, and necessarily varies from day to day, and from place to place, like the hues of the rainbow. This remark, without explanation, is likely to produce a misconception leading to erroneous conclusions. For upwards of 3,000 years Hindooism has lasted, defying the ravages of time, the revolution of empires, the vicissitudes of Governments, the iconoclastic spirit of the Mohammedans and the Missionary zeal of Christians. The true basis of Hindooism, as a religious alliance and a social league, is solid and strong and not liable to destruction by any changes in the mere outward form of its observance. The ancient Aryans used to worship Nature, the modern Hindoos are image-worshippers; there was no caste distinction in ancient times; it is now rigorously ob-

served ; but such differences in the mode of worship, or in the social constitution, do not affect the fundamental principles of Hindooism as a great humanising force, a firm basis of religious culture and social unity.

"It is language and religion that make a people, but religion is even a more powerful agent than language." The ancient Scriptures of the Hindoos are the Vedas. They are four in number, the Rig, the Yajur, the Sama and the Atharva. The first is a collection of hymns and poems of various dates, but may be roughly ascribed to the 14th or 15th century B. C. The Rig was divided into eleven monads, or books, and out of these were formed the other three Vedas. The Yajur and the Sama may be described as prayer-books compiled from the Rig for the use of the choristers and the ministers of the priests, and contain little besides what is found in the earliest and most sacred Veda. The Atharva, the latest compilation, may be described as a collection of poems mixed up with popular sayings, medical advice, magical formulæ and the like. The Brahmanas, or commentaries on the Vedas, the object of which was to explain obscure passages in the old hymns, gave place to the Sutras, "the strings," or manuals of the grammarians.

In the absence of any Vernacular or Sanscrit history of these early times, except what can be known from the Sanscrit works on religion, literature and romance, we are constrained to refer to European writers. Mr. R. C. Dutt's History of Aryan Civilisation may also be occasionally referred to as throwing light upon the subject of our enquiry. The authenticity and true value of history depend upon the extent to which it agrees with the actual state of things. If a writer does not confine himself to a faithful picture, but gives only a coloured version according to the light of his own ideas, it ought to be thoroughly examined before we accept it. Besides, to do justice to our venerable Rishis, we should always bear in mind that, as their glorious achievements introduced into India an unparalleled civilisation, and as they have left to us imperishable monuments of their genius and extraordinary powers, our business should be, not so much to adversely criticise, as to clearly understand them. Haphazard and careless conclusions upon insufficient data serve no useful purpose. It will not do to say that the Aryan Hindoos were beef-eaters, *Soma-rasha* drinkers, and worshippers of the planets and the elements, and therefrom jump to the conclusion that they were a superstitious and barbarous people. To rise from Nature to Nature's God is the most natural and approved form of Divine worship. Religion enters into the very minutest details of Hindoo life. Eating and drinking, in what at first sight appears to be a bes-

tial form of self-indulgence, being associated with religion, can seldom produce that degradation and demoralisation which follow when they are indulged in for the mere gratification of the passions.

The primitive Aryans led a simple life. They pursued agriculture, possessing large herds of domestic animals. Plain living and high thinking were what they were noted for. These were also the principal characteristics of the ancient Greeks and Romans. From Sparta strangers were, as much as practicable, excluded by law, lest they should introduce bad customs, soft manners or vicious habits. The whole of the citizens, young and old, made their principal repast at the public tables. The meals were coarse and parsimonious ; the conversation was fitted to improve the youth in virtue and cultivate the patriotic spirit. The well-known anecdote in the life of Cincinnatus, the Roman Dictator, affords a typical example of Roman simplicity of manners. He naturally preferred the charms of a retired country life to the fatiguing splendours of office, and, on hearing that the senate had appointed him a Dictator, said to his wife : " I fear, my dear wife, that for this year our little fields must remain unsown." Such sturdy and frugal habits and pastoral tastes also characterised the ancient Hindoos, whose main industry was agriculture. Our educated countrymen now regard such a useful and healthy occupation as beneath their dignity, hankering after Government service or rushing into the learned professions, which are already overcrowded.

That the Vedic Hindoos used to cultivate the land appears evident from the following hymn in the Rig Veda. " Let the oxen work merrily ; let the men work merrily ; let the plough move on merrily. Fasten the traces merrily ; ply the goad merrily. O Suna and Sira, accept this hymn. Moisten this earth with the rain you have created in the sky. O fortunate Sita (furrow) proceed onwards, we pray unto thee ; do thou bestow on us wealth and an abundant crops. May Indra accept Sita. May Pushan lead her onwards. May she be filled with water, and yield us corn year after year."

Rig Veda IV, 57, 4 to 7.

The caste system was unknown to the primitive Hindoos, the only distinction recognised being between Aryans and Non-Aryans, or aborigines, who were hunting tribes. " If," says Professor Max Müller, " with all the documents before us, we ask the question, does caste as we find it in Manu and at the present time, form one of the most ancient religious teachings of the Vedas? We can answer it with a decided no."

The Aryans had advanced beyond the rude existence of the hunter to the settled industry of the cultivator of the soil.

Their domestic customs and laws of inheritance were nearly the same as those which now prevail in India. In fact, some of the customs have undergone changes for the worse. The women were treated with greater respect and were not kept in seclusion. They performed rites and ceremonies and composed hymns. Hindoo matrons were careful and diligent in exercising supervision over domestic affairs. Girls often married at an advanced age, and there were no restrictions against widow marriage. The practice of Sati or widow-burning was unknown.

The religion of the Vedic Hindoos was purely theistic. Monotheism is inculcated in the Vedas as appears from the following hymn in the Rig Veda.

"In the beginning He of the golden womb existed. He was the Lord of all from his birth. He placed this earth and sky in their respective places. Whom shall we worship with offerings? Him who has given life and strength, whose will is obeyed by all the gods; whose shadow is immortality; whose slave is death. Whom shall we worship with offerings? Him who by his power is the sole King of all the living beings that see and move; Him who is the Lord of all bipeds and quadrupeds. Whom shall we worship with offerings? Him by whose power these snowy mountains have been made and whose creations are this earth and its oceans. Him whose arms are these quarters of space. Whom shall we worship with offerings? Him who has fixed in their places this sky and this earth; Him who has established the heavens and the highest heaven; Him who has measured the firmament. Whom shall we worship with offerings? Him by whom the sounding sky and earth have been fixed and expanded; Him whom the resplendent sky and earth own as Almighty; Him by whose support the sun rises and gains lustre."

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HINDOOS IN THE EPIC PERIOD.

(B. C. 1400 to B. C. 1000.)

In this period the two celebrated epic poems the Mahabharata and the Ramayan were composed. As the Mahabharata celebrates the Lunar race of Delhi, so the Ramayan forms the epic history of the Solar race of Ajodha, the ancient capital of Oudh. The two poems preserve the legends of the two most famous ancient Hindoo dynasties. The compiler of the Mahabharata was Vyasa, and the compiler of the Ramayan Valmiki. Both of them are held in universal esteem and admiration "for their magnificence of imagery and elegance of description. They embrace history, geography, genealogy, theology and the nucleus of many a popular myth." Both works are more

voluminous than either Homer's Iliad or Virgil's Aeneid. The Mahabharata contains 220,000 and the Ramayana 48,000 lines, while the Iliad contains only 16,000 and the Aeneid less than 10,000 lines.

"The Mahabharata has a great historical value, not as a true account of the incidents of the war which forms the subject, but as a picture of the manners and civilisation of the early Epic Age. We see in this venerable epic how Hindoos lived and fought, acted and felt three thousand years ago. We find that young princes were eagerly trained to arms, and that Kuru mothers, sisters and wives came out in public and witnessed with pride the tournaments in which their sons, brothers and husbands distinguished themselves. We see how girls were married at an advanced age and princesses famed for their beauty often selected their husbands from among the princes who came to seek their hands. We see how jealousies among neighbouring kings broke out into sanguinary wars and how the bitterness of such feuds was restrained by the laws of honour and of chivalry. Victors in such wars performed the Asvamedha or the horse-sacrifice, and all the princes of the Hindoo world were invited to these grand imperial festivities."

Dutt's Ancient and Modern India.

The same author gives a glowing account of the manners and civilisation of the Hindoos, gleaned from the Ramayana. "In this inestimable ancient Epic," he says, "we find how different races like the Kosalas and the Vedehas lived side by side along the fertile valley of the Ganges, and how the whole of Southern India was still inhabited by those barbarian aborigines who have been described by the poet as bears and monkeys. We see how kings strove to secure the happiness and earn the good will of the people and how the people were devotedly loyal to their kings. Young princes were trained in arms and also in all the learning of the age, and princesses famed for their beauty attracted numbers of suitors, from whom the bravest and the most skilful in arms were selected. Kings not unfrequently had a large number of wives; the mutual jealousies of rival queens often disturbed the even course of administration; and a favourite and strong-minded queen secured the succession of her issue to the throne and the banishment of rival princes."

The four castes—Brahmins, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras—were formed during this period. In the Vedic Age each householder was a husbandman, warrior and priest. He performed all the functions now assigned to a special class. But by degrees persons blessed with leisure and learning and versed in Vedic lore were selected by the King to perform the

great sacrifices. In this way the Brahmins or the priestly class sprang up. As the Aryan conquest became more extensive, fortunate soldiers received a larger share of the lands than others, and cultivated them, not with their own hands as before, but by means of the aborigines. These wealthy warriors, or fighting companions of the King, were honoured with the appellation of Kshattriyas, literally "of the royal stock." The agricultural settlers were called Vaisyas, and in the early times, formed the bulk of the people. The conquered aborigines, reduced to the condition of serfs, were called Sudras. In this way the four castes arose. The first three castes were of Aryan descent and were known by the term (द्विज) Dwija, or twice-born. They could all participate in the sacrifices and worshipped the same gods. The Sudras were not allowed to be present at these religious sacrifices or feasts, or study the holy books. They remained in a servile condition and had to do all the dirty and hard work of the village community.

The superiority of the Brahmins is founded upon the following legend. It is said that the Brahmins sprang up from the mouth of Brahma or the Creator, the Kshattriyas from his arm, the Vaisyas from his thigh, and the Sudra from his feet. The true import of this mythology is: that the Brahmins represented the brain-power, and the Kshattriyas the physical power, of the nation; the two other classes undertook to supply food and render personal service respectively. The duty of the Sudra was to serve, that of the Kshattriyas to fight and preserve public peace, that of the Vaisya to cultivate industries, and that of the Brahmins to look after the spiritual welfare of the people. By assuming priestly functions they renounced all claim to royal dignity. They were most competent to be the guides and rulers and the counsellors of kings; but they did not choose to be kings themselves.

"The system of caste," says Dr. Hunter, "exercises a great influence upon the industries of the people. Each caste is in the first place a trade-guild. It ensures the proper training of the youth of its own special craft; it makes rules for the conduct of business; and it promotes good feeling by feasts or social gatherings. The famous manufactures of mediaeval India,—its muslins, silks, cloth of gold, inlaid weapons, and exquisite work in precious stones—were brought to perfection under the care of the castes or trade-guilds. Such guilds may still be found in full work in many parts of India."

The system of caste, however, is not an unmixed blessing. It has divided and disunited the compact body of the Hindoos into separate sections, placing the common people under the domination of the priestly class, and thereby obstructing the growth of popular freedom and progress.

But it is not so much the social as the economic results of the caste system which are injurious. "Accustomed to look upon toil as slavery, the Hindoos (of the higher castes) have never worked more than was necessary to supply their wants. Capital, therefore, the surplus of production above consumption, has never existed; and in the absence of capital, any high advance in material civilization is impossible. Another element of such an advance, co-operation, has been equally unknown. Division of labour, in its literal sense, of giving to every man a separate employment, has indeed been carried to its utmost length; but the division of labour in its economical signification as a method of co-operation has been rendered impossible by the contempt which divides man from man. On this subject false appearances, and inaccurate names for these appearances, have led many writers into error. Division of labor as a term of Political Economy means a division of processes in order to an ultimate combination of results. Division of labour as predicable of Indian art or manufacture, means a division of results (each man being able to do only one thing) effected by a combination of processes (each man performing the whole of the processes requisite to produce the single result.)"

Hunter's "Annals of Rural Bengal."

But although the caste system introduced in this Age failed to produce good economic results and unite society, the social life of the Hindoos was highly civilised. Girls were married at an advanced age, and child-marriage was yet unknown. There was not only no restriction against widow-marriage, but it was expressly sanctioned, the rites and ceremonies which a widow had to perform before she was re-married being distinctly laid down. "Rise up woman," says the *Rig Veda* to a widow-lady, "thou art lying by the side of one whose life is gone; come to the world of the living away from thy husband and become the wife of him who holds thy hand, and be willing to marry thee." The illustrious antiquarian and scholar, Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, gave a clear philological proof as to the sanction of the re-marriage of Hindoo widows, both of law and custom in ancient times. According to him the very existence of such words as *didhisu*, a man that has married a widow, *parapurva*, a woman that has married a second husband, and *punarbhava*, a son of a woman by her second husband, in Sanscrit from an early age, proves the custom. The practice of Sati or widow-burning was then unknown.

The system of education was what is now prevalent in our *schools*, the pupils receiving not only intellectual but moral training. They were taught by precept as well as by example. Living during the period of their studentship under the per-

sonal superintendence of their gurus or teachers, they learned and practised those domestic and religious virtues which, in after-life, stood them in good stead in their dealings with mankind. Cheerful obedience to their elders, hospitality to strangers and simplicity of life were the happy results of the Aryan mode of teaching, contrasting favourably with the English method, which unfortunately tends to produce a spirit of disobedience and insolence; cold, phlegmatic and unsympathetic treatment of strangers, and a high style of living often unsuited to one's condition and circumstances in life. The Hindoos are specially noted as a race of hospitable people. Charity is their peculiar characteristic. Giving alms to the beggar is almost a daily practice with them. The countless beggars in India mainly subsist on private charity. The only thing wanted is that proper discretion should be exercised in relieving the poor and distressed. Indiscriminate charity tends to hold out a premium to idleness and sloth. Able-bodied paupers are not entitled, on principle, to charitable relief. While guarding ourselves against the baneful influence of callousness and hard-heartedness resulting from habitual apathy or indifference to appeals of real distress, precaution should be taken that our alms, instead of benefiting the mendicants, may not injure them by depriving them of the commendable spirit of self-help and self-reliance.

The females enjoyed perfect liberty and obtained equal advantages of education with men. There were lady-Rishies who composed hymns of the Rig Veda, and it is stated by a high authority that the *Gaitri*, which is held as a sacred hymn of daily prayer for a Brahmin, was composed by a lady-Rishi. Cultured ladies such as Visvabara, Romasa, Lopamudra, Atri, and others composed parts of the Rig Veda and were ranked as Vedic Rishis. In their Charans and Parishads—like the Grammar Schools and Universities of modern Europe—some of the highest chairs, according to Professor Max Müller, were creditably occupied by lady-Professors.

Ladies in those days attended social gatherings in which religious or literary subjects were topics of discourse, and in one of such discourses a learned lady, by name Gargi, is said to have vanquished in argument the celebrated jurist Yajnavalkya himself. Maitriya, the wife of this learned Rishi, was deeply versed in Vedic knowledge. There are passages in the Rig Veda such as, "the great Rishis who have been invited to the sacrifice, have come with their wives," which go to show that the Hindoo females were not held in seclusion, but took an intelligent part in social and religious matters. The Zenana system has been the outcome of Mohammedan rule in India, and is still prevalent, although Indian society has much improved under the civilising influence of the English Government. If

it is thought desirable to allow Hindoo ladies the liberty which their ancestors unquestionably enjoyed in ancient times, we must decide the question with regard to two important points : first, whether Hindoo society, as at present constituted, is ripe for such a change ; secondly, whether Hindoo females have received such a degree of education and culture as to be likely to make good use of their liberty. The general improvement of Hindoo society is a necessary condition of safe female emancipation. In fact, female education and female emancipation must go hand in hand, or else there is danger of liberty degenerating into license.

Although the Vedic mode of worship still continued, rites and ceremonies acquired an undue importance in this period so as to affect the purely spiritual character and the simple spirit of the Vedic hymns and religion. The Brahmanas, or Commentaries on the Vedas, which were now composed, dwelt largely on sacrificial rites and their object and meaning ; and the idea of religion itself was associated with a punctilious performance of such rites in all their minute details rather than with earnest and fervent prayer to God.

(To be continued.)

KAILAS CHUNDRA KANJILAL, B. L.

ART XIII.—NOTES FROM THE CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

NO. IV.

(Continued from the Calcutta Review, July 1898, No. 213.)

AMONG the novelties which attracted my notice during a visit paid to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens on the 17th October 1899, the following are deserving of careful inspection by reason of their exotic habitat, rarity and beauty.

In the Birds of Prey House, to the south-west of the Dumraon House are, at present, exhibited specimens of three species of exotic vultures, namely, the Cinereous Vulture (*Vultur monachus*, Linn.), the Black Vulture (*Cathartes atratus*, Bartr.), and the Turkey Vulture (*Cathartes aura*, Linn.). Of the Cinereous Vulture, there is a single specimen, which occupies the northernmost of the western series of the cages in the House. It is labelled as having been obtained by exchange and is found in Southern Europe. It is also said to occur in Northern Africa, South-western Asia, parts of Central Asia, India and China. The range of this bird within Indian limits is confined to the Himalayas, and, during the cold weather, it even visits parts of North-western India. The length of this bird is about 42 inches; that of the tail being 17 inches, and that of the wing 30 inches. The colour of its plumage is blackish brown throughout, with a ruddy gloss on the mantle in freshly moulted specimens. Its under-surface is sometimes darker than its upper surface; the quills and the tail are almost black. The occiput and the lower tail-coverts are paler than the rest of its plumage. Its bill is blackish brown; cere pale mauve; irides brown; the naked skin of the neck of a livid flesh colour; the legs and feet creamy or pearl white. Naturalists believe that this bird breeds in the Himalayas, though its nest has not been met with within the limits of India proper. It breeds in the rocky and inaccessible fastnesses of the principal mountain-ranges of Southern Europe, about February or March, building a huge nest of sticks and laying a single egg richly marked with dark red colour. Colonel Irby, however, says that this species breeds in Spain in trees, laying only one egg about the beginning of April. Its habits are like those of the rest of the members of the Vulture family. The Cinereous Vulture feeds chiefly on carrion, which it discovers by soaring to a great height in the air and watching not only the ground below and in the circuit of its vision, but also the other vultures soaring at the

same height. If one of these descends, its neighbours, soaring at a distance, at once instinctively guess that it has discovered some food and at once swoop down to the same point. The fable narrated in respect of the King Vulture (*Gypagus papa*) of Tropical America, that all the smaller vultures wait patiently round a carcase until the "King" has satisfied his voracious appetite, is also told of the Cinereous Vulture. The latter, it is said, drives away all the Griffon Vultures from any carcase which they may be feeding upon.

The Black and the Turkey Vultures are strictly confined to America only. Of the Black Vulture, there are four specimens in the Alipur Menagerie, all acquired by exchange which occupy the central of the western series of cages; while there is only one specimen of the Turkey Vulture, acquired by purchase, which occupies the southernmost of the western series of the cages. Some naturalists divide the Vulture family (Vulturidæ) into the Old World Vultures (Vulturinæ) and the New World Vultures (Sarcorhamphinæ); while others classify the Old World Vultures as a sub-family (Vulturinæ) of the Falcons, and constitute the New World Vultures, which are distinguished by the possession of a perforated nostril, the absence of an "after-shaft" to the feathers and the possession of a small hind toe raised above the level of the other toes, into a distinct family (Cathartidæ) of the order Accipitres. These vultures being very aberrant forms of the Raptores, by reason of their differing from the ordinary Bird of Prey in their anatomy and osteology, some ornithologists have even gone the length of suggesting that they are more nearly allied to the Storks and even to the Hornbills. The family *Cathartidæ* includes three genera, viz., *Cathartes* (Turkey Vultures); *Sarcorhamphus* (Condors), and *Gypagus* (King Vultures). Besides the Black and the Turkey Vultures, referred to above, both of which belong to the genus *Cathartes*, the genus *Sarcorhamphus* is also represented in the Gardens by two fine specimens of the Condor, which has been noticed in one of my previous papers. Both the *Cathartes aura* (Turkey Vulture), and *C. atratus* (Black Vulture) are very abundant in many of the southern cities and villages of the United States, where they can be seen flying about the streets or perching on the house-tops as unconcernedly as if they were domestic animals. They are fond of feeding on carrion by reason of the fact that they cannot kill game themselves, and their beaks are not powerful enough to tear off the tough skin of many animals until it is softened by putrefaction. Dr. W. L. Ralph says:—"When they find a dead animal they will not leave it until all but the bones and other hard parts have been consumed, and if it be a

large one, or if it have a tough skin, they will often remain near it for days, roosting by night in the trees near by. After they have eaten—and sometimes they will gorge themselves until the food will run off their mouths when they move—they will—if they are not too full to fly, roost in the nearest trees until their meal is partly digested, and then commence eating again. Many times I have seen these birds in company with the Black Vulture floating down a stream on a dead alligator, cow, or other large animal, crowded so closely together that they could hardly keep their balance, and followed by a number on the wing. I have never seen them fight very much when feeding, but they will scold and peck at one another, and some times two birds will get hold of the same piece of meat and pull against each other until it breaks, or until the weaker one has to give it up."

Leaving the Birds of Prey House, we take a short cut to the aviary which is built on an arm of the serpentine lake just to the east of the Andul House. We find in this house a pair of the Australian Pelican (*Pelecanus conspicillatus*, Gould), which are labelled as having been obtained by exchange. It is a large bird with an immense yellow bill, hooked at the end, and an enormous gular pouch, and having black and white plumage. It is found in abundance in the southern creeks of Australia, and generally builds its nest on the shore. The Pelicans are distributed over the temperate and tropical parts of both the Old and the New Worlds. Almost all the species develop a patch of yellow or brown colour on the breast during the breeding season, as also a crest on the head. Confined in the same cage with the Australian Pelicans are a pair of the Roseate Pelican (*Pelecanus onocrotalus*) the plumage of which is of a beautiful rose-pink colour.

There is a tradition to the effect that the Pelican feeds her young ones with her own blood. This is, however, a myth, pure and simple, which has arisen from the fact of the bird pressing the red tip of its beak upon the breast in order to empty its pouch more easily, the crimson colour of the tip of the bill being mistaken for blood. This fable may have originated from another source. The Flamingo has the habit of feeding its young with a bloody-looking liquid which it squirts from its own mouth into the mouths of its young. This habit may have been transferred by mistake from the Flamingo to the Pelican. The celebrated antiquary, Sir Thomas Browne, pointed out the mistake long ago in his *Vulgar Errors*. He says that the so-called Pelican represented in ecclesiastical and emblematic paintings and carvings as feeding her young with her own blood, does not look quite like a Pelican.

Then we proceed to the Reptile House, where we find in the

westernmost of the northern series of wall-cages a fine specimen of the Green Coluber (*Coluber oxycephalus*, Boie). It is altogether new to the collection and is labelled as being from Tenasserim. This snake usually attains to a length of 7 feet 8 inches. The upper surface of its body is of a bright green colour, the scales being usually finely margined with black; and the lower surface is of a pale green colour. A blackish streak runs through the eye along each side of the head. Its tail is ordinarily of a yellowish brown colour. Its other characteristics are "snout subacuminate, more than twice as long as the eye, obliquely truncated and projecting. Rostral nearly as deep as broad, just visible from above; suture between the internasals much shorter than that between the præfrontals; frontal as long as its distance from the end of the snout, a little shorter than the parietals; loreal very elongate; one large præocular; two postoculars; temporals 2 and 3; 9 or 10 upper labials, two of which (fifth and sixth, or sixth and seventh) enter the eye; 6 lower labials in contact with the anterior chin-shields, which are much longer than the posterior. Scales in 25 or 27 rows, smooth or faintly keeled. Ventrals with a lateral keel, 236-263; anal divided; sub-caudals 138-149." It is distributed over Tenasserim, the Andaman Islands, the Nicobars, and all through the Malayan Peninsula and Archipelago. Dr. Stolickza says that this snake is generally found on bushes near brackish-water creeks in the Andamans and always takes to the water. But nothing about its habits, as observed in the other parts of its habitat, has been recorded by naturalists. In captivity at Alipur, I found it to be of restless habits, always crawling about the floor and the sides of its cage. Its beautiful coloration makes it worthy of close inspection.

Leaving the Reptile House, we direct our steps to the new large building known as the Jubilee House, which has been erected in the north-western corner of the Gardens in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India. In two of the central cages of this house are exhibited specimens each of the Clouded Leopard from Assam and Borneo. The Clouded Leopard (*Felis nebulosa*) from Borneo has been acquired by purchase; while the one from Assam has been presented to the Gardens. In Borneo, this beautiful animal is known to the natives under the Malayan name of *Arimau Dahan*, or *tree-tiger*. The specimen from Borneo is of thick-set build, being short and squat in its proportions. Its body and tail are not so elongated as those of the Assam animal. But the body of the specimen from Assam is slim and elongated; and its tail is longer in length than its body, so much so that part of its tail trails along the floor of its cage. The height of the Bornean specimen

is greater than that of the one from Assam, so that the former looks like a big grey tortoise-shell cat, and the general aspect of the latter's body appears like that of a genet or a paradoxure. Except for the distinguishing features referred to above, both of them are of the size of small leopards. The general coloration of the upper surface of their body is ashy-grey. Their lower parts and the inner sides of their limbs are of white or pale tawny colour. The upper part of the head is spotted. Two broad black stripes, with narrower stripes, or elongated spots between them, commence between the ears, run back to the shoulders, and are drawn out, more or less regularly, as bands of large oval or elongate marks along the back of the animal. There are dark colored patches of subovate, trapezoidal, or irregular shape along the sides, the patches being sometimes edged with black. The limbs and underparts are blotched with large black spots. The tail is marked with numerous dusky rings. The outsides of the ears are black, and there is a grey spot in the middle thereof. Two black horizontal stripes run along the cheek, the upper stripe commencing from the eye. There is also an irregular black band across the chin and another on the throat. In some of the specimens, the margin of the upper lip is also black laterally. This beautiful and rare mammal is distributed over the South-Eastern Himalayas, Sikkim, Bhutan, Assam and throughout the hilly regions of Burma, Siam, the Malayan Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and Borneo. As its Malayan name indicates, it is of arboreal habits, living upon the trees, and preys upon small birds and mammals. So persistent is its arboreal habit that it preserves it even in captivity. The Clouded Leopard, which was obtained in 1879 by the Committee of the Calcutta Zoological Garden, used to climb up a tree and remain concealed amongst the foliage. This rare species is not altogether new to the collection, as two specimens of it from Assam were exhibited in the Gardens so long ago as 1879 and 1888. But the specimen from Borneo is the first of its kind exhibited in the Calcutta Zoological Garden.

A few cages off, to the south of the Clouded Leopards, lives a specimen of the black variety of the Golden Cat (*Felis temmincki*) presented by Lieutenant Pottinger. It is otherwise known as the Bay Cat (*Felis moormensis*, Hodgs). Although two specimens of this rare cat presented by the Maharaja of Hill Tipperah have been exhibited before in the Gardens, the black variety of this species is new to the collection. It is lesser in dimensions than the Clouded Leopard. Its tail is nearly two-thirds the length of its head and body and is uniformly thick throughout. Its ears are short and rounded.

The coloration of the body is dark brown, paler on the sides. The under surface is paler than the sides and whitish. The chin and lower surface of the tail to the tip is white, while the upper surface of the tip is dusky. There are some dark round spots on the breast, on the inside of the fore-limbs and on the throat. The lower side of the tarsi and feet are brown. Its face is also blotched with marks of a dark colour. It is found throughout the South-Eastern Himalayas, Nepal, Sikkim and eastwards through Burma and the Malayan Peninsula to Sumatra and Borneo. These cats do well in captivity and are more active than other cats during the day-time. It has been recorded that one of the two specimens from Tipperah formerly exhibited in the Gardens used to hide its food under the straw litter of its cage and eat it at night. But, in the absence of further observations, it is impossible to ascertain whether it was the peculiar habit of the specimen to do so, or is the general habit of this species in a state of nature.

A little further to the south there lives, in one of the cages of this house, a single specimen of the Fennec Fox (*Canis cerdo*, Gmel.) of Northern Africa. It is a very beautiful little animal characterised by the possession of large eyes and long ears. Some naturalists have created a separate genus, *Megalotis*, for the reception of this singular animal, on account of its possessing enormously elongated ears. It frequents the desert tracts of Northern Africa, where it lives in burrows underneath the ground, generally near the roots of shrubs. Its power of digging burrows is so swift and rapid that it is believed it can often hide itself in this manner, when chased by the hunter. It subsists on small birds, lizards, beetles and grasshoppers, and even dates and melons. Some naturalists have identified these animals with "the little foxes that spoil the vines" mentioned in the Bible. They produce three or four young cubs at a time, which are very carefully reared by the mother. Hunters often capture this animal by fastening snares at the mouths of their holes, in which they get noosed while attempting to come out. When captured very young this animal becomes very tame.

In the adjoining cage to the south, lives a solitary though fine example of the Azara's Fox (*Canis azaræ*, Pr. Max.) of South America. Both the Fennec and this fox are labelled as having been obtained by exchange. The Azara's fox, though resembling a fox in all other respects, has its muzzle sharp, ears long and its tail long, thickly haired and gradually tapering at the end. Its coloration is ferruginous, slightly tinged with black. By reason of their possessing sharp muzzles and wolf-like skulls, some naturalists are of opinion

that the Azara's fox and its South American congeners are not true foxes. This fox is altogether new to the collection.

Retracing our steps southwards, we find our way to the Surnomoyi House, where we find in several cages specimens of the following species of American birds, all of which are new to the collection :—

Red-crested Cardinal (*Paroaria cucullata*, Lath.) Hab. South America.

Red-headed Cardinal (*P. larvata*, Bodd.) Hab. Brazil.

Virginian Cardinal (*Cardinalis virginianus*, Briss.) Hab. North America,

Black-headed Cardinal (*Gubernatrix cristatella*, Vieill.) Hab. South America.

Saffron Finch (*Sycalis flaveola*, Linn.) Hab. Brazil.

Blue Robin (*Sialia sialis*, Sw.) Hab. North America.

Among these birds, the Virginian Cardinal and the Blue Robin are deserving of special notice. The former belongs to the Finch Family (Fringillidæ). The males of this bird are red in colour and have the head of a vermillion hue, and a black patch round the base of the bill and on the upper part of the throat. The feathers of the crown are elongated into a crest, resembling a red cap. The females of this species are dull-coloured, the upper surface being fallow brown in colour, and the under parts being yellowish brown. It is found in great abundance in the Southern States of America generally, Texas, Florida, and migrates northwards in the spring. It is one of the most valued song-birds of America. It sings in loud, clear, sweet and varied notes, chiefly of mornings and evenings. The Blue Robin is noteworthy as being one of the favourite birds of the American poets. Lowell refers to it in the following verse :—

"The bluebird, shifting his light load of song
From post to post along the cheerless fenoe,"

The upper surface of this bird is of a sky-blue colour. Its throat and breast are of reddish chestnut; while the belly is white. The coloration of the females is duller than that of the males. It is a great favourite with all sorts and conditions of people in the United States, just as the Robin Redbreast is in England. Its call-note is very pleasing, so much so that an American author has very aptly characterised it as the "violet of sound." Its appearance is hailed by the people with delight as premonitory of the approach of the spring season; and American agriculturists welcome it by providing a box for it to build its nest in. It lays five or six eggs of a pale-blue colour twice or thrice during the year. The males of this species are remarkable for their devotion to their female mates. It is also found in the Bermudas, Mexico, the West Indies, Guinea and Brazil.

The following is a synoptical list of the mammals, birds and reptiles described in this paper, classified according to their orders, families, genera and species :—

CLASS MAMMALIA.

ORDER CARNIVORA.

FAMILY FELIDÆ.

GENUS FELIS.

1. *Felis nebulosa*, *Griffith*. Clouded Leopard.
Hab. Assam and Borneo.
2. *Felis temminckii*, *Vig.* and *Hersf.* Golden Cat (Black Variety).
Hab. Tipperah, Burma and Malayan Peninsula.

FAMILY CANIDÆ.

GENUS CANIS.

3. *Canis cerdo*, *Gmel.* Fennec Fox.
Hab. Northern Africa.
4. *Canis azaræ*, *Pr. Max.* Azara's Fox.
Hab. South America.

CLASS AVES.

ORDER PASSERES.

FAMILY FRINGILLIDÆ.

GENUS PAROARIA.

1. *Paroaria larvata*, *Bodd.* Red-headed Cardinal.
Hab. Brazil.
2. *Paroaria cucullata*, *Lath.* Red-crested Cardinal.
Hab. South America.

GENUS GUBERNATRIX.

3. *Gubernatrix cristatella*, *Viesill.* Black-crested Cardinal.
Hab. South America.

GENUS CARDINALIS.

4. *Cardinalis virginianus*, *Briss.* Virginian Cardinal.
Hab. North America.

GENUS SYCALIS.

5. *Sycalis flaveola*, *Linn.* Saffron Finch.
Hab. Brazil.

FAMILY TURDIDÆ.

GENUS SIALIA.

6. *Sialia sialis*, *Sw.* Blue Robin.
Hab. North America.

ORDER ACCIPITRES.

FAMILY CATHARTIDÆ.

GENUS CATHARTES.

7. *Cathartes atratus*, *Bartr.* Black Vulture.
Hab. America.
8. *Cathartes aura*, *Linn.* Turkey Vulture.
Hab. America.

FAMILY FALCONIDÆ.

SUB-FAMILY VULTURINÆ.

GENUS VULTUR.

9. *Vultur monachus*, Linn. Cinereous Vulture.

Hab. South Europe.

ORDER STEGANOPODES.

FAMILY PELECANIDÆ.

GENUS PELECANUS.

10. *Pelecanus conspicillatus*, Gould. Australian Pelican.

Hab. Australia.

CLASS REPTILIA.

ORDER SQUAMATA.

SUBORDER OPHIDIA.

FAMILY COLUBRIDÆ.

SUB-FAMILY COLUBRIDÆ.

GENUS COLUBER.

1. *Coluber oxycephalus*, Boie. Green Coluber.

Hab. Tenasserim.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

HATHWA :
The 1st December 1899. }



ART. XIV.—“THE ANTIQUITIES OF SOME OF THE
FAMOUS TEMPLES IN MALABAR.”

NO. I.—“*Thiruvilvâmalai.*”

GENERALLY speaking, two conditions are necessary to make a place holy in the eyes of the Hindoos ; the first being one of mere visitation only, and the second visitation, and, as a result, permanent stay. Both conditions are fulfilled in the case of “*Thiruvilvâmalai*,” the history of which is as follows :—

To begin with, *Thiruvilvâmalai* is only twenty miles to the west of Palghat in the Malabar district. The nearest station to it is “*Lakkadi*” on the Madras Railway, from which it takes but the time to cross a river, about a hundred or a hundred and twenty yards broad, to reach the foot of the hill on the summit of which the temple is situated. The position of the temple is such that it commands a perfect and complete view of the two ranges of mountains called respectively the “*Themmalai*” and the “*Vatamalai*,” and the descending plains between.

The hill slopes down on all sides to a rough circumference of three miles. The whole of this is bounded on the north by the “*Neela*,” popularly called the “*Bhârata*” river, and on the south by the “*Gâyathri*” river. These two, the “*Neela*” and “*Gâyathri*,” meet at an angle of nearly 30° to the west, thus forming the boundary on that side ; while a canal cut across and connecting the above two rivers determines the eastern boundary. Apparently, the place is situated in a triangle, the sides of which are formed by the “*Neela*” and “*Gayâthri*,” which meet at an angle to form the apex, the canal serving as the base.

Thus the situation of the place is most striking, while the surrounding waters, which are believed to be mysteriously connected with the waters of the “*Kâveri*,” cause it to be looked upon with devotion and reverence.

Though the hill is rugged, water is in plenty. There are many tanks which never dry up even in the drougthy months of the year. But what is most peculiar about the whole place is the presence of many caves and underground passages connecting them. The chief amongst the caves is situated to the east of the temple and is called “*Punarjanani*.” As more will have to be said in connection with this particular cave, mere mention is made of it here.

For a further description of the place, with its many suggestive religious associations, reference may profitably be made

to the "Shānthapurana," a work containing the full discourse between the God Siva and his learned spouse "Pârvathi," regarding the greatness of Vishnu, the Almighty. In it the "Skānthā," a special book entitled the "Sthalapuiāna," is devoted to describing the many excellences of this place. But it is a matter of deep regret that chapters three to eight of it, both inclusive, are now lost to us, and it is presumed (with what authority no one knows) that the missing chapters are in the possession of the "Moothannan" family of "Tirunelli" in the Wainad taluk. This family is to the Namboothiri Brahmins of Malabar, what the Gayawalis are to other Brahmins.

The above records show that the name "Thiruvilvāmalai" originated from the existence of a "vilva" tree, the "*cratæva religiosa*" situated inside a cave at the foot of the hill and to the west of it; the belief being that whoever ate a fruit of the said tree thenceforward attained an ever-existing body, free from all disease. Such being the peculiar properties ascribed to the tree, it soon lent its name to the hill on which it stood. Consequently the hill came to be called "vilvādri," *i. e.*, hill of vilva, the "*cratæva religiosa*." The tree is to be perceived now, as formerly, only through the eye of knowledge, or "gnanathrishti."

Parasurāma, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu, after extirpating the whole Kshatriya race no less than twenty-one times, and after making the whole Indian Peninsula over to sage Cāsyapa, wandered forlorn and friendless over the face of the wide world in search of some means wherewith to expiate his many sins, and especially the darkest sin of "Brahmakathi," *i. e.*, "the killing of a Brahmin." Meeting his dead ancestors in his wanderings, he was told by them that, to free them from the purgatory they were in, he should enshrine an image of Vishnu in some holy place. They further instructed him for the nonce to go to Vilvādri, where Siva, with his host of demigods, was then worshipping an image of Vishnu. Accordingly Parasurāma went to Vilvādri, and, gladdening Siva's heart with the rigour of his penance, was presented with the above image by Siva.

Setting the face of the image to the east, Parasurāma consecrated it. This ceremony performed, he with his hatchet hewed off a big slice of rock to the north-east of the shrine and a few yards from it. A dozen water-springs at once opened their mouths and kept on ever-flowing and still flow. These springs Parasurāma pronounced holy, and to this day no one is permitted to touch the waters, as they serve the purpose of drinking-water for all the people round. And the temple authorities guard it most zealously, trying to keep it under the best sanitary conditions possible.

The above events are believed to have happened in the yuga of Dwapara of the 27th cycle of yugas. Thenceforward the place began to acquire such celebrity in the eyes of the pious that it was soon considered as second to none in sanctity.

Now it should be understood, for a clear conception of the whole situation, that within the temple there are two shrines located in two separate "Garbhagrihams," one facing the east and the other the west. The origin of the former has already been given as that in connection with the name of Parasurāma. That of the latter is as follows :—

A great Raja-yogi who was a son of sage "Kāsyapa," while doing penance at a place called "Thōkāmugham" in the north, heard from on high that he should go to Vilvādri to perform the remainder of his penance, in recognition of which God would appear before him in the desired shape. Accordingly the yogi went to Vilvādri and did as he was bid. There was then existing to the west of Parasurāma's shrine an Indian "Nelli" tree, the *Phyllanthus emblica*, bearing fine fruit, the consumption of which enabled one to enter into an ever-existing state of body. The yogi availed himself of this and consequently acquired the name of "Amalakar," *i.e.*, one connected with the fruit "Amalakam," the Sanskrit name for the fruit of "*Phyllanthus emblica*."

There is a second story extant in connection with the origin of this shrine. Brahma, the God of Creation, extremely pained at the state of mankind, grovelling as they were in ignorance and sin, due to the satanic influence of "Kali," prayed Vishnu to incarnate once more in this world and free them. In response Vishnu gave Brahma to understand that, as it was impossible for mankind to escape the influence of "Kali," the only way of salvation for them lay in sincere devotion ; and, as the masses required always some materialistic object before them to offer their poojah to, Brahma was further told that the spirit of Vishnu would descend and enter into a "Silai," *i.e.*, "a fixed idol of a temple, of stone not removed for processions, etc.," in the temple of Vilvādri, where Amalakar was then performing his penance.

There is also a third story connected with the shrine. At this time there existed an asura, or monster, by the name of "Kumbhanāsika," who made himself the terror of the whole place, and to kill him was the immediate object of the descent of Vishnu.

There are many minor reasons given, but ; as they do not fully bear out the relationship, they must be rejected.

In accordance with the three chief reasons cited above, one midnight during the "ekāthesi" in the month of "Kumbham," corresponding to the end of the third week, or the beginning

of the fourth week of February, a transcendent and lurid light—"jyôthis"—was observable for four miles round Vilvâdri. This was the sign of descent vouchsafed so long. After this phenomenon Vishnu appeared before "Amalakar" with the full emblems; and, according to the prayer of Amalakar, the spirit of Vishnu entered into a Silai. This Silai is the second image of which I have been speaking, and it has its face turned towards the west, located as it is behind Parasurâma's shrine.

Within the four miles where the "jyôthis" was observed, no "Melâcha" (and in Malabar the term melâcha is always associated with the Mapalabs) is allowed to set foot. This is owing to the fact that the head of the great Serpent-God, "Anantha," on whom rests Vishnu, is believed to cover the whole place, and the light spoken of above is regarded as the reflection of the many gems embedded in Anantha's crown.

As a testimony of Vishnu having killed "Kumbhanâseka," people there even to this day point to a rocky hillock to the south of the temple, and immediately under it, as the one wherewith he was killed. The monster was crushed under the rock; and the rock acquired its name of "Râkshasapâra," i.e., rock which killed the Râkshasa. Hence, to use a vulgar phrase, irreverent though it may be, "God killed, not two birds, but three," with one stone.

Such are the facts connected with the founding of the temple on Vilvâdri, and the consecration of the two idols by "Parasurâma" and "Amalakar" in the 27th and 28th Cycle of yugas respectively. Thus we find the event dates far back into the past, and this remote antiquity contributes more than anything else to the sanctity of the temple.

That the temple on Vilvâdri acquired great celebrity during days long gone by, may be gathered from the following incident, which dates back to the pre-historic times of the "Pândavâs," the five brothers. They, in their twelve years' wanderings in the forest, happened to lose each his way till at last they all happily, nay almost miraculously, met together again in a house which thenceforward became known as the "Ivarmatam," "house of five," situated on the north slope of Vilvâdri. Comparing notes, the Pândavâs came to the irresistible conclusion that their happy union was owing to the particular grace of the Vilvâdri God.

In commemoration of this event each of the five brothers separately founded a shrine on the banks of the "Neela" river to the north and east, under the direct shelter of the Vilvâdri nathan. "Dharma," the eldest, consecrated his shrine of "Somaswar" at a place called "Nôthakkurichi," a mile and a half to the east of Vilvâdri; "Arjuna," the third brother, consecrated his shrine of "Gôpâlar" in the Ivarmatam

itself, while Bhima, Nakula and Sahadeva consecrated theirs on the north bank of the Neela. Of all the above shrines that of Bhima is the most striking, as it is a counterpart of himself, measuring eight or nine feet high by four feet round.

The location of the two shrines is unique, and the principles upon which it was calculated were reduced to such nicety that it defied imitation even at the hands of "Indra," the King of the Devas. The story goes on to say that Indra, being apprised of the superiority of the above by "Nârada," the great munee, determined to build a shrine on the same principles, but most vainly, as he had soon to retire, vanquished.

As will be remembered, mention was made in the beginning of a cave called "Punarjanani," situated to the east of the temple. The mouth of the cave is very wide and almost circular in shape, allowing a man to pass through erect. Within it there are many holy waters, the most important of them numbering six, which go by the following names:—

1. "Pâpavinâsatheertham," believed to be mysteriously connected with the Kâneri, and offering the same religious advantages.
2. The Pâthâlatheertham, which owes its existence to the beneficent influences of the many Raja-yogis who performed their penance on Vilvâdri.
3. Ambutheertham, in the spot where the first arrow sent by Vishnu to kill the monster, alighted.
- 4 & 5. Kombutheertham and Kolambutheertham, presented by the great Kâmadhênu to the Yogi Sringi.
6. Ganapathitheertham, which will scatter all impediments to Thapas.

The above six waters are considered very sacred and they are believed to promise such advantages as are suggested and indicated by their separate names.

The passage which opens into the mouth of the cave from inside is very dark and gloomy, and overgrown with shrubs and plants of many kinds. There are, besides, many minor passages branching off from the main one and leading, it is believed, to places like Benâres, Rameswar, etc. The latter is only folklore which has become current in latter days. But apparently these caves and underground passages served in those days the purpose of our modern rest-houses and roads to the pious devotees who frequented Vilvâdri, and, as they alone knew the secret of these passages, they managed to travel without fear of being molested during troublous times.

Connected with the cave and its passages there is a little story which it may not be out of place to tell here.

Two Namboothiri Brahmins (who were and are still pro-

verbially a parsimonious class), hearing of this easy route to Benâres, as likely to save them the expenses of travel, determined to make the venture. Resting for the night in a hostel hard by the temple, the Namboothiris, in the early morning before anybody was awake (for fear a stranger might follow them and perchance be thereby a gainer with them), entered the cave on their eventful journey. Proceeding onwards, the two adventurers, who were no way inferior to the prince of knight-errants, the immortal Don Quixote de-la Mancha, lost their way in the bewildering intricacies of the passages. Notwithstanding, they kept on, and the passage finally led them to a congregation of Rishis who were engaged in their religious tasks. Surprised at this strange intrusion, which was unprecedented, the Rishis enquired of the two who they were, and what they had come for? These questions being satisfactorily answered, the intruders were told that they had missed their way and must either go back the way they had come, or remain where they were. One of them agreed to stay with the Rishis, while his friend preferred to go home, having had, perhaps, enough of the trip to Benâres. Thereupon there became visible in his eyes a tank, with a Nelli tree, the "*phyllanthus emblica*," on its bank. He was asked to climb the tree and pluck a fruit; but, during the act he missed the fruit, which fell straight into the water beneath. The Namboothiri, not to be outdone thus, followed the fruit, sinking with it, and what he next saw was to find himself once more on "*terra firma*" at the mouth of the cave he had started from. Under the illusion that what had befallen him was only of yesterday's date, he went straight to the hostel where he remembered having left his bundle of clothes, the return of which he now claimed. But in the meanwhile no less than five generations had come and gone, while the story of the Namboothiri had become a fairy tale. The Namboothiri, despairing of convincing the people of his humanly improbable version, withdrew no one knows where.

I have given the story at some length as strengthening the popular belief as to the final destination of these passages, and also as to the interior of the cave, even to this day, being inhabited by Rishis engaged peacefully in their religious avocations. There are many eye-witnesses who swear to the fact that similar caves are now to be seen in "*Panchavati*," "*Nâsik*," and "*Thapôvanam*." But, as the writer unfortunately cannot boast of being one of them, he is unable to vouch for the truth of the statement.

As to the particular deities located within the temple, there are many perplexities and contradictions which are only of recent growth, and which find favour easily enough with the

unlettered, and unhappily with that portion of the lettered, who will not see things aright. But it is enough for our purpose to say, without going into details, that both the shrines represent Vishnu, and were consecrated by Parasurâma and Amalakar respectively. The above shrines are erroneously taken to represent Râma and his brother, Lakshmana.

The privilege of performing the religious worship and poojah of the temple, formerly belonged to the "Kunnath" family of Namboothiris, in whom it has now become hereditary. Besides the daily poojahs performed in the temple, the day particularly held sacred there is that of the god's descent, which is the "Ekâthasi" day in the month of "Kumbham," corresponding to the end of the 3rd week, or beginning of the 4th week in the month of February. This, as will be remembered, is the anniversary of the death of "Kumbhanâsika." During this day, as well as the preceding and following days, great festivities and processions, with elephants and timbrels, etc., are held. But the special feature of the whole proceedings is the absence of any kind of poojah or offerings to the god on the "Ekâthasi" day, as it is believed that the Devas from above descend on earth and do the needful themselves. For this purpose the north gate of the temple is kept open during that particular day and night alone, to give the Devas a free passage.

The special kinds of offerings to the Vilvâdri god are:—bells, Hindoo bell-metal lamps, wreaths of flowers, sandal, and cow's milk.

The temple property is enormous, and the mode adopted of acquiring it is novel. I give below two of the incidents. During ancient days, when the temple was founded, there lived a middle-aged dyspeptic Nair woman named "Plâvazhi Ammâ," immensely rich, but without a solitary relation. One hot noon the twin gods on Vilvâdri, disguised as two "Brahmachârins," i.e., non-married Brahmin youths, went to her house and asked for a little water wherewith to quench their thirst. Desirous of showing her hospitality, instead of water, she brought them two vessels of newly-drawn cow's milk herself and offered them. The Brahmachârins expressing a desire for some fruits with the milk, she ran inside to fetch them; and when she appeared with them both had vanished. This made her think meanly of them, and a few minutes later she forgot all about the incident. But during the night in a dream she saw the Vilvâdri gods beckoning her to go to Vilvâdri the next morning, and there she was ordered to pass her remaining days in their service. Furthermore, she was told that, as she had thenceforward become their special care, she no longer required riches of any

kind, and as a special grace the gods would condescend to appropriate her estates. Being a devout woman, she obeyed the call with alacrity; and from that day forward she was cured of her dyspepsia. Her estate thenceforward came to be called "koottalai"—that which is added. The temple authorities realise an annual net income of 40,000 paras of paddy, which, when represented in money, amounts to between 20 and 25 thousand rupees.

The second incident is as follows :—

There existed in those early days an opulent Namboothiri family by the name of "Mangalathillam," in the locality known as "Kolakôthicherri." As with "Plâvazhi Ammâ," the twin gods on Vilvâdri, disguised as two "Brahmachârins," went one day to this illam to share its hospitality. The head Namboothiri, welcoming them, offered them food when the time came for it. When the Brahmachârins sat down to eat, the Namboothiri unconscious of the trick that was about to be played on him, poured water into the hollow of their palms, which they (the guests), as true Brâhmins, had to take and drink, muttering some mantrâs over it, prior to beginning operations. According to the Hindoo sastras every gift has to be pledged over water poured into the receiver's palm by the donor, which water, when drunk by the recipient ratifies the action. Without this ceremony no gift is valid in the eye of the Hindoo religion. The two guests, taking advantage of this, and exclaiming "Kondân Kolakôtteri," *i.e.*, "I have appropriated Kolakôtteri" (which Kolakôtteri meant the whole estate of the Namboothiri), drank the water which was served them. Before the Namboothiri could recover, both the guests had mysteriously disappeared. Understanding at once that he was thus outwitted by the Vilvâdri gods, he became inconsolable. But his shrewd wife was equal to the occasion and hinted to her husband that he need only go to the Vilvâdri temple as usual and do as she bade him. The drowning Namboothiri, catching eagerly at this straw, asked his wife to explain herself. Thereupon she suggested that, as he received the "Sankhutheertham" from the temple the next morning, he had but to say "Veentânkolakôtteri," *i.e.*, "I have redeemed back Kolakotteri," and with it drink the theertham at once. This would be paying back in the same coin, and he would once more enjoy his property. The Namboothiri only waited for the morrow to appear. But, alas! there was a slip between the yearned-for cup and the longing lip. For during the night the temple authorities were told in a vision not to offer "Sankhutheertham" thenceforward to anybody, of whatsoever rank, except to the Rajah of Cochin and "Kotanât" Namboothiri. From this time forward it was and is still considered rank pollution to admit a Namboothiri woman within the walls

of the temple, as they were deemed dangerous. And curiously enough the "Mangalathillam" Namboothiris stoutly refuse to enter the temple or to become gainers by even a pie at the expense of the temple.

The above two incidents are taken from the "Granthavazhi," which is a Government record, showing in detail the origin, extent and nature of the temple property.

The temple was, down to the Malayalam year 994, corresponding to the Christian year 1819, under the complete control of six different Namboothiri families who were its "Urâlons," *i.e.*, managers. The following are the names of the six families :—

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------|----------------------|
| (1) | The Parasutayavar | of Kizhkillam. |
| (2) | Do. | do. of Kantangathu. |
| (3) | Do. | do. of Kantânathu. |
| (4) | Do. | do. of Vavathu. |
| (5) | Do. | do. of Sankaranathu. |
| (6) | Do. | do. of Arârathu. |

Dissension soon broke out amongst the above families. Unable to manage the affairs of the temple, the Urâlons, in 1819, made over the whole management to the Cochin Rajah, who at once pensioned them and appropriated the whole. Of the six families who were the original trustees of the temple, the last-named "Arârathu," has now become extinct. At present the temple is the property of the Cochin State. Once a year the Cochin Rajah pays a visit to it, and on such occasions makes a stay of at least a week.

On the whole, the affair of 1819 was a paying one, as the State is more than fully compensated for the attention and trouble the temple costs it.

THE QUARTER.

IT is not too much to say that, as far as Englishmen throughout the Empire are concerned, the history of the past three months is, to all intents and purposes, the history of the crisis in South Africa and the terrible struggle to which it has given rise. When we last wrote, war with the Transvaal was generally regarded as inevitable ; though the precise time and manner of its breaking out were not foreseen. Time was so clearly on our side, that, when once the Government declared that it looked upon all previous proposals for a settlement as out of date and was proceeding to formulate fresh terms, the probability of the Boers taking the initiative must have been clearly recognised. That they would take it by formulating so insulting a document as the ultimatum presented to the British Agent at Pretoria on the 9th October, was certainly not anticipated.

That the British Government would treat this ultimatum as a declaration of war, was inevitable, though it was very far from being prepared for active operations, even of a defensive kind. The time fixed by the Transvaal Government for compliance with its monstrous demands expired on the evening of the 11th October, and on the same day the President of the Orange Free State issued a proclamation denouncing the British Government and calling upon its Burghers to "stand up as one man against the oppressor and violater of right ;" while commandoes of both States crossed the border into Natal in three columns, which advanced upon Newcastle and occupied it unopposed on the 14th.

Our patrols first came in contact with the enemy on the 18th October, and the next day a portion of the mail train from Ladysmith to Dundee was captured by them.

The first serious engagement, however, took place on the 20th. On that date the Boers occupied Talana Hill in force and began shelling the British Camp at Dundee, where the 1st Battalion of the King's Royal Rifles, the 2nd Battalion of the Dublin Fusiliers, the 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, the 1st Battalion of the Leicestershires, the 18th Hussars, with three field batteries and a few Natal Mounted Police and Carabiniers, were assembled under the command of General Penn Symons.

After a sharp artillery duel which lasted two hours, the enemy's guns ceased to reply, and the order to take the Hill, which rises about 800 feet above the level of the intervening donga, and seemed almost impregnable, was given. After a

fierce struggle, which lasted eight hours, the position was carried, in the face of a terrific rifle fire, by the Dublins, the Rifles and the Irish Fusiliers. Unfortunately General Penn Symons fell mortally wounded in the action, our total casualties in which were ten officers and 33 men killed, and 22 officers and 159 men wounded.

A still more important action was fought the next day at Elandslaagte, the scene of the capture of the train some days before, by a force of about 3,200 men from Ladysmith, under the command of Major General French, when the Boers were again driven at the point of the bayonet from a strong position of their own choosing, our losses on the occasion being hardly less heavy than at Talana Hill, *viz.*, four officers and 37 men killed, and 31 officers and 175 men wounded. The enemy's loss was not ascertained, but must have been severe, several prominent officials and Commandant Ben Viljoen being among the dead, and Commandants Koch, Pinnaar and Pretorius, the German Colonel Schiel and Judge Kock among the wounded taken prisoners.

The following account of the position and fight is taken from the *Times*:—

The enemy were in position on a ridge about 800 feet above the level of the railway to the north of the Ladysmith-Dundee road. This ridge makes almost a right angle with the permanent way, but stands away from it about 2,000 yards. At the railway end rises a conical hill covering the whole top of the ridge, this kopje is connected by a nek to another hill, which absolutely sweeps the table summit of the ridge for 700 to 1,000 yards. These two kopjes and the nek were the main position held by the enemy, their laager being in the nek and their guns intrenched on the smaller hill. In front of the ridge extends an open valley of veldt, gently sloping upwards for 4,000 or 5,000 yards in the direction of Ladysmith, where it merges into a succeeding ridge. A few of the enemy held this succeeding ridge. These were turned out, as the infantry advanced across another stretch of open, by dismounted squadrons of the 5th Lancers and Imperial Light Horse. At 4 P.M. the infantry, the Manchester Regiment leading, supported by the Devonshire Regiment, with the half-battalion of Gordon Highlanders in reserve, began to form on the flat eminence, which I have called the succeeding ridge. As soon as they appeared on this exposed plateau the Dutch guns opened with common shell. Their ranging was good, but the fire was ineffective. As the Manchester Regiment moved to the right and the Devonshire Regiment developed on its left, the 21st Field Battery galloped up and came into action against the enemy's artillery at about 4,500 yards, being forced to unlimber without cover in the open space between the Devonshire and Manchester Regiments. For six minutes the enemy returned the fire, laying their guns with great accuracy on our battery in action. As an effect of this shell fire, Captain Campbell, R. A., was wounded in the leg, an ammunition wagon upset, and several men and horses killed and shattered. Just as the 42nd Field Battery came into action the enemy's guns ceased firing. But the position of their battery being declared, the artillery preparation on our part com-

menced. Sir George White and staff had arrived, and Sir George remained throughout the engagement without relieving General French from the direction of the operations. The scene during the short artillery preparation was a weird one, even for a battlefield. A huge bank of thunder-cloud formed a background to the Dutch position, one dense pall of cloud fringed with the grey of a setting sun. So dark was this background that every puff of bursting shrapnel showed distinctly to the naked eye. Ever and anon a blinding flash would momentarily chase the gloom away, causing the saw-edged limits of the ridge to stand out sharp and clear against the evening sky. The detonation of the guns and crashing of the galloping wagons seemed in harmony with peals of thunder which at periods dwarfed the din of battle. But the light was failing, night being hastened by the gathering storm-clouds, and after half an hour of preparation the order was given to Colonel Ian Hamilton to set his infantry machine in motion.

The order of the infantry attack was as follows:—The Devonshire Regiment was ordered to deliver a frontal attack, which necessitated their crossing the open plan of rolling veldt to which I have already referred. The Manchester Regiment was detailed to turn the enemy's left, and, advancing along the summit of the ridge, drive the Dutchmen back upon their main position; they were to be supported by the five companies of Highlanders. The two battaries were to support the infantry advance, moving in to closer ranges as the attack developed. In the first instance it will be better to follow the fortunes of the frontal attack. Major Park placed three companies in the firing line in the following order from the right:—F. Company (Lieutenant Field), G. Company (Lieutenant Oaffin), D. Company (Captain Lafone). These were extended over a front of 400 or 500 yards and formed their own supports. The remaining four companies were in reserve under Major Currie, being in single rank, in column, with about 50 paces interval, which was increased when the enemy's guns came into action. As soon as the battalion was well over the plateau and descending into the valley, the enemy found them with shrapnel, but the missiles went high, or with extraordinary precision burst in the intervals between companies. The casualties from shell-fire were, therefore, slight, three men only from A. Company being hit. When the regiment had advanced to about 1,200 yards from the position, Major Park, who commanded his battalion with great coolness, halted it and opened fire, the only cover available being the ant-heaps with which the plain abounded. The battalion now came under a severe infantry fire, but nothing could have surpassed the steadiness with which this south country battalion moved forward. It had the admiration of all that day; its advance throughout was slow, deliberate, and irresistible. After firing a few volleys the firing line was reinforced with supports, and again steadily advanced. Though men were dropping fast and the air whistled with Mauser bullets there was no sign of streakiness, and though there was no cover the men stepped on undaunted until they were within 800 yards from the summit of the hill. The fading light and the colour of their uniforms probably saved them from the slaughter that one imagined must be in store for them, as they lay at the bottom of the depression, waiting for the flank attack to develop. Here, with the guns thundering above them and the soil torn with incessant rifle fire, they lay for over half an hour waiting for the moment when the advance should sound. Rarely has a regiment been so severely tried, never has one acquitted itself better.

While the Devonshire Regiment was lying in the valley taking advantage of what cover the ant-heaps could afford it, the flank attack on the enemy's left was developing. The Manchester Regiment had moved past the batteries, had been joined by a dismounted squadron of the Imperial Light Horse under Major Woods Sampson and Captain Mukins, and was pushing round to the lower summit of the range. The Gordon Highlanders followed in support. Just as the latter reached the foot of the ridge, the storm which had been threatening so long, burst, and in a few moments every one was drenched to the skin. The shower was sharp and short, but by the time it was over the Gordon Highlanders were among the stones which covered the crest of the ridge. Dropping shots were falling about them, a couple of men were hit, another shot dead, and then the supports were into the firing line and filling up the gaps in the line of the Manchester Regiment and the the Light Horse. There was a short plateau to cross, then a saving dip, with a climb to the main plateau again. Cheerily the men responded to their officers, and wave after wave of kilts and khaki swept up to the sky-line. Here they wavered and dropped, for of the first sections only one in four could pass. A moment they were checked; dead, wounded, and quick seemed sandwiched together amongst the boulders. Then their officers shouted them up. Again the sky-line darkened with lines of men bent double. Again they seemed to melt away; still were they fed from below. And then all were over, but not all, for 50 stout fellows lay prostrate in the clefts of the rain-washed stones. And when the dip was passed, what a task lay before them! They were called to face 600 yards of rough, rock-strewn open—intersected at intervals with barbed-wire fences. At the end rose a kopje, which commanded the plateau from end to end, as a butt would command a rifle range. No one could be seen but all could feel that that final kopje was alive with small-bore rifles. Stumbling forward among the stones, blundering over the bodies of their comrades as they fell before them, the men pressed on. It had ceased to be a moment for regimental commanders. Even sections could barely keep together; it was the brute courage of the individual alone that carried them on. Men stopped, lay under stones and fired, were shot as they lay or rose from cover to rush another dozen yards. Men and officers were slaughtered in batches at the fences. But here, in places, the rain of bullets had done the work of wire-cutters. More than halfway was won, and yet, though the summit of the kopje seemed one continued burst of shrapnel, the fire from it in no wise slackened. It seemed that the men had done all that could be done. Colonel Dick-Cunyngham was shot in two places, half the officers of the Gordon Highlanders were down. The level crest seemed strewn with countless casualties. The critical moment had arrived. It was to be victory now or never; Colonel Ian Hamilton ordered a buglar to sound the "Charge." Out rang the bugle, such buglers as were unhurt took up the note; Drum-Major Lawrence, of the Gordon Highlanders, rushed out into the open and headed the line, playing the fateful call. The sound of the Devonshire bugles came up from the valley bottom, and the persistent rhythm of their firing gave heart to the flank attack. Waves of glittering bayonets danced forward in the twilight. Twenty determined men still held the final kopje. Again the bugles sounded "the advance," then the "cease fire" rang out. There was a lull in the firing; men stopped and stood up clear of cover. In a moment the Boers re-opened and swept away a dozen brave men. But the dastardly ruse was a last and futile effort to save the day. Lieute-

nant Field, at the head of his company of the Devonshire Regiment, was into the battery with the bayonet; the men who had served the guns till the steel was 6 feet away from them were shot or bayoneted. Devons, Manchesters, Highlanders, and Light Horsemen met and dashed for the laager in the deep below. It was a wild three minutes; men were shouting "Majuba!" Then in honest cadence the "cease fire" sounded, the pipes of the Gordons skiled the regimental quick step, and we saw a sight which thrilled us all, the white flag fluttering from a Mauser carbine held by a bearded Boer.

To follow, in these pages, in anything like detail, the course of the campaign, would be impossible, and we have quoted the above description of one of the most gallant fights in the records of the British army mainly by way of vindicating our officers and men from any suspicion that might arise that the ill-fortune which has attended our arms on so many subsequent occasions has been in any degree due to lack of courage or determination on their part.

Unfortunately, as far as the attainment of the object of the war is concerned, the dearly bought victories of Talana Hill and Elandslaagte have been wholly thrown away. Two days after the former, our force, the command of which had in the meantime been assumed by General Yule, was compelled to evacuate Dundee, leaving its wounded to the care of the enemy, and fall back upon the main body of Sir George White's army at Ladysmith. While this operation was being carried out, Sir George White, with a strong force from Ladysmith, engaged and defeated the enemy at Rietfontein, about seven miles from that place, thus saving General Yule from a flank attack.

In spite of every effort, however, it soon became apparent that Sir George White was not in nearly sufficient force to prevent the enemy from hemming him in. By the 28th October, they were closing in round the town, which stands in the hollow of a horseshoe, with hills rising in front, and ridges on either flank, but open to the rear, and two days later they began bombarding the town. An attempt made on the 30th October by Sir George White, in full strength, to push back the enemy, though partially successful as far as the main attack was concerned, was attended by a serious disaster to a column consisting of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, No. 10 Mountain Battery, and the Gloucestershire Regiment, which had been detached on the previous night to seize Nicholson's Nek, or some neighbouring position, on the left flank, and which was surrounded and compelled to capitulate after losing practically the whole of its gun equipment and small arms ammunition through the stampeding of the mules. Since then Ladysmith has been completely invested and almost daily bombarded by the enemy, who, however, have failed to make

any impression on the defences. The investment of Ladysmith was followed quickly by the evacuation of Colenso, which had ceased to be tenable by the small garrison there, and shortly afterwards was occupied by the enemy.

At a comparatively early stage of the Transvaal crisis, a contingent, of all arms, numbering about five thousand men, was requisitioned from this country for service in South Africa, and the entire force embarked within about a fortnight of the receipt by the Viceroy of the telegram conveying the order, and had reached Durban before the actual outbreak of hostilities. On the 7th October orders were issued by the Commander-in-Chief in England for the mobilisation of a complete Army Corps, consisting of a Cavalry Division and three Infantry Divisions, with corps troops and artillery, aggregating in all some 47,000 men. The embarkation of the 1st Division, commanded by Lord Methuen, began on the 20th October, and the other Divisions followed in quick succession. In the middle of November it was determined to despatch a 5th Division, comprising some 11,000 officers and men to the seat of war, under Sir C. Warren, the greater part of whom have already arrived at Cape Town and Durban, and a 6th and 7th Division have since been ordered out. The whole of the Reserves have been called out and incorporated in the various Divisions. At the same time the Militia have been invited to volunteer for service outside the Kingdom; a force of Yeomanry Cavalry has been selected for service in South Africa, and arrangements are in progress for the employment in the same service of a contingent of selected volunteers of whom several thousand have already come forward.

General Sir Redvers Buller, who was appointed to the Chief Command in South Africa, reached Cape Town on the 30th October, and, having, on his arrival there, decided on directing the operations in Natal in person, left for Durban, where he arrived on the 25th November, and went at once to the front.

A force for the relief of Ladysmith was subsequently concentrated at Chieveley, some six miles to the south of Colenso, where the enemy had entrenched themselves in a very strong position on the north bank of the Tugela river. On the morning of the 15th December, General Buller advanced in full strength and attempted to force the passage of the river there, but sustained a serious reverse, losing eleven guns, owing to a lamentable error of judgment on the part of the officer commanding them, and 1,100 men, killed, wounded and missing, and was compelled to withdraw to his former position at Chieveley, where he has since remained awaiting re-inforcements.

In an official despatch describing this disastrous affair, he says :—

I regret to report a serious reverse. I moved in full strength from camp near Chieveley at four o'clock this morning.

There are two fordable places in the Tugela. My intention was to force a passage at one or other with one brigade, supported by the central brigade.

General Hart was to attack by the left Drift, and General Hildyard by the right.

General Lyttleton in the centre was to support either according to circumstances.

Early in the day I saw that General Hart was unable to force the passage, and I directed him to withdraw. He had, however, attacked with great gallantry, and his leading battalion, the Connaught Rangers, I fear, suffered a great deal.

Colonel Brooke was severely wounded.

I then ordered General Hildyard to advance, which he did. His leading regiment, the East Surrey, occupied Colenso Station and the houses near the bridge.

At that moment I heard that the whole of the artillery I had sent to support that attack, the 14th and 16th Field Batteries, with six naval 12-pounders, under Colonel Long, were out of action.

It appears that Colonel Long, desiring to be within effective range, advanced close to the river. It proved to be full of the enemy, who suddenly opened a galling fire at close range, killing all the horses and the gunners, who were compelled to stand to their guns. Some wagon teams got sheltered.

The troops in the donga and others made desperate efforts to recover and bring away the field guns, but the fire was too severe, and only two guns were saved, by Captain Schofield and some drivers.

Another most gallant attempt was made by an officer, whose name I will obtain.

Of eighteen horses thirteen were killed, and as several drivers were wounded, I refused to allow another attack.

As the gallant attempt of the infantry to force a passage, unsupported by artillery, was a useless sacrifice of life, I directed the troops to withdraw, which they did in good order.

Throughout the day a considerable force of the enemy were pressing on my right flank, but were kept back by the mounted infantry, under Lord Dundonald and a part of General Barton's brigade.

The day was intensely hot and most trying to the troops, whose conduct was excellent.

We abandoned ten guns, and one was destroyed by the shell fire. The losses of General Harts brigade, I fear, were very heavy, though the proportion of severely wounded, I hope, may not prove to be large.

The 14th and 16th Batteries also suffered severely.

I have retired to our camp at Chieveley.

The result of this check has been to defer indefinitely the relief of Ladysmith, where supplies for man and beast, if not ammunition, must now be rapidly running out, and, in spite of frequent more or less successful sorties, the position must, in a few days, become desperate.

There are indications, however, that General Buller is about to renew his attempt to join hands with the besieged force, and the removal of his camp to a position further to the south, said to have been determined on by him within the last few days, probably points to a change of plan.

Turning to Cape Colony, the North Eastern extremity of which has been invaded by the forces of the Orange

Free State, the chief interest has centred so far in the operations of the Division under Lord Methuen, who is advancing on the extreme left to the relief of Kimberley, which, as well as Mafeking, has been invested by the enemy, the line between DeAar junction and Dordrecht, which, along with Stormberg, has been occupied by the enemy, being held in the meantime by Generals French and Gatacre.

After fighting two successful actions at Belmont and Gras Pan and driving the enemy from both positions, Lord Methuen, on the 28th November, after a fight, which lasted from morning till nightfall, succeeded in forcing the passage of the Modder River, on the further bank of which they had established themselves, to the number of about 11,000, in a carefully prepared position. The fighting was of the severest kind, our men, during their advance to and across the river, having to face a devastating fusillade without cover, and our losses in killed and wounded amounted to 20 officers and about 450 men. The Boers evacuated the town during the night, taking away their wounded and guns, the exhausted condition of our men and the want of sufficient cavalry, as after Lord Methuen's previous actions, preventing any attempt at pursuit, and occupied a fresh position at Magersfontein, some miles further North on the road to Kimberley. Here, on the 10th December Lord Methuen again attacked them, but only to sustain a severe reverse, an attempt to storm the enemy's entrenchments being repulsed with a loss of over 800 in killed, wounded and missing, the Highland Brigade alone, which, owing to an inexplicable blunder, came within point blank range of the enemy's fire in close order, losing between six and seven hundred of their number, including Colonel Wauchope, their Commander, killed, and a large number of other officers, killed and wounded. Lord Methuen was compelled to retire, on the following morning, to his previous position on the Modder River, where he has since remained entrenched.

Another serious reverse, though of less strategical importance, has been sustained by the force under General Gatacre, who was misled by his guides in an attempt to take the Boer position at Stormberg by surprise. The entire frontier in that direction is in a state of rebellion, and General Gatacre has been compelled to withdraw to the south. General French at Arundel, on the other hand, has so far succeeded in holding his own with his small command, and has worsted the enemy in several skirmishes. General Buller's defeat at Colenso was promptly followed by the appointment of Lord Roberts to the Supreme Command in South Africa, with Lord Kitchener as Chief of the Staff, and both officers are now well on their way to Cape Town.

The situation at the present moment is of the gravest. Since the outbreak of hostilities, we have lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, upwards of 6,000 men, to say nothing of guns and material of war. Of our remaining forces in South Africa, some 15,000 have been, for two months or more, surrounded by the enemy under conditions which make their ultimate capitulation only too probable; considerable portions of our territories are in the possession of the enemy, who, in spite of every attempt to drive them back, are daily strengthening their hold upon them; and, without a large addition to the force of about 80,000 men still at our disposal in Cape Colony and Natal, there would seem to be no immediate prospect of our being able to do more than check their further advance.

From the Soudan came, on the 23rd November, the welcome news that Colonel Wingate, with a force of Egyptians, had attacked and routed Ahmed Fedil, the Mahdi's Lieutenant; and this was followed, two days later, by the further announcement that he had overtaken and completely destroyed the Khalifa's force at Jedid, the Khalifa himself being killed, and all his principal Emirs, with the exception of the notorious Osman Digna, being either killed or captured.

It is announced that an important agreement has been arrived at between Great Britain and Germany with regard to Samoa, by which Great Britain renounces all rights in the islands, Upolu and Savaii being assigned to Germany, and Tutuila to the United States. At the same time Germany renounces, in favour of Great Britain all her claims to the Tonga Islands, Savage Island and the East Solomon Islands; and Germany also agrees to abandon her extra-territorial rights in Zanzibar whenever other nations give up theirs, and consents to a demarcation of the frontier between the Hinterland of German Togo-land and the British Gold Coast Colony.

In his message to Congress, President McKinley said that America remained faithful to the principle of avoiding entangling alliances, involving her in affairs not directly concerning herself. America's attitude towards England and the Transvaal would be impartial.

The President referred in most cordial terms to the relations with France, Germany, and Great Britain, and urged that measures be taken to ensure the continuance of the gold standard. He reiterated the promise of independence for Cuba when the pacification of the island was accomplished. It was impossible, he said, for the United States to renounce authority in the Philippines. He recommended the appointment of a Commission to study the commercial and industrial possibilities of China.

The House of Representatives subsequently passed the Government Currency Bill by a majority of 40.

Among noteworthy events of the period under review, has been the visit of the Emperor of Germany, with the Empress and two of his sons, to the Queen at Windsor, to which, in view of the remarks made by Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech at Leicester, regarding an alliance of understanding between the two countries, more than a mere domestic significance may reasonably be attached.

Apart from the famine from which Rajputana and the Central Provinces and parts of Bombay, the Punjab and the North-West Provinces are suffering, but which, though it bids fair to equal, if not surpass, in severity that of three years ago, has attracted comparatively little public attention; the destructive series of landslips which occurred at Darjeeling in the latter end of September and were attended by serious loss of life, and the Viceregal tour which has been of an unusually extended character, but little has occurred in India since we last wrote to call for notice in this place.

The number of persons in receipt of public relief in the famine-stricken districts already exceeds two-and-a-half millions; but there is reason to fear that, owing to the fact that the greater part of the territory affected is under Native rule, the figures afford a very imperfect index of the severity of the visitation.

The Plague still retains its hold on Bombay, where the mortality from the disease has lately shown a large increase, and a somewhat serious outbreak is reported from Behar; but, speaking generally, there are indications that the epidemic is on the wane.

An important Bill for the better regulation of cooly emigration to Assam was introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council on the 13th October. The main features of the measure, the principal object of which is to prevent the malpractices that have sprung up in connexion with recruiting are described as follows by Mr. Rivaz, who introduced it: (1) We empower the local Government to prohibit all persons from recruiting or engaging or assisting any native of India to emigrate from any specified part of its territories, to any or all the labour districts, otherwise than in accordance with the provisions of the Act. When such a notification issues, it will completely stop the present unlicensed and uncontrolled system of "free" recruiting, by making it punishable as a criminal offence. (2) Having brought the present unlicensed contractors and recruiters under license and control, we further require that they shall register the emigrant in the district in which he has been actually recruited, and before a responsible officer, and that they shall subsequently enter into a labour contract with the registered emigrant, if not in the

actual district of recruitment, at least at some central place near such district. We do away with the special procedure under which a labour contract for any district in the Assam Valley can at present be entered into by a so-called "free emigrant" at Dhubri. (3) We provide for an interval of at least three days between the registration of intending emigrants and the execution of contracts by them. (4) We make additional provisions for repatriating labourers found to have been enticed away from their homes by fraud, or to have been forced away by violence, or rejected by the Registering Officer. (5) We prohibit the execution of a penal contract by a woman without the consent of her husband or lawful guardian. (6) We provide that medical examination of labourers intending to proceed to the labour districts on the point of physical fitness to labour, be made compulsory in recruiting districts in the case of contractors' coolies. (7) We provide that when a labourer is convicted of desertion, he shall not be liable to be detained or to be returned to the garden he left for any period beyond the last day of the contract he broke by desertion. (8) We raise the minimum contract wage prescribed by the present law from Rs. 5 in the case of a man and Rs. 4 in that of woman to Rs. 6 and Rs. 5 respectively. (9) We make minor alterations as to the amounts of license fees payable by contractors, sub-contractors, and recruiters. (10) In addition to these amendments of the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, we are separately proposing that Bengal Act, I of 1889, relative to sanitary control over arrangements for free emigrants *en route* to Assam, be made extendible to the Central and North-West Provinces and any other Province from which labourers may be recruited in future, and that its scope be enlarged, so as to give Local Governments power to frame rules to give their officers definite powers of entry and inspection of depôts and rest-houses for other than sanitary purposes.

The Government of India has also recorded a remarkable Resolution on the subject of public education, insisting among other things, on the necessity of more effective supervision by the Local Governments; on a gradual reduction of the expenditure of Provincial revenues on advanced, as compared with primary, education; of greater effort to further the latter, and of a more adequate provision for the training of teachers.

The Punjab Courts and Central Provinces Wards Bills have been passed by the Council, and the Calcutta Municipal Act Amendment Bill has received the Viceregal assent.

Sir Henry Stafford Northcote has been appointed to succeed Lord Sandhurst as Governor of Bombay, and Sir Edward

Fitzgerald Law, K.C.M.G., to be Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council in the place of Mr. Clinton Dawkins, who retires next March.

The obituary of the quarter includes the names of the Marchioness of Salisbury; Lord Farrer; Surgeon-General Sir C. A. Gordon, K.C.B.; the Rt. Hon'ble J. Monroe; Mr. R. P. Jenkins, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service; Colonel Sir Charles P. P. H. Nugent, K.C.B.; Vice-Admiral Colomb; Mr. W. E. Metford; Mr. Grant Allen; Signor Foli; Major General Sir W. Penn-Symons, K.C.B.; Mrs. Francis Lean (Florence Marryatt); Rev. E. L. Berthon; Lieutenant Colonel Henry Hay; Lieutenant-General C. W. Younghusband, C.B., F.R.S.; Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Keith Falconer; Colonel E. A. Travers; Lieutenant-Colonel A. E. Wrottesley, R. E.; Dr. Moritz Busch; Sir William Dawson; Sir Richard Moon; Mr. T. Macknight; Sir R. W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B.; General Wauchope; Colonel Coode; Colonel Goff; the Marquis of Winchester; General Sir Gerald Grahame; Major-General W. R. White; Major-General E. Moberley, C. B. R. A.; Colonel Northcote; Colonel Stopford.

December 29, 1899.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DOCTRINES OF JAINISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW."

SIR,

YOU say that I fail to explain the action of matter upon soul. I have not, I think, left the subject altogether untouched; but, as it related, not to gross, but to fine matter, what I said may be unintelligible to many.

Have I not, in the 9th paragraph of my article in the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1898, explained the effect of Draba Karamas upon soul? Have I not said there that Diaba Karamas are nothing but the assemblages of the atoms of matter? Have I not pointed out, in my last reply to the Editor's note, that the nature of matter is to produce Rag Dwaish and Moh in soul?

It is the Editor's fancy that he thinks Jainism to split upon this rock. Of course Jainism cannot accept the Cartesian doctrine of "Occasional Causes," or the cognate theory of Pre-established Harmony of Leibnitz, because both of them fall short of explaining the phenomenon from the powers within soul and matter themselves, but require the interference of God, though the former, a constant interference, and the latter His interference in the very beginning. But interference of any kind whatever on the part of God, which necessarily imputes passions and affections to Him, and consequently degrades and makes Him a sort of worldly being, is contrary to the Jain doctrine that God is Bitrag.

According to Jainism, soul and matter are, from eternity, intermingled with each other, each acting upon the other, and consequently soul cannot manifest its Suvabhava (nature), that is, its power of Gyan (knowledge), in full. When soul gets rid of matter, it becomes All-knowing, and is not then said to be in the worldly condition, but acquires the highest rank, that is, that of God.

Now, as to how matter and soul act upon each other, there is an undeniable principle that, when two things having different attributes combine, each tends to produce its own attributes in the other, and they form a combination which is something different from either. Now the attribute of soul is its power of knowing, while that of matter is its power of attraction and

repulsion. As Sansari Jiva (worldly soul) and Pudgul (matter) are in a state of bondage, matter tends to produce attraction and repulsion in Jiva, and the result is that Jiva (soul) manifests love and hatred.

Now let us see what are love and hatred. Love is soul's tendency of being attracted towards any particular thing, while hatred is that of its being repulsed. When soul feels a sort of attachment or attraction towards a thing, it is said to have love for that thing. In the same way, when soul feels a sort of detachment or repulsion from a thing it is said to have hatred towards it. Love and hatred are, in reality, conditions of Gyan (knowledge), adulterated by attraction and repulsion, which are the attributes of matter.

Thus, when matter is in contact with soul, it produces attraction and repulsion, or, in other words, love and hatred in it.

On the other hand, soul also acts upon matter. When soul is in bondage with matter, it produces a sort of Gyan or animation in it. Thus we see our body is not altogether dead matter, but it has something like Gyan (knowledge) in it. Besides our body, which is gross matter, soul is also intermingled with imperceptible assemblages of the atoms of matter, which are also animated by the action of soul, and which govern the gross body.

Of course, as we cannot see soul and the atoms of matter, we cannot see their action, but we find that gross matter (objects surrounding us) do produce love and hatred, pleasures and pains in us, hence we can fairly infer that the same must be the case with the atoms of matter; and, as our body is animated by the action of soul, the atoms of matter which are intermingled with it, must also be animated by the same action.

Thus, about the action of matter upon soul, there might be raised two questions.

1. What effect does matter produce in soul ?
2. How does it produce it ? And the answer to both these questions can be satisfactorily gathered from the above.

RICKHAH DASS JAINI, B.A.,
Near Jain Temple,
Meerut City.

Note.—I wish to inform English-knowing Jains and those who take interest in this religion that an Association, named, the Jain Young Men's Association of India was established under the patronage of Raja Seth Lakshman Dass, C.I.E., of Muthra, in the month of October, 1899, at Muthra. The objects of this Association are to

create union and sympathy amongst the English-knowing Jains ; to make social reforms and religious improvements ; to promote religious learning hand in hand with English education, and to settle in life the educated Jains, and to secure the help of influential gentlemen for this purpose.

A meeting of this Association was held in the Connaught Hall, Town Hall, Meerut, on the 8th December, Roy Phul Chand Roy, B.A., Assistant Engineer, Punjab, presiding ; wherein, several speeches on religious and social subjects were delivered.

Any further information about this Association can be had from B. Sultan Singh Jaini, Pleader, Meerut.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Isa, Kena and Mundaka Upanishads, and Sri Sankara's Commentary. Translated by S. SITARAM SASTRI, B. A. Published by V. C. SESHACHARRI, B.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Madras. G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers and Publishers, Esplanade, Madras, 1898.

The Katha and Prasna Upanishads and Sri Sankara's Commentary. Translated by S. SITARAM SASTRI, B. A. Published by V. C. SESHACHARRI, B. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. Vakil, High Court, Madras. G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers, Esplanade, Madras, 1898.

The Chhandogya Upanishad and Sri Sankara's Commentary. Translated by GANGANATH JHA, M.A., F.T.S. Published by V. C. SESHACHARRI, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., Vakil, High Court, Madras. G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers, Esplanade, Madras, 1899.

THESE volumes contain the texts of the Isa, Kena, Mundaka, Katha, Prasna and part of the Chhandogya Upanishads, with literal translations, and also translations of the Commentaries of the renowned Sri Sankaracharya on the texts, unaccompanied by notes or original matter of any kind. As, to the best of our belief, it is the first time that Sri Sankara's Commentaries have been given to the world in an English dress the work is one of considerable importance, though it necessarily appeals only to a very limited class of readers. The names of the translators are sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of their work.

Rulers of India. Bābar. By STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M. A., Professor of Arabic at Trinity College, Dublin, Oxford : At the Clarendon Press. 1899.

IT is sufficient praise of this welcome addition to the "Rulers of India" series, that it presents us with a simple, clear, and, for the purpose, adequate, account of the career of one of the most fascinating figures in history. If we have any fault to find with it, it is that, curiously enough, the author, while he is evidently animated by a lively sympathy with the subject of his memoir, nowhere, that we have been able to discover, gives us a succinct estimate of his character. Unsurpassed among men for courage and fortitude, and among sovereigns

for magnanimity ; incapable of treachery or meanness ; open-hearted almost to a fault ; hardly less abounding in clemency to his enemies, than unswerving in fidelity to his followers and friends, the founder of the Moghul Empire, if not wholly without reproach, has left behind him a name which, but for the fierce light that beats about even an Oriental throne, might be accounted stainless.

Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has, wisely and appropriately, left Bábar, who, like his Anglo-Saxon prototype, was author and poet as well as warrior and king, tell, as far as might be, his own story ; and never was a story, more full of strange vicissitudes and hair-breadth escapes, told by its hero with greater grace or less self-consciousness than that embodied in the *Tuzak-i-Bábari*.

Bábar's Memoirs, Mr. Lane-Poole justly says, "are no rough soldier's chronicle of marches and countermarches, 'saps, mines, blinds, gabions, palisadoes, ravelins, half-moons, and such trumpery ;' they contain the personal impressions and acute reflections of a cultivated man of the world, well read in Eastern literature, a close and curious observer, quick in perception, a discerning judge of persons, and a devoted lover of nature ; one, moreover, who was well able to express his thoughts and observations in clear and vigorous language. *

* * The man's own character is so fresh and buoyant, so free from convention and cant, so rich in hope, courage, resolve, and at the same time so very human, that it conquers one's admiring sympathy. The utter frankness of self-revelation, the unconscious portraiture of all his virtues and follies, his obvious truthfulness and fine sense of honour, give the Memoirs an authority which is equal to their charm. If ever there were a case when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by other evidence, should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Bábar's Memoirs. No reader of this prince of autobiographers can doubt his honesty or his competence as witness and chronicler."

It is not our business here to give any account, however brief, of the chequered life of this extraordinary character. But we may appropriately give an extract from the autobiography from which the reader may judge of its general flavour, and form some idea of its almost unique interest.

During his exile, after his second conquest of and flight from Samarkand, Bábar had been invited by Shaikh Bayazid to Akhsi. Accepting the invitation, he arrived there and took up his quarters in the fort, only to find the place presently besieged by his old enemy Tambal at the head of two or three thousand men. With his usual carelessness, he had not thought of seizing the castle, the key of the position, or even of setting a

guard over the bridge by which Tambal must cross. Flight was his only available resource, and it is the story of his escape, and the adventures which followed, that is told in the fragment quoted :—

'We had no sooner come opposite the gate than we saw Shaikh Báyazíd, with a quilted gambeson over his vest ; he had just then entered the gateway with three or four horsemen, and was riding into the town. . . . I immediately drew to the head the arrow that was in my notch, and let him have it full. It only grazed his neck, but it was a fine shot. The moment he had traversed the gate he turned short to the right and fled in a panic down a narrow lane. I pursued. Kúli Kudildâsh struck down one foot-soldier with his mace, and had passed another, when the fellow aimed an arrow at Ibrâhîm Beg, who baulked him by shouting "Hai ! Hai !" and went on ; but the man, being no further off than the porch from the hall, let fly an arrow which hit me under the arm. I had on a Kalmák mail, and two of its plates were pierced and shivered by the shot. Then he fled and I sent an arrow after him, which caught a foot-soldier who happened just then to be flying along the rampart, and pinned his cap to the wall, where it struck transfixed, dangling from the parapet. He took his turban, twisted it round his arm, and ran off. A man on horseback passed close to me, rushing up the narrow lane. I gave him the point of my sword on the temple ; he swerved over as if to fall, but caught the wall, and thus supported recovered his seat and escaped.

'Having scattered all the horse and foot that were at the gate, we took possession of it. There was now no reasonable chance of success, for they had two or three thousand well-armed men in the citadel while I had only a hundred, or at most two hundred, in the outer stone fort ; and besides, about as long before this as milk takes to boil, Jahángír Mirzá had been beaten and driven out, and half my men with him. Yet such was my inexperience that, posting myself in the gateway, I sent a messenger to Jahángír to bid him join me in another effort. But in truth the business was over . . . We continued waiting at the gate for the return of my messenger. He came and told us that Jahángír was already gone some time. It was no season for tarrying, and we too set off ; indeed my staying so long was very unwise. Only twenty or thirty men now remained with me. The moment we moved off, a strong troop of the enemy came smartly after us ; we just cleared the drawbridge as they reached its town end. Banda 'Ali Beg called out to Ibrâhîm Beg, "You are always boasting and bragging ; stop and let us exchange a few sword-cuts." Ibrâhîm, who was close to me, answered, "Come on, then ; what lets you ?" Senseless madcaps, to bandy pretensions at such a moment ! It was no time for a trial of skill, or any sort of delay. We made off at our top speed, the enemy at our heels. They brought down man after man as they gained on us.

'Within a couple of miles of Akhsi there is a place called the Garden-Dome. We had just passed it when Ibrâhîm Beg called loudly to me for help. I looked round and saw him engaged with a home-bred slave of Shaikh Báyazíd. I turned at once to go back, when Jân Kúli and Biyân Kúli, who rode beside me, seized my rein and hurried me on, saying, "What time is this for turning back ?" Before we reached Sang (three miles from Akhsi) they had unhorsed most of my followers ; but after Sang we saw no more pursuers. We followed the river of Sang, being then only eight men. A sort of defile leads up stream among broken glens, far from the beaten track. By this unfrequented path we went, till, leaving the river on the right, we struck into another narrow track. It was about afternoon prayers when we came out from the glen upon the level country. There we saw a black spot far off on the plain. I put my men under cover, and crept up a hillock on foot to spy what it might be ; when suddenly a number of horsemen galloped up behind us ; we could not tell how many there were, but took to our horses and fled. The horsemen who followed us (I afterwards learnt) were not above twenty or twenty-five in all, and we were eight. Had we but known their number at first we should have given them warm work, but we thought they were in force ; and so we continued our

flight. The truth is that the pursued are no match for the pursuers, even though numbers be in their favour, for

A single shout is enough to finish the vanquished.

'Ján Kúli said, 'We cannot go on like this; they will take us all. Do you and the foster-brother (Kukildásh) take the two best horses of the party and galloping together keep the spare horses on your bridle; perhaps you may escape.' The advice was good, but I could not leave my followers dismounted in presence of the enemy. At last my party began to separate and drop behind. My own horse began to flag. Ján Kúli dismounted and gave me his. I leapt down and mounted his horse, and he mounted mine. At this instant Shahím Násir and 'Abd-al-Kaddús, who had fallen behind, were unhorsed by the enemy. Ján Kúli also dropped behind, but it was no time to try to shield or help him. We pushed our horses to their utmost stretch, but they gradually agged and slacked. Dost Beg's horse was done up and dropped behind, and mine began to give signs of being worn out. Kambar 'Ali dismounted and gave me his horse. He mounted mine, and presently fell behind. Khwája Husaini, who was lame, turned aside to the heights. I was left alone with Mirzá Kúli Kukildásh.

'Our horses were past galloping; we went on at a canter, but Kúli's horse went slower and slower. I said, "If I lose you, whither can I go? Dead or alive we will keep together." I held on my way, turning from time to time to watch him. At last he said, "My horse is utterly blown, and you cannot escape encumbered with me. Push on and shift for yourself; perchance you may still escape." I was in a horrible situation. Kúli then fell behind, too, and I was alone. Two of the enemy were in sight . . . they gained on me; my horse flagged. There was a hill about a couple of miles off, and I came up to a heap of stones. My horse was done up, I considered, and the hill yet a considerable way ahead. What was to be done? I had still about twenty arrows in my quiver. Should I dismount at this heap of stones, and hold my ground as long as my arrows lasted? But then it struck me I might yet be able to win the hill, and if I did I could stick a few arrows in my belt and manage to climb it. I had great faith in my own nimbleness. So I kept on my course. My horse could make no speed, and my pursuers got within bowshot of me; but I was sparing of my arrows and did not shoot. They too were chary, and came no nearer than a bowshot, but kept tracking me.

'I drew near the hill about sunset, when they suddenly called out to me "Where are you going; that you fly in this manner? Jahángir Mirzá has been taken and brought in, and Násir Mirzá has been seized." I was greatly alarmed at these words, for if all [three] of us fell into their hands, we had everything to dread! I made no answer, but kept on for the hill. When we had gone a little further they called to me again, speaking more graciously, and dismounting from their horses to address me. I paid no attention, but kept on my way and entering a gorge, began to ascend it, and went on until about bedtime prayers, when I reached a rock as big as a house. I went behind it, and found an ascent of steep ledges where the horse could not keep his footing. They also dismounted, and began to address me still more courteously and respectfully, expostulating, and saying, "What end can it serve to go on thus in a dark night, where there is no road? Where can you possibly go?" They both solemnly swore that "Sultán Ahmad Beg [Tambal] wishes to put you on the throne."

'I answered, "I can put no trust in anything of the sort. nor could I possibly join him. If you really wish to do me an important service, you have now an opportunity which may not recur for years. Point me out a road by which I may rejoin the Kháns, and I will show you kindness and favour beyond your utmost desire. If you will not, then return the way you came, and leave me to accomplish my fate—even that will be no slight service." "Would to God," they exclaimed, "that we had never come; but as we are here, how can we desert you in this desolate situation? Since you will not accompany us to Tambal, we shall follow and serve you, go where you will." I said, "Swear then to me by the Holy

Book that you are sincere in your offer." And they swore that tremendous oath. I now began to have some confidence in them, and said, "An open road was once pointed out to me near this same valley; do you proceed by it." Though they had sworn, yet I could not thoroughly trust them, so I made them go on in front, and I followed them.'

The pretended guides were misleading him and meant to deliver him up to Tambal. As Mr. Lane Poole abbreviates the original: 'They got him some bread, however, for starving was no part of their plan, and 'each with a loaf under his arm,' the three sat munching on a hillock, keeping watch on all sides and on each other. They saw people passing below, whom they knew, but Bábar dared not trust himself to them, though he trusted his two strange companions even less. It was now afternoon of the second day, and they went down to graze their famished horses in the marshy valley. Here they encountered the headman of the neighbouring village of Karmán, and Bábar knew him, and spoke him fair, and tried to secure his fidelity and help. At night they again descended from their rock, and the men gave Bábar an old cloak of lambskin, with the wool inside and coarse cloth without, for it was winter and bitterly cold. They brought him also a mess of boiled millet flour, which he found 'wonderfully comforting.' They were waiting (they said), to see the headman again; but 'those misbegotten treacherous clowns' had meanwhile sent a messenger to Tambal to betray Bábar's retreat."

To return to the Memoirs:—

'Entering a stone house and kindling a fire, I closed my eyes for a moment in sleep. These crafty fellows pretended a vast anxiety to serve me: "We must not stir from this neighbourhood," said they, 'till we have news of Kádír Berdi [the headman]. The room where we are, however, is in the midst of houses. There is a place on the outskirts where we could be quite unsuspected, could we but reach it." So we mounted our horses about midnight and went to a garden on the outskirts of the suburbs. Bábar Sárámi watched on the terrace roof of the house, keeping a sharp look-out in every direction.

'It was near noon (on the third day of the flight) when he came down from the terrace and said to me, "Here comes Yúsuf the constable." I was seized with prodigious alarm, and said, "Find out if he comes in consequence of knowing that I am here." Bábar went out, and after some talk returned and said, "Yúsuf the constable says that at the gate of Akhsi he met a foot-soldier who told him that the king was in Karmán at such a place; that, without telling the news to any one, he had put the man into close custody. . . and hastened to you at full speed; and that the Begs know nothing of the matter." I asked him, "What think you of this?" He replied, "They are all your servants; there is nothing left for it but to join them. They will undoubtedly make you king again." "But after such wars and quarrels," said I, "how can I trust myself in their power?" I was still speaking, when Yúsuf suddenly presented himself, and falling on his knees before me exclaimed, "Why should I conceal anything from you? Sultán Ahmad Beg knows nothing of the matter; but *Shaikh Báyazid Beg has got information where you are, and has sent me hither.*"

'On hearing these words I was thrown into a dreadful state of alarm. There is nothing that moves a man more painfully than the near prospect of death. "Tell me the truth," I cried, "if indeed things are about to go with me contrary to my wishes, that I may at least perform the last rites." Yúsuf swore again and again, but I did not heed his oaths. I felt my strength gone

• I rose and went to a corner of the garden. I meditated with myself, and said, 'Should a man live a hundred, nay, a thousand, years, yet at last he' must inevitably make up his mind to die.

Whether thou live a hundred years or a single day, thou must

Infallibly quit this palace which delights the heart

'I resigned myself, therefore, to die. There was a stream in the garden, and there I made my ablutions and recited a prayer of two bowings. Then, surrendering myself to meditation, I was about to ask God for his compassion, when sleep closed my eyes. I saw (in my dream) Khwāja Ya'kúb, son of Khwāja Yahyá and grandson of his eminence the Khwāja 'Obaid-Allah [a famous saint of Samarkand], with a numerous escort mounted on dappled grey horses, come before me and say, "Do not be anxious. The Khwāja has sent me to tell you that he will support you, and seat you on the throne of sovereignty; whenever a difficulty occurs to you, remember to beg his help and he will at once respond to your appeal, and victory and triumph shall straightway lean to your side." I awoke, with easy heart, at the very moment when Yúsf the constable and his companions were plotting some trick to seize and throttle me. Hearing them discussing it, I said to them, "All you say is very well, but I shall be curious to see which of you dares approach me."

'As I spoke, the tramp of a number of horses was heard outside the garden wall. Yúsf the constable exclaimed, "If we had taken you and brought you to Tamhal, our affairs would have prospered much thereby. As it is, he has sent a large troop to seize you; and the noise you hear is the tramp of horses on your track." At this assertion my face fell, and I knew not what to devise.

'At that very moment the horsemen, who had not at first found the gate of the garden, made a breach in its crumbling wall, through which they entered. I saw they were Kutluk Muhammad Barlás and Báhá Pargári, two of my most devoted followers, with ten to fifteen or twenty other persons. When they had come near to my person, they threw themselves off their horses, and, bending the knee at a respectful distance, fell at my feet and overwhelmed me with marks of their affection.

'Ainazed at this apparition, I felt that God had just restored me to life. I called to them at once, "Seize Yúsf the constable and the wretched traitors who are with him, and bring them to me bound hand and foot." Then, turning to my rescuers, I said, "Whence come you? Who told you what was happening?" Kutluk Muhammad Barlás answered, "After I found myself separated from you in the sudden flight from Akhsi, I reached Andiján at the very moment when the Kháns themselves were making their entry. There I saw in a dream Khwāja 'Obaid-Allah, who said, 'Pa-li-háh Bábar is at this instant in a village called Karmán; fly thither and bring him back with you, for the throne is his of right.' Rejoicing at this dream, I related it to the big Khán and the little Khán . . . Three days have we been marching, and thanks be to God for bringing about this meeting. . ."

'We mounted without losing an instant, and made for Andiján. I had eaten nothing for two days. Towards noon we had the luck to find a sheep; we dismounted and settled ourselves comfortably to roast it. After satisfying my ravenous hunger, we set off again, and quickening our pace reached Andiján, doing a distance of five days in two nights and a day. There I embraced the two Kháns, my uncles, and related all that had passed since our separation.'

Valda Hânem. By D. H. Pryce. Macmillan & Co., London.

VALDA HÂNEM may be described as a tragedy of a Turkish harem, and although the writer disclaims any attempt to depict actual scenes or to describe real personages or events, it is not difficult to see that she has derived her knowledge of Turkish life from observation on the spot.

* Here the Persian texts break off suddenly; the rest of the adventure is from the Turki original.

Whether the main incident, which forms the pivot on which the story turns, is true to life we are inclined to doubt. But, be that as it may, the book is interesting and pathetic. We do not know who most deserves pity—the beautiful young wife torn asunder between her duty and gratitude to her husband and her consuming passion for another man; the simple-hearted, affectionate and indulgent Pasha whose heart breaks when he learns the truth, or the high-minded, if somewhat weak, English governess who manages to get into a difficult position from which she is unable to extricate herself to the satisfaction of the injured husband. Captain Fitzroy, whose selfishness and lack of honourable feeling are the cause of all the mischief, is a more contemptible person than, we imagine, the author intended him to be. Although sad almost throughout, the book is worth reading for the glimpses it affords us of the inner life of a Turkish household.

Young April. By Egerton Castle. Macmillan & Co., London.

THERE is a freshness about this story of a month in the life of a Duke which makes it, in spite of its improbabilities, very pleasant reading; and there is sufficient vitality in the characters to enlist the reader's keen interest and to forbid him to lay down the book till he has reached the last page. We make the acquaintance of the hero, who is travelling on the Continent with his tutor, when he is within a month of his majority and at the moment when the death of an uncle makes him Duke of Rochester. He is very young—not in years alone, but in behaviour and in knowledge of life; and although that which comes to him during the brief month of his escape from the vigilance of his tutor is of a very mixed description and leaves on his mind an impression perhaps more fraught with pain and disillusionment than pleasure, the events of which it is the outcome live in his memory as, at any rate, the most interesting of his life. The people whom he meets and with whom he is brought for a time into such intimate relations—the laughing, loving, singing Eva, so reckless and unconventional, but so good and true; the gallant soldier, the soul of honour, faithful in friendship as in love; and the high souled philosopher, “guileless, eloquent and paradoxical, absurd and great-hearted,” and so shamefully betrayed, are all drawn with so loving a touch that they become the friends, not only of the Duke, but of all who read the book. As for the *Countess de Lucena*, the priestess of Aphrodite, “always wrapt in mystery, with eyes unfathomable and smile sweet with unutterable promise,” always *Grande Dame*—always false, was she not “the goddess of his young

dreams, she who had kissed his lips that April night and revealed to him for one brief flash the paradise of love that he was never to reach again!"? But to the more discerning reader who has passed his April days, she stands revealed at her first entrance as a coquette of the very worst description.

Among many good scenes one appears to us to stand out as, although effective, unnatural and unnecessarily cruel. There seems to us a peculiar lack of delicacy and tact in the manner in which the fact of the frailty of the Countess is announced to her *fiancé*. It is inconceivable that a man of Count Neuberg's disposition should have dealt such a blow in the presence not only of another man but of a woman. It would be unfair alike to reader and to author to disclose the plot—if plot it can be called—or to quote at any length from Mr. Castle's charming tale, which must be read in its entirety to be enjoyed as it deserves.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 220—APRIL 1900.

ART. I.—THE GREAT ANARCHY.

*Stories of the Adventurers in Native Service, in India, during
the latter half of the 18th Century.*

(Continued from No. 219—January 1900.)

CHAPTER XIV.

QUENCHING OF ANARCHY.

THE reign of chaos had fostered the operations of the foreign adventurers of whom W. L. Gardner was the last and the most useful. Some attempt to introduce order followed the wars of the beginning of the nineteenth century, with a somewhat uncertain and not very successful attitude of the British authorities, which came to be known as "non-intervention," and caused considerable mischief. The power of the East India Company—occasionally inspired and controlled by the King's Government—had battered some of the native powers into helpless syncope, which left them an easy prey to their enemies and plunderers. By a conventional fiction the Moghul of Delhi was considered sovereign over the whole peninsula ; but a number of local rulers—legitimate or usurping—held the practical sway in the various Provinces. Some were descendants of ancient Hindu dynasties, like Travancore and Mysore in the South, and the Rajput chiefs in Mewar and Marwar ; others—of whom the most prominent were the Toorkman House of Haidarabad and the Persian dynasty in Oudh—were representatives of Moslem officials who, in the decay of the Empire, had succeeded in erecting independent thrones ; while a third group consisted of more recent aggregates made into States by Maratha leaders, such as the Peshwa at Poona, Sindhia and Holkar, and the Bhonsla of Berar.

But this unconnected mass of principalities was by no means an end of anarchy. The Nawabs and Rajas were, for the most part, Lords of Misrule, indifferent to the interests of their subjects, and mainly engaged in mutual hostility and rapine.

So far as any constitutional theory remained, all were vassals or ministers of the Court at Delhi—even the British held most of their possessions under Imperial Patent—but in practice all exercised a kind of despotism, only animated by disorder or war.

Such was the confused and anomalous condition of India in 1813. In England the authority that was needed to foster and protect British interests in the East was not in a much more efficient or regular position. After the defeat of the premature attempt at reformation introduced in 1783, by Burke and Fox, a modified application of parliamentary control had been brought about, which led to the complete subordination of political power formerly held by the Company, while the symbols of administration and the direction of a commercial monopoly remained untouched. Originated by Dundas in consultation with Lord Cornwallis, this policy was definitely laid down by the Declaratory Act of 1788, and confirmed by the renewed Charter of 1793. The views of Cornwallis were those of a high-minded statesman; he looked on the consultative voice left to the Directors of the Company as a useful reality which quite justified the assumption that they were still the rulers of Indian affairs; not only did it seem that the policy to be pursued, but also that the choice of those by whom that policy was to be carried out, was in ordinary times based upon the views of the Directors: while the monopoly of trade was necessary to hinder the incursion of lawless adventurers.

By the time when these matters came up for fresh discussion, at the expiry of the Company's twenty years' lease, events had occurred which showed that some of the old machinery had been ill-devised, while other parts had fallen into obsolescence. Questions of importance had arisen in many directions, some due to increasing strength on one side, some to growing weakness on the other. Below all others, and a necessary element in their solution, was that regarding the nature of British Authority in the Orient. With China, indeed, there need be—for the present—no difficulty. The Company sent their clippers and armed vessels to Canton, where they exchanged British produce for Chinese without risk or friction. The people of Canton were not pleasant to deal with; but they knew what they wanted and had a certain system, once it was understood: and their Government, however backward, was not weak. But with Bengal transactions had not always allowed the same simplicity of action; while the surrounding Governments were ill-organised and faithless to an unusual degree. To carry on trade with such people demanded—for various reasons—the display of power; and the outgoing Governor, Lord Minto, had found it necessary to despatch an

ambassador to more than one of his neighbours and to assume, in so doing, the full attributes of sovereignty. In the case of Persia this position was hotly contested by the London Foreign-office; and at one moment there were two rival British envoys at Teheran. Minto defended himself stoutly; asserting that the Company's Government was vested with sovereignty within its own boundaries, and that its claims had been admitted by the Shah. "This acknowledged character," so he argued, "as it constituted the basis, so it must form the cement, of our external relations." What sort of fabric it could be which admitted of the same substance for mortar and foundation, was not distinctly shown, but the assertion was of a kind that could hardly fail to be taken up by the Ministry in London, and probably contributed to the fall of the bold Viceroy. The question of sovereignty was seen to involve two others;—If the Company were a Sovereign, ought Sovereigns to trade? If the Company were a trader, ought it to be invested with sovereign power?

The commercial element was felt to be fundamental. The Company had been established for trade purposes; and in the course of years had acquired political power for the maintenance of commerce. In 1813 the British Islands produced most of their own food; but a great and growing demand for oriental luxuries had sprung up, while the rapidly developing manufacturing interest was dependent on eastern sources for much of its brute matter. Long ago had Adam Smith observed upon the singularity of the attempt "to found a great Empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers;" but since his time the attempt had come into the sphere of practical politics; the British nation had dimly perceived the advantage of a permanent connection with an enormous population which should take British fabrics and pay for them in raw material. In the beginning, indeed, it had not been so simple; and the imports from India had consisted largely of muslins and longcloths: but, by the time of which we are now thinking, a vast production of cheap piece-goods had begun in England; so that the value of Indian textiles imported into the country had fallen from three millions sterling to a few thousand pounds, while the trade was so disorganised that the Company had to call home the cash-balances held in reserve in India. When the question of renewing the Charter came to be dealt with, grave doubts began to be expressed as to the use of the Company's commercial monopoly; and many seemed to think that, if that monopoly were ended, the semblance of sovereignty might end also. The President of the Board of Control was of opinion that the objects of the Company's privilege had ceased to exist, save, perhaps, for

the purpose of bringing tea from China and carrying thither in exchange the broadcloths of Yorkshire and the opium of Bengal. In China, indeed, the Company was solely engaged by these commercial occupations, having no territorial possessions, and being freed, by the comparative strength and unity of the native Government, from all political complications. But in the case of India, political relations were essential to trade, and the two questions were closely intertwined; so that the struggle which began in April, 1812, was a somewhat perplexed affair, alike in Parliament and in the country. The bias of public opinion was in favour of the maintenance of the Company as a governing body invested with patronage; a power which no one seemed disposed to entrust to a partizan Cabinet. On the side of trade, much discontent doubtless existed at "the outports," as the provincial seats of maritime commerce were called: but the influence of Bristol and Liverpool was not much greater, at that period, than the influence of Bodmin or Grampound: and the power of the Company was energetically put forth to controvert their pleadings.

While Parliament was dealing with the claims of the East India Company in England, an elderly military man was carelessly sent to India to mould the destiny of countless millions in that remote region, and establish the power of the Crown. Moira's early life—as already noticed in connection with Gardner—had given little indication of future greatness or preparation for the higher duties of statesmanship. As Col. Rawdon, he had been employed as Adjutant-General of the Army engaged in the vain attempt to subdue the Americans and their French allies. On his return to Europe he was created Baron Rawdon in the Irish peerage, and afterwards succeeded his father as second Earl of Moira. In 1795 he once more assisted at a British defeat, having been sent with a small detachment in aid of Sombreuil's attempt at Quiberon, on the shore of Brittany, which was so easily repulsed by the Republican army under Hoche.* For the next few years Moira led the life of a Member of the House of Commons and man-of-fashion, professing the politics of Fox, and associated intimately with the Prince of Wales. In 1806 he was rewarded by the post of Master-General of the Ordnance; and, on the Prince becoming Regent, was enabled to take a small part in political affairs. In May, 1812, the Prime Minister was shot in the Lobby of the House; and the Prince entered upon negotiations with some of the Whig leaders, with the object of strengthening the Cabinet by the admission of Liberal statesmen favoured by the Commons. Into the details of these

* This was the occasion on which W. L. Gardner first served under the future Governor-General.

transactions it is not necessary to enter here; suffice it to note that Moira, as a Whig and old acquaintance, was employed to endeavour the conciliation of the Marquess Wellesley. A tangled controversy followed; Moira's political efforts were finally defeated, mainly by the insincerity of the Prince, who formed a Ministry of somewhat obsolete character and threw Moira overboard. There being no vacant post in which the negotiating Earl could be decently interred, the Court of Directors was ordered to recall Minto, and appoint Moira Governor-General of India in his place.

The modern Viceroy has a post of honour and of labour, and the salary—the nominal amount of which has not been increased for over one hundred years—is no longer the temptation that it once was. But he leads a pleasant life; having a charming summer residence in a lovely mountain-retreat, with the full prestige of representing the British Crown, and provided with a splendid personal staff, and with a luxurious railway-carriage ready to convey him to his Calcutta palace in the winter or to waft him about among peaceful landscapes and old historic cities. He is always in the prime of life, assisted by councillors who act as his Ministers in different departments and relieve him of all responsibility in administrative details. In the charge of the army he is aided by the experienced officer who commands the Indian forces. Far different was the case of Moira; a man verging on his twelfth lustre; charged with the double duty of Civil ruler and Commander-in-Chief; encumbered by the aid of civilian experts in Council; men of strong opinions and characters. His headquarters in Calcutta were hot and unwholesome; if he wished to see into things for himself, he was confined to the alternative of following the course of the Ganges in a house-boat, or wandering over a roadless wilderness with tents and baggage, and a crowd of followers who devastated the land. His position was further embarrassed by a total uncertainty as to the fate of the Company whose servant he, ostensibly, was; and the support of the feeble Cabinet* was not to be assumed by a man opposed to them in politics and recently engaged in efforts to keep them out of office.

Thus handicapped, Moira undertook the perilous adventure: unversed in the practice of governing, but possessed of a resolute and intelligent mind. Like any wise man approaching such a task, he must have known that great difficulties awaited him; and, indeed, his private journal is enough to show that he was not only aware of those difficulties, but was earnestly preparing to deal with them.* The southern

* *Private Journals of the Marquess of Hastings*, 2 vols., 1858.

part of India was in no very unsettled condition, save in so far as it included a portion of the territories subject to the Maratha Peshwa. In the Telugu and Tamil districts Munro was introducing prosperity and order: financial scandal was brewing in the Deccan, but its full fermentation was yet to come. Nearer the Nerbada river, however, the marauding bands of the Pindaris were extending the limits of desolation under protection and abetment of the contiguous Maratha States; while Upper India was divided between robber-baions and disbanded soldiers, the dregs of former war. The average Indian citizen, whose craving was—as it always is—for peace and protection, groaned audibly; and a man accustomed to ideas of duty and discipline could not be deaf to such complaints. In the first volume of his journals he relates how, at his tour in 1814, a respectable agriculturist of Oude asked a British officer—"When are you going to take this wretched country?"

But peace, as is usual, was to be purchased; and the price was—War: and that war might have to be supported by the energies and authority of the mother-country. Without indulging himself with the contemptuous language of Lord Wellesley towards "the cheesemongers of Leadenhall Street," Moira's sincerity of vision showed him that the ultimately responsible power was that of the Crown and Parliament of England: and he observed, within six months of his accession, that his object ought to be to render the British Government paramount, in effect if not declaredly." (*Journ.* Vol. 1, 1814.)

In the days of the Regency there was a Frontier trouble not very dissimilar to that of recent times, though in a different direction. The peninsula of India has been called the Italy of Asia; and, if Cabul and the Vaziri hills can be regarded as its Piedmont, the Grisons may be taken as represented by Nipal. Here, on the boundary of the great Chinese Empire and under its remote vassalage, was a mountain land occupied by hardy races of which the most famous and predominant was the Gurkha, a mixed breed of Mongolian and Hindu who had absorbed the adjacent hills and were encroaching on the plains below. What with the Gurkha incursions and the lawlessness in Central India, the Governor-General foresaw "the elements of a war more general than any that we have hitherto encountered." (*Journal* I, 47.) But he did not shrink from the danger. After vain attempts at negotiations, thwarted by the ignorant audacity of the mountaineers, he addressed an ultimatum to the Gurkha Durbar; and, on meeting a prompt and insolent defiance, sent four divisions of troops to operate on so many portions of the frontier—some seven hundred miles in length. Into the at first disastrous

details of this war we need not here enter; one General was shot in trying to storm a fort with cavalry; another lost his head so completely as to mount his horse by night and desert his command. We have already seen how, with valuable help from Major Gardner, the Nepalese line of defence was cut in two. The final campaign was entrusted to the more competent hands of Ochterlony, who routed the brave enemy successively at both extremities of the line; and the Durbar, after a futile call for help from the Chinese, finally capitulated and entered into an alliance with the British Government, which has subsisted ever since.

But the chief immediate result was to show Moira that it was necessary for him to assume his place as Commander-in-Chief the next time he went to war. In the Indian armies he could find no General of the necessary ability excepting Ochterlony, who was wanted for the delicate duties of his permanent appointment as Resident at the Court of Delhi. When, therefore, in 1816 the condition of Central India became intolerable, Moira deemed it his duty to take the field in person. Not that he could divest himself in the least degree of his administrative work. Seldom has a Proconsul been in a more trying situation. Of the Council bequeathed to him by Minto, the strongest members were opposed to his policy; which was, moreover, discountenanced, and even prohibited, by the authorities at home: and at the same time the pressure of internal trouble was going on side by side with the anxieties of the military operations. In 1815 disturbances occurring in Cutch and Katiawar—outlying provinces of Gujarat—were suppressed, without loss of life, by Colonel East. In the following year a riot, which nearly assumed the importance of actual rebellion, broke out at Bareilly, in the neighbourhood of the small Rohilla State of Rampore: serious opposition to a new house-tax being made use of as a pretext by Moslem disloyalty. Supported by the presence of Afghan adventurers at Rampore, and by the collusive absence of the Nawab of that little Principality, the Muhamadans of Bareilly committed great excesses; murdering an inoffensive young Englishman and twice resisting the police; nor did the tumult subside until a number, estimated at 1,500, had been killed or wounded. A still more serious affair occurred on the other side of the Ganges, where the Robber-barons who had been mostly reduced to order by Lake, were still represented by the powerful Talukdars of Mursan and Hathras. These two tracts, which to-day are crossed by railways and noted only for their fertile soil and their industrious population, were then controlled by lawless landlords, of Jat families—the chief being Daya Ram whose head-quarters were at Hathras town. Here, in the

weakness of a new administration, he had been allowed to erect a castle fortified in imitation of the adjacent British Fort of Aligarh. In 1817, after long defiance, the Government determined to dismantle Daya Ram's stronghold, and enforced the order by a Division of the Bengal Army under Major-General Dyson Marshall. Six Cavalry regiments, two battalions of British Infantry, seven of sepoy, with 71 mortars and howitzers and 34 siege-guns, formed part of an expedition on a scale which showed that Moira meant no trifling. The town was speedily breached and stormed; but the contumacious Jat still held his citadel. It was accordingly bombarded continuously for fifteen hours, in the course of which the powder-magazine was exploded with terrible loss of life. The rebel chief with a few followers, all in full armour, issued from a sally-port and cut his way through the Bengal cavalry: a gallant feat which was ultimately followed by his capture and pardon. The country immediately submitted. An insurrection, yet more grave than that of Bareilly, next ensued in Orissa; where general distress had been produced by fiscal errors and had found leaders in a body of public servants hurriedly disestablished. In 1817 the "Paiks," as these superfluous employees were called, broke out under the instigation of an official of a local Raj, who had been also affected by reduction of expense: two detachments of troops sent against them were repulsed, and a European officer was killed; the sacred town of Jagannath was occupied by the insurgents; and the commanding officer retired with his men. The whole district of Puri now rose in arms; but the Raja held aloof, and the movement collapsed after one action, in which the rebels were routed by Colonel LeFèvre with one sepoy battalion. The Government acted, with commendable promptitude, in relief of the grievances thus indicated. A special commission being appointed to hold a local enquiry, what was found wrong was righted, and the district has ever since been orderly and peaceful, in spite of its being the scene of pilgrimages in the course of which it is often thronged by hundreds of thousands of fanatical Hindus in their most fanatical condition.

So far, therefore, the Governor-General had prospered in all his undertakings. But a weighty charge was still upon him if peace and order were to be permanently provided for the people of India. At the beginning of Moira's rule the British Government was not directly answerable for more than Bengal, the North-West Provinces, the Carnatic, and a narrow strip of the western coast, with the Heptanesia of Bombay: to which were now added the acquisitions arising out of the treaty with Nepal, little more than the sub-Himalaya country from Naini Tal to Simla. With these exceptions, India was under

native sway, including Oudh, the Punjab, Rajputana, the Deccan, and Mysore—each equal to a first class European kingdom in area and resources. But this disproportion was to be construed by the light of Lord Moira's peculiar view. We have seen what this was : after his first discussion with a council imbued with the " non-intervention " policy of an earlier period, Moira had recorded that he meant to make the British power " paramount in effect, if not declaredly so ; " while he saw the concurrent danger—so often pointed out by Munro—of degrading the Princes and their subjects, implied by domineering interference. He deplored the " captious bickerings " which were constantly coming to his notice ; and considered that " a rational jealousy of our power was not likely to excite half the intrigues against us which must naturally be produced by the wanton provocations which we have been giving on trivial subjects to all the States around." Seeds of hostility had thus been sown, which would germinate on favourable opportunity. No sooner would the British power be seriously involved than all who had a grudge to wreak would endeavour to combine in active aggression. In short, the task undertaken by Lord Moira was to make every Raja and Nawab govern with humanity and efficiency under the general supervision and control of the civilised power, which did not wish to coerce any of them, and yet acknowledged the responsibility of strength and wisdom. And if that task should lead to resistance, he was prepared to meet resistance and to put it down.

That the spirit of some of the native Durbars was bad, Moira was certified by his Agents, R. Jenkins, at the Court of the Bhonsla, and Mountstuart Elphinstone at Poona ; for these were intrepid men, never likely to give undue alarms. For active operations he was doubly unprepared ; the finances were drained by recent remittances to London ; and action was positively prohibited by the India-House and by the Regent's Government : the policy of the Ministry, in fact, was conveyed through the channel of the " Secret Committee " of the East India Company ; and the Governor-General—so long as his Council refused support—was not in a position to fly in the face of authority.

Luckily, the audacity of the Pindaris at length produced the acquiescence of the Bengal Council : and Moira, ably backed by Mr. C. (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe, resolved on attacking the marauders, even though the doing so brought on him the resistance of the Maratha Chiefs and the censure of the Board of Control. In neglecting the cautions and even positive prohibitions from London, Moira was probably guided by his knowledge of the character of the men with whom he had to deal. It was in vain that men of the school of Perceval and

Liverpool denied that there was any serious movement going on in Central India ; when the Pindaris themselves were ever ready to supply an *Eppur si muove*. In Minto's time they had already ventured on transgressing the boundaries of British India and carrying fire and sword into the District of Mirzapore ; and since that time had been harassing the borders and making raids into the Deccan : long continued impunity being the source of increasing boldness. In 1814 the disbanded soldiers and indigenous brigands had amalgamated with a solidarity independent of caste or creed ; one company calling itself after Sindhia, and the other invoking the name of Holkar ; with a few guns and a small force of infantry, but mainly consisting of predatory horsemen armed with lances and carrying on their saddlebows all that they required excepting the bare flour and water which they could reckon upon finding in the villages that they harried, or the quarters of the Rajas by whom they were harboured. They were favoured, and to some extent supported, by Amir Khap, a retired partizan leader who had once given sore trouble to Lake ; their immediate leaders being two degenerated Moslems and a Jat named Chitu, the ablest of the whole, who had been assigned five Districts in what are now known as the "Central Provinces." Up to 1814, however, the Home Government was busy with the Peninsular war ; and the fact that the marauders were notoriously abetted by many powerful Native States increased rather than otherwise the reluctance felt by mediocre men to acknowledge responsibility for action. To restore order in Central India, so it was argued, would be to incur Sindhia's hostility and finally involve oneself in a general war with the entire Maratha confederacy. Inspired by Metcalfe, the Governor-General held that this was not a certain consequence, and that, even if it were certain, it ought to be encountered : the honour and even the safety of the Government being at stake. The Council differed, and the case was sent home for fresh consideration ; but the mail had hardly left Calcutta when the growing audacity of the Pindaris precipitated the solution. Suddenly darting into the Northern Sirkars, they held a ten days' orgie of rapine and ruin, in which nearly two hundred British subjects were killed, and many thousands tortured and robbed ; while respectable married women escaped dishonour only by leaping into wells. According to official reports, the total loss of property was equivalent to a million sterling ; and the number of the marauders was estimated at 23,000. Almost at the same time arrived fresh instructions from London prohibiting offensive operations ; but the Council was at last learning to realise that the time for action had arrived, and that the orders had been issued upon a state of things

that had ceased to exist. A change, too, occurred at Home, where the Earl of Buckinghamshire died and was succeeded at the Board of Control by George Canning; while the general peace which prevailed after the removal from the scene of the Emperor Napoleon set free the moral and other energies of the British nation.

In December, 1816, as we learn from an entry of the 23rd in the *Private Journal*, the last hesitation had been overcome; and the Council was "ready to record an unanimous opinion that the extirpation of the Pindarries (*sic*) must be undertaken notwithstanding the orders of the Court of Directors." The Governor-General could, indeed, do nothing—he adds—so long as the Councillors, appealing to orders from Home, could clog his action with adverse minutes; but now he felt free to act according to his own views. Fortunately a change of spirit at Home followed on Canning's accession to office; and, even before the change had occurred in the views of the Calcutta Council, new instructions had been already dictated to the Secret Committee, in which Moira was informed that his proposed measures would now be approved, even if they should extend beyond repelling invasion to the work of "pursuing and chastising the invaders." And if Sindhia or any other chief should take part with the Pindaris, such chief should be treated as an enemy.

By the time that this despatch could arrive in India the Government there had become committed to somewhat stronger action. Amir Khan was intimidated into total quiescence—he was growing old and rich—; Sindhia's isolation was ensured by a firm ultimatum, backed by a cordon of British troops, and vigorous measures were adopted towards the Bhonsla and the Peshwa. Large bodies of men, under the best generals available, began to converge on Central India; and on 5th July, 1817, the Governor-General left Calcutta to assume the general direction of military and political operations in that region.

These were completely successful. The Bhonsla broke into open hostility, only to be deposed; the Peshwa attacked the Presidency at Poona, where he was defeated and put to flight: the Pindaris were dispersed or hunted down, Chitu being devoured by a tiger while lurking in his native jungle. The Native dynasty was restored in the Bhonsla dominions, in the person of a minor in whose name Mr. Jenkins ruled the administration. At Poona the *guddi* of the faithless Peshwa was declared vacant and his post abolished; but the smaller Maratha States were preserved and made more efficient. The old principalities of Rajputana, freed at last from plunder and anarchy, resumed their autonomy. In the well-chosen words of a profound and original thinker:

"Henceforward it became the universal principle of public policy that every State in India should make over the control of its foreign relations to the British Government, should submit all external disputes to British arbitration, and should defer to British advice regarding internal management, so far as might be necessary to cure disorder or serious misrule. This political settlement established universal recognition of the cardinal principle upon which the fabric of British dominion in India has been built up." (Sir A. Lyall; *Rise of British Dominion in India*. Ch. XVI.)

The Governor-General, after this vast group of successes due to his own courage and skill, received the barren honour of a step in the peerage, and retired (after an unhappy scandal at Haiderabad) to die, as Marquess of Hastings, in poverty and exile. But what alone concerns us here is to note the great outline of his policy and the mischief that ensued upon its abandonment by his successors. The ideal of Lord Hastings had been oriental administration under English control, the utmost independence compatible with the demands of common humanity. In later days another policy prevailed; no opportunity was to be lost for introducing direct European action (Dalhousie): in ruling Asiatics we were to be guided, not by their conscience, but by our own (John Lawrence); principles of which the first led to such political trouble as befel in 1857, while the second is open to the objection that it might have justified the shooting of Irish landlords.

The two subjects of sanitation and education may be regarded as instances of difficulty due to the forcible introduction of the ideals of one state of society into the affairs of another. The hygienic system of the British nation has by no means eliminated all classes of epidemic disease, but it may claim to have prolonged life and increased the numbers of the census. But in India conditions are totally diverse: you have a non-emigrating population already pressing dangerously on the means of subsistence in good seasons, and in times of scarcity afflicted with hopeless suffering; you have not either the money or the men to enforce efficient sanitary practice on the villages, or even on your own cantonments: and the imperfect measures of sanitation that can alone be effected often do more harm than good. An excellent and most loyal Indian newspaper not long ago published figures proving that in a number of conspicuous municipalities the death-rate had risen from 30 to 32 since the attempts to sanitate had been completed. As for "education"—so-called—it is to be observed that primary instruction is provided by the law, but is optional; that secondary instruction is in a most incomplete state; and that the results of the Colleges and

Universities are to be found in the existence of a large and growing body of discontented "Baboos" who eke out an income by maintaining litigation or levying blackmail by means of a licentious and unnecessary journalism.*

Now, here are matters on which the British rulers of India have long prided themselves; and which can be brought to the test of fact. Judged by that irrefragable evidence, what do we find? An increase in the normal death-rate, an uncontrollable prevalence of the most deadly epidemics, occasional devastations of famine, sanguinary wars on the frontier, abiding discontent within the borders of the Empire, and a revenue that barely meets the daily needs and leaves no balance for sinking-fund or insurance, so that the national debt increases year by year, while the credit of the Government slowly declines.

We must always admit that Dalhousie and Lawrence were good and able men; yet we may have to conclude that the gifts of civilisation conferred on India by them were not unadulterated. Population has increased, but so has care; "Thou hast multiplied the nation, but not increased the joy." Commerce has developed, but the wage of inland labour does not rise. The country in the last few years has suffered all the calamities from which we pray to be delivered. The fact is that India still endures the standards of the early Victorian age; which were those of persons for whom sewage and the three R's possessed a sort of millennial sanctity. To a House of Commons elected by the middle-classes these things appeared "a mission;" and the easy-going ways of the Regency were, no doubt, somewhat shocking; but it is not quite certain that they have introduced any great improvement into the condition of India. Lord Hastings, one must admit, extended direct British administration to a very considerable region; to some of what are now known as the Central Provinces, and to the greater part of the present Bombay Presidency, as apart from Sindh. He could not well do otherwise; the imbecility and faithlessness of the Maratha chiefs probably left him but little choice. Nevertheless, it will be observed that his annexations originated altogether in the Pindari war, which he undertook both against advice in India and against orders from London, and at the risk of his life and reputation. He felt indignant at the supineness which would have left the British boundaries exposed to trespass by murderous marauders; and he sacrificed his own ease and comfort, at an advanced age, that he might do what he conceived his duty. But he attempted no more: in spite of

* This is not meant to apply to the many Indian papers of good repute.

provocation, he spared Sindhia and the Gaikwar : he even tried to spare the faithless Appa Sahib, and maintained the Bhonsla dynasty at Nagpore. The ancient dynasty of Satára was restored : the feeble Rajput States were respected and strengthened ; and nothing was done that had the least appearance of introducing English administration on doctrinary grounds : Nagpore itself being only undertaken temporarily and in the interest of the Bhonsla House. With the Gurkhas of Nepal was concluded an enduring peace, taking, however, no territory but what had previously belonged to Bengal, in addition to a small and barren stretch of mountain in which the Nepalese themselves were intruders ; and where, so far as they could be found, the original owners were also restored : the Rajas of Tehri and the like.

Far different is the India to which we are introduced by Sir Richard Temple. But even here a third of the vast area is still administered by native rulers, with a population equal to that of modern Germany added to that of France. In some of these provinces the administration is aided or controlled by British advisers, as is the case with Egypt ; in all the maintenance of certain general principles of humanity and justice is provided by the care of the paramount Power ; grave derelictions being punished by deposition and the substitution of a better ruler. Peace and order are ensured, and the States are protected from outward attack and debarred from war with one another.

It might be difficult to devise criteria by which the relative success of the two methods could be tested. In the two-thirds of India which are directly governed, the rules of civilised polity are as rigorously enforced as in any country in the world, save only as regards civil law, which in most respects follows the religious codes of Hinduism or of Islam, as the case may be. A disputed succession in a Moslem family, a question of partition among Rajput brethren, will be decided, by British Courts, according to the respective systems accepted by the parties : in the rare cases of litigation between a Hindu on one side and a Musalman on the other the code of the defendant will be applied. But in all cases of agrarian controversy, as in all criminal charges, enactments of the British Government must decide ; and in the absence of a Law of Torts these cases are necessarily the major part of litigation. In regard to the collection of revenue, as in regard to the execution of decrees, an inflexible punctuality prevails, and is enforced—where such is required—by the exercise of sovereign power and the sanction of imperial arms. In the so-called " Native States " all is different. A capricious exercise of authority, sometimes mild, often uncertain, is substituted for the systematic and mechanical rigour of European

civilisation ; a small *douceur* to a policeman may save a possible fine to the magistrate ; and the lawless oppression of the great occasionally vexes the weaker classes, as was the case in England when the *Paston Letters* were written. All this used to appear—often yet appears—barbarous and even shocking ; but it co-exists with a sort of gypsy freedom, and absence of misunderstood regularity, which tempers it, and perhaps endears, to the oriental mind. The superior population-rate of British India may be cited as a mark of superior administration ; on the other hand, the low rate in Native States is at least a cause of less competition. The chiefs and rulers may be less conscientious than British officials selected by the Civil Service Commission ; but at least they possess the sympathies born of local feeling and local knowledge. And the career open to ambition, which gives to public life the excitement of a lottery, may seem barbarous to us and yet have its attractions for the people.

It is not pretended that any of these considerations, or even all of them together, should be accepted as a basis for exalting oriental ways above those of the West ; which would be the merest pedantry of paradox. But what is suggested is that methods and institutions based on Oriental tradition and custom will, if duly handled, prove more useful to an eastern people than those arising out of an evolution to which such people are strangers. This *à priori* doctrine is, in fact, allowed in the sphere of law ; we do not try suits according to the *Koran* or the *Shaster* because we approve of those codes, but because they are more native to the men before us than Shelley's case or the Pandects. This was not always seen ; a learned Judge in Calcutta laid down, not so very long ago, that, when the British first acquired Bengal, there was a kind of legal vacuum, into which Gringribber—to use Bentham's word—rushed as by force of Nature : for which, however, his Lordship had to go back for a precedent to the days of Hyde and Impey. It is related of those luminaries that, on landing (in 1774), they were scandalised by the bare legs of the men who carried their palankeens from the ghât : " Ah ! brother," cried one to the other, " the Supreme Court will have failed if ere long each of these honest fellows has not a pair of stockings to wear." That *obiter dictum* of the first Judges was but a forecast of the view of their successor above cited.

But the oriental methods must be duly handled : that proviso has been already made, to anticipate the scorn with which the friends of civilisation would naturally encounter a proposition not so guarded. The King, or Cadi, of Orientalism, sitting in the gate of his palace and deciding differences by the light of his own wit and conscience, has been suppressed in

India, and his place taken by a trained Judge administering scientific codes of Law. And why cannot the like be done in other departments? It is obviously right that the general requirements of humanity and good order should be met in any place where flags of Christian nations fly: but it is not so clear that such provision can never be made without the presence of large staffs of European functionaries, with the concomitant salaries, furlough allowances, and retiring pensions of the Indian Civil Service. If the uninformed philanthropy of the British voter insists on having in every village a Board School and a sanitary officer, the British Parliament will have to find the ways and means for such luxuries, in the long run. The Indian revenues cannot provide them; nor is it possible to run an Occidental administration upon an Oriental budget.

Nothing can be more unfair than the assertion of some of our would-be Reformers to the effect that the people of India are suffering under a crushing weight of taxes. That is, indeed, the exact reverse of what is happening; and it is the difficulty of taxing such a population that forms the preliminary—and insurmountable—objection to forcing upon them an exotic civilisation, if that were otherwise shown to be right and proper. A revenue that is collected in copper* is called upon to maintain up-to-date institutions of war and peace; and the inevitable result is tending to make of British rule in India a permanent catastrophe.

CHAPTER XV.

Conclusion.

Both sides of the shield have now been impartially considered: we have seen what are the drawbacks of civilisation, and what the cautions with which it ought to be introduced into countries long inured to Anarchy. The facts adduced in the above chapters convey lessons to the British nation as well as to the peoples of India. To the latter they would be useful as a reminder of the benefits that they have received from the assumption of Indian administration by a Western race. There is, no doubt, a certain element of hardness involved in the idea of conquest; and there have not been wanting among us, from the days of Edmund Burke to now, good men whose sympathies are excited when they think of vast and storied regions, whose inhabitants are deprived of

* On the assumption that the whole of the taxation is paid by the inhabitants of British India, the payment per head—inclusive of provincial rates—falls at Rs. 1-4 (say 1s. 8d.) P.A. But in fact few of these taxes are obligatory, and the incidence on the ordinary Indian is only about 7½d.

independence and exposed to a sort of compulsory education. But well-informed Hindus could answer them if they reflected on the condition in which their forefathers existed only a few generations ago, and on the prospects awaiting their descendants if the British were to leave the country.

So far as we like to look back, we discern no signs of autonomy in India, only vicissitudes of more or less selfish despotism, often exercised by foreigners in one part or another. The Anarchy that ensued after the taking of Delhi by the Persians, in 1738, might bear the name of Home Rule if it had been "Rule" at all; if it had not made life a burden to the many and a deadly snare to the few. Moreover, long prior to that the country was under alien domination; and even the great Akbar favoured his own race, the Moghuls—and professed to take one-third of the gross produce of the land from the people; seeing that one-tenth has been almost universally recognised as the ideal ratio, we can see how oppressive was this famous revenue-system, with all its efficiency and benevolent intentions. The successors of Akbar had Indian blood, yet under them the decay and decomposition of the Empire never stopped. In 1738 Nadir and his Persians almost bled the country to death under the feeble Mohamed Shah. At the death of that Emperor began the anarchy; "after his demise," writes a native historian, "everything went to wreck." The country soon became a scene that could hardly bear comparison with France after the Hundred Years' War. A native authority cited in Dow's *History of Hindostan* (published 1770) speaks of "every kind of social confusion. Villainy was practised in all its forms; law and religion were trodden under foot; the bonds of private friendship and connection, as well as Society and Government were broken; and every individual—as if in a forest of wild beasts—could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm." A Persian traveller, Mohamed Hazin, had the fortune to go through the siege of Ispahan and the Afghan conquest of his country before coming to settle in India; and he thought his own country, under all sufferings, a better place of abode than Hindustan. "No man," he writes, "will ever stay in India of his own choice . . . unless he be one who unexpectedly arrives at wealth and distinction, and from lack of moral strength . . . becomes tranquil there and habituates himself to the life."

Is it necessary to multiply citations? We have seen what was the condition of the people under the best circumstances, in regions ruled by strong and fairly enlightened persons, such as the Begum and General Perron; and have found that the chief elements were oppression, exaction, maladministration of all sorts. Nor does this description apply only to the war-

worn regions of the North. Reading of the twenty years following on the rise of Haidar in Mysore, we learn that the Mahrattas, occupied with constant forays, were inattentive to the misery of the people, whom their Governors "oppressed in the most cruel manner . . . neither the property nor the life of a subject can be called his own." Fuller details are to be found in the last chapter of "The Fall of the Moghul Empire," a book by the present writer, chiefly taken from documents of the time. This evidence, it is true, relates chiefly to rural districts—but the life of the people was (and even yet continues to be) chiefly rural. The state of the towns may be imagined from the account of one of the great Moghul Capitals given by a traveller who visited Lahore so late as 1809:—

"24th May. I visited the ruins of Lahore, which afforded a melancholy picture of fallen splendour. Here the lofty dwellings and mosques which, fifty years ago, raised their tops to the skies, and were the pride of a busy and active population, are now crumbling into dust, and, in less than half a century more, will be levelled to the ground. In going over these ruins I saw not a human being—all was silence, solitude, and gloom."

In 1641 an earlier traveller had written, of the same city that, "large as it appeared, there were not houses enough for the people, who were encamped for half a league outside. It is handsome and well-ordered . . . I entered the City; a very difficult undertaking on account of the number of people who filled the streets . . . it is ornamented by fine palaces and gardens."

Thus had the second city of the Empire fallen in less than two centuries of persistent misgovernment. In little more than the fifty years postulated for her total disappearance Lahore had renewed her youth. In 1865 the population had risen to 120,000 and was increasing at the rate of 1 per cent. yearly. The old monuments have now been preserved and restored; among recent buildings are found those of the Punjab University, the Oriental College, the State College, the Medical School, the Law School, the Normal School, the Mayo Hospital, the Museum, the Town-Hall, and many others, useful and sometimes ornamental structures: some of them erected, wholly or in great part, by the enterprise and munificence of native Princes and capitalists.

We hear sometimes of the unsympathetic attitude of the modern Rulers of India, as if they were mere conquerors eager to fill their own pockets. But in regard to this superficial view we must remember that, if the British were conquerors it would be contrary to the experience of History that they

should be sympathetic with the conquered. As it happens, India is not a conquered country; and has never been treated as such by the British. In a strictly legal sense, perhaps, a distinction had to be drawn between "ceded" and "conquered" Provinces, in Upper India, because one portion had been acquired by treaty after war and the other by amicable arrangement: the Lower Duab having been obtained, for a consideration, from the Nawab of Oudh, while the country from Cawnpore to Kurnal was extorted from Perron and his master.* Moira, too,—as has been shown—overthrew the Peshwa and the Pindaris.

Nevertheless, in the popular acceptation of the word, there was no conquest in either case, Sindhia and Perron being alike foreign intruders, whose own dominion there was not of twenty-five years' date: the Peshwa himself was but an usurper. By "conquest" is understood the bearing down by invasion of a more or less earnest national resistance; not merely the overthrow of unconstitutional Rulers. In that case, where the people have opposed the invaders, they become—when the war is ended by their defeat—a subjugated body of persons liable to death, captivity, or enslavement. It has been laid down by international publicists, that "the English system" is always imposed upon nations thus reduced to impotence by conquest; and a well-known writer on the matter cites the case of Ireland as affording a familiar illustration.

Now, from this point of view, it is clear that the Upper Provinces of India were never conquered: when Lake advanced from the "Ceded Provinces," the further part of the Duab fell before his arms, so far as the defence of Perron and Sindhia was concerned. But Sindhia and Perron were both foreign intruders themselves; and the real Sovereign was the aged Emperor, who made no opposition, but on the contrary, welcomed the British General and conferred upon him the second highest title in the old Moghul hierarchy. Neither did the people offer any resistance, nor any of their ancient Rajas or other dynasties; though certain Robber-barons attempted sporadic insurrections and dacoities, as was naturally to be expected. This being so, the indigenous laws and customs were observed and maintained from that day to this, certain indispensable reforms excepted, which have been gradually introduced from time to time. To these there has been no great or general opposition; and, even in the temporary paralysis of power that followed on the Revolt of 1857, the bulk of the population held aloof from the

* This truth is treated, with a masterly hand, in Seeley's "Expansion of England," where it is shown that, at the time of the so-called "Conquest" India, as a nation, did not exist.

mutineers and quickly returned to peaceful avocations as soon as the mutineers had been dispersed. The British power resumed its operations—those of a schoolmaster rather than of a parent; the people going on, as of old, with their time-honoured opinions and practices; in every conceivable respect differing from the Gaels of Ireland, whose lands have been parted out amongst Anglo-Norman adventurers, their tribal system superseded by that known to us as “feudal”; their Brehon Law abolished to make way for the Common and Statute Law of the conquerors; their very language all but rooted out.

From this it will be seen that India is not, generally speaking, “a conquered country.” The Moghul Empire having broken down, the sceptres of some of its component Provinces were, in course of time, wrested from the incompetent hands which tried in vain to wield them; other princes, with better titles, fortune, or judgment, held their seats, but submitted to control from the new paramount Power; in no case were any social organs that were capable of work ever set aside or destroyed. The new-comers, assuming this controlling power, founded their rule upon an inarticulate *plebiscitum*, expressed by silence, but none the less understood to be conditioned on faith and justice to be observed by them.

These considerations, far from diminishing the importance of Wellesley’s policy, invest it with a special interest. We have already seen that his object was to assert the rights of his Government without infringing those of other States. At the beginning of the century the rights of the British Government extended to the Provinces which they had obtained by grant from the Emperor, or from his Vazir, the Nawab of Oudh. These they had to maintain, whether against Mahratta, Moslem, or European foreigner. If Upper India had been left to itself, it would have been a menace to the rest of the country, like a house on fire in the next street. While these anxieties were at their worst, the Governments of France and England broke off the Peace of Amiens; and Wellesley perceived the necessity of leaving nothing neglected that could protect the British Empire from the ambitious and unscrupulous Corsican who had made himself master of France. The splendour of Napoleon’s genius and the pathos of his fall have combined to invest his name with a glamour that throws into the shade the figures of our brave ancestors who saved us and delivered Europe. But it is a fact that ought never to be forgotten, that for many a month transport lay in Boulogne harbour, and on the heights above stood a vast army eager to cross over to the shores held by those valiant but anxious sires of ours.

The Marquess Wellesley was one of the watchmen of the Empire; and it is impossible to read his despatches of that time without seeing that he thought, whether rightly or wrongly, that one of the defences of Dover was at Delhi. For a lucid summary of the British policy at that period, no better or more lucid statement could be made than what is embodied in the summary of the Governor-General's yet more famous brother, in Mr. Sydney Owen's *Selections from the Wellington Despatches*. About the same time a young traveller recorded in his Diary an experience which befel him in marching through Orissa. A begging friar was found sitting by the way-side. "He spoke to us without any respect . . . called us to him, but would not let us pass his boundary. When we were near, he said, 'Listen! When will you take this country? This country wants you: the Hindus are villains. When will you take the country?' We answered, 'Never.' He said, 'Yes! you will certainly take it'." *

That little colloquy, which puts the case in the fewest possible words, expresses what must have been a very widespread feeling. So far back as 1761 we saw a Franco-Scot—the Chevalier Law—declaring to the Moslem historian that from Poona to Delhi he could find nothing deserving to be called a "government." But to be governed is the first great need of an Asiatic who is not an absolute savage. Their very vocabularies show this: there is no word in any Asiatic idiom answering to "citizen;" the subjects are *raya*—protected. † The Indian subject will judge his ruler by this criterion; and the discriminating estimate of the modern Rulers of India supplied by a late eminent Russian journalist really conveys the highest commendation:—

"In reality the English have been the saviours of India. During whole centuries the history of India presents one continual spectacle of murder and devastation. The bloody era closes with the occupation of the country by the English, whose rule has been incomparably more mild, humane, and just than any Government under which the Indians have ever lived." ‡

Whether the French, or the Russians themselves, would manage the country better, can only be dimly conjectured by those who have studied the cases of Central Asia under the one, and North Africa under the other. To the natives, at least, the answer is unknown: and nothing is more terrible than the unknown for Asiatics. In any case the people of

* Colebrooke's *Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone*, Vol. I.

† From the Arabic (رعى) meaning "to pasture" or "tend," like sheep. Hence the Anglo-Indian term "Ryot."

‡ Michael Katkoff, in the *Moscow Gazette*.

India cannot but gain by being reminded of the state of their country before the so-called "conquest."

But there is also a lesson to be learned by the ruling race ; that an immigrant dominion can be preserved only by constant renewal of immigration. The social air of India is as degenerating to foreign virtue as her physical climate is relaxing to foreign strength. This truth holds through every department of life, and in all periods of Indian history. The breed of Indian horses is not maintained, in beauty and vigour, unless good sires and dams are imported from time to time. Without continual sowing of new seed, fruit and vegetables turn to weeds in the best tended gardens. We have seen how rapidly the Greeks in India decayed when communication with Europe was cut off. The same thing happened under the Moghul Empire. The men who followed Baber from Turkestan were white men, with ruddy cheeks and fair hair ; a Spanish traveller, so late as the fourth generation after Baber, noted the "rutilous" beauty of the Moghul ladies whom he met at a dinner-party ; "fairer" he said, in his high-flown Castilian way, "than any that the frigid Boreas engenders." The Moghul Emperors adopted the generous policy of employing native Moslems, and even Hindus, when they could find men of those classes fit for high command ; yet they never failed to employ as many of these white immigrants from Central Asia and Persia as was at all possible. At length, after the reign of Muhamad Shah (who died in 1748), the Empire fell into confusion ; the Punjab became a cockpit for Sikhs and Afghans ; immigration ceased ; the Moghul State fell into the ruin we have seen—for want of fresh northern blood it perished of anæmia, even as Manchu China seems to be doing now.

These facts by no means imply that native talent is not to be encouraged, or native valour and loyalty to be trusted. The trained Regulars who conquered the brave Rajputs at Mirta and Sanganir ; the British sepoy who beat the Regulars at Asai and destroyed the Sikh armies at Sabraon and Gujarat, were as good soldiers as those they vanquished ; but they were led by European officers. If the policy of Sindhia effected any cure of the Moghul anæmia, it was done by restoring the recourse to fresh blood for purposes of example and control ; and surely no wise native of India can wonder if the British now adopt the principle that was forced on their own rulers. Ambaji and Begum Sombre would have made little show, either in war or in peace, without General de Boigne and his best officers ; it was their presence and their teaching that made the difference between Sindhia's regular sepoy and the Moghuls of Ismail Beg or the Rathors of Bijai Singh.

The superiority of most of the foreigners has been abund-

antly shown in the preceding chapters. In the first place, there was the essential difference induced by *discipline*. It has been already pointed out that the native soldier was brave and faithful. We see for ourselves that he is so still. Put him behind a little cover, and he will skirmish or fire long shots all day. Inspire him with a point of honour and he will die in defence of his post—like the men of the 36th Sikhs at Saragani. Skinner illustrates this latter characteristic of the men of his day in a story that is very touching in its undecorated pathos. In 1804, after the war was over, but while dacoits and disbanded soldiers were still roaming about the country, he came with a British column to a fort which the commanding officer deemed it his duty to take. It was held by 13 Rajputs, put in by some unnamed chieftain, but whom Skinner—who, as we have seen, was at that time full of native sympathy—persuaded to give up the place on his promise that they should not be disarmed. He brought them before the British Commander; but this gentleman repudiated the clause and insisted on their weapons being left when they took their departure. The poor fellows appealed to Skinner, who warmly responded, while the Rajputs prostrated themselves in tears at his feet. “See, sir,” said he, “I brought these men to you on an engagement which—as it appears—you are unable to ratify: I submit that we are bound to put them back as they were; you can then take what course you think proper.” The officer saw the justice of this plea; the Rajputs were allowed to march back to the fort with their arms; and they returned thither with expressions of joy: presently the British sent a storming party against them to scale the walls. The little garrison crouched behind their parapet until the stormers attained the wall; then each fired, and killed his man. A second body was at once sent forward, and met with the same fate. Finally, preparations being made for blowing down the gate with powder-bags, the Rajputs laid down their matchlocks, opened the gate, and received the third set of assailants sword-in-hand. When the fort was at last taken the 13 were found bayoneted, in the gateway, with a mound of dead British sepoy lying round.

Such men were not cowards, though it is quite possible that, had the positions been reversed, the fort might never have been taken. The British sepoy who went up to the walls to be shot, or who fell round the desperate defenders in the gateway, were of the same blood and character; but they were disciplined men, each of whom knew that his comrades would obey orders without thought of what the consequence might be to himself; they would not have opened the gate without orders which no skilled officer would have issued. *Science* in

war is founded on genius informed by study, and only within the reach of a few ; but the *art* of combat invokes an unselfish neglect, and the habit of trusting to one's associates and to one's leader. The brave 13 may have had neither the one nor the other ; but each of them knew how to die fighting. This brings out the other point of distinction. However brave the oriental soldiers may be (and the wars of the Russians against the Turks in Eastern Europe are enough to exemplify this), they must succumb—soon or late—to the inferior education, or the inferior character, of the officers who lead them. Men who are to prevail in war ought to be commanded by persons whom they can both trust and respect ; who will set them examples of prolonged endurance and sustained enterprise, in the face of all difficulties and sources of discouragement. These are qualities often found in Europeans because their ancestors have been free citizens, or—at least—have been accustomed to deal with events and institutions of a complicated nature. For that reason alone they are likely to win the regard and obedience of men descended from generations rendered torpid by the conditions of the stagnant and easy-going East. Thus, the Sikhs, beaten by Thomas, attained supremacy over the Afghans when organised by Ventura and Avitabile, but were conquered by Bengal sepoys led by British officers and supported by British regiments ; the Sikhs, on their part, were good against any odds in Bengal sepoys when these conditions were reversed. These doctrines had been patent ever since the day of the *Anabasis*, for those who cared to observe and think for themselves : they still awaited the demonstration of universal induction from the Indian wars of the 18th century, and from the lives and characters of the adventurers as here set forth.

No one, however, could suppose that the employment of foreigners in positions of gain and honour was a natural usage ; or that Sindhia and his imitators would have shown so much favour to Generals de Boigne and Perron if they could have found equally good subordinates among their own people. Arthur Wellesley recorded the opinion that these chiefs would have done better had they never entertained a European servant : but they, perhaps, knew their own business better even than he : in any case what one did another had to do, on pain of ruin and destruction : and, so long as British power held aloof, success attended the experiment. Those chiefs did best who employed the best officers : and under them a beginning of order appeared in the affairs of the community.

But, although civil administration may have shown some slight improvement where these adventurers had brought back peace to the troubled land, they were not—as we have seen—

nearly so successful in that direction as they were in war; and what has been said here is not to be applied without reservation to the practice of civil Government. Here also there are certain qualities of energy and firmness, which are best maintained by a constant renewal of the supply of officers from the governing country. Yet we ought surely to remember that some among the very greatest Indian administrators and statesmen have always been natives of India; from Sher Shah and Todar Mall down to the recent days of Sir Salar Jung and Sir T. Madhava Rao. Other qualifications are required for civil employ besides courage and initiative. Should it still seem good to any one to assert that the people are happier under the rule of the native States than they are in British India, the means of disproof might not be easily found: although the British official might, no doubt, deny the assertion and shift from his own shoulders the burden of demonstration. One thing, at least, requires no argument: it is beyond the scope of controversy that these very Native States are only defended, against each other and from foreign foes, by the military strength of Great Britain based on the incomparable valour of British officers. Should it ever be proved that the bulk of the native population really do prefer the uncontrolled rule of Rajas and Nawabs, it may, perhaps, be said that their ideals are so hopelessly Bohemian as to forbid all prospect of civilising progress. But even so, the peace must be kept by military men who are alike superior to fear and to favour.

"During whole generations," wrote the Moscow journalist already cited, "the history of India presents one continual spectacle of murder and devastation." The amendment of this has been the mission of Great Britain, though her agents may have originally gone out in search of trade alone. But the doctrine of "Hinterland" was even then pressing; and, in place of trade following the flag, it made the flag follow trade. Looking back on the conditions indicated on these pages we can hardly imagine any other development possible.

ART. II.—RURAL BEHAR.

GEOGRAPHICALLY considered, India has been called an epitome of the world. From the point of view of the sociologist, it represents, in miniature, human society in general. It presents for the speculations of the comparative mythologist, all forms of faith, from the grossest fetishism to the most enlightened rationalism, almost bordering on agnosticism. The chronicler of progress will find in it all grades of civilisation from the barbarism of some of the Polynesian islands to the highest refinement of modern Europe. Between these extremes, one comes across an interminable series of intermediate stages of advancement, each worthy of study and capable of affording valuable suggestions for the guidance of the statesman and much useful material for the labours of the scientist. One of these we purpose to lay before our readers, *vis*, that represented by Rural Behar, hitherto a sealed book to even many well-informed persons.

The Behar village is an agglomeration of huts with narrow and irregular lanes between them. It is surrounded on all sides by fields, cultivated generally by the villagers, but in a few instances in the occupation of the residents of other and neighbouring villages. In the selection of its site, experience has, it seems, taught the simple people to give preference to high grounds; and even the fields in its immediate vicinity, which are called "*Dih's*," are higher than the outlying ones known as *Bahurse*. The *Dih* lands are more highly valued on account both of their convenient proximity to the *busti*, and of their superior productive powers, due to a constant supply of water from the drainage, and of manure from the dirt and filth, of the village. The houses are generally roofed with tiles, excepting those of the poorest, which are thatched with straw. But in the case of places where, as in parts of the Gya district, paddy forms the staple crop, the huts, as a rule, are thatched with straw, and only the dwellings of a few of the more substantial men are tiled. The violation of the general rule is accounted for by the abundance and cheapness of straw in these places. The houses are mostly mud-built, and where, as on the banks of rivers, as at Koilwar, there is a large admixture of sand in the soil, a lattice-work of twigs and branches forms a covering for the walls and protects them from the beating of the rain. Every principle of sanitation and symmetry is ignored in the construction of houses in Rural Behar, and a stranger would think that they were made neither "to live in nor to look at." The possession of a window is a rare

luxury, which it seldom falls to the lot of a villager to enjoy, and he would seem to regard it more in the nature of a curse than of a blessing.

This distaste for windows, which is also to be noticed in the towns of Behar, has, it is believed, its root in the sentiment for female seclusion, which dates from the days of Mahommedan rule, and in the insecurity of property in early times. But though windows are in as great disfavour in villages as in towns, the regard for the *purdah* is not so strict in the former as in the latter. Women, even of the respectable classes, though they seldom go out of the *busti*, are as seldom immured within the four walls of the *zenana*.

The absence of windows is not compensated by a multiplicity of doors. The causes which operate to exclude windows from the plan of house building, have also tended to assign only one entrance to each room of the house. One of the criteria of the circumstances of the householder is afforded by the character of these openings for ingress and egress. In some dwellings, namely, those of the poorest, there are no doors or doors-frames attached to any of these openings, and even the main entrance leading to the house is without them. In others, again, especially those of the well-to-do classes, all the entrances are provided with these necessary appendages. Between these two extremes, however, there are various kinds of abodes, more or less pretentious in character, in which the number of openings furnished with these useful requisites varies with the circumstances and the taste of the owner, the humblest among them being those which have the outer entrance only supplied with these fixtures. It is in habitations like these that the rural population of Behar spend their miserable lives. They pass their days mostly in the open air, either in their own work or in that of their employers. In summer they sleep generally in the verandah, or in the courtyard, or in the open space of ground in front of their houses, or even in the streets, if any, adjoining them, but seldom or never in the rooms. People of the well-to-do classes use a *charpoy*, or a rude substitute for a bedstead, while the poorer people sleep on palm-leaf mats spread on the ground. In winter, the villagers are confined at night to their rooms, or, where there is not a sufficiency of them, to the verandah; and there they rest on pallets of straw, the warmth and comfort of which are preferred to the *charpoys*, even by those who have the latter. The women, moreover, are seldom without the luxury of the *barsi*, an earthen pot in which a fire is kept up, and men, too, at times do not hesitate to share an enjoyment which is specially affected by the more delicate sex. In the winter evenings, men of the lower orders generally assem-

ble round a fire lighted with the refuse of the farm-yard at a place where generally the cattle are tethered in an open space of ground in front of the house, or under a tree adjoining it. Here they sit and talk of their household or village concerns, of the prospects of the crops, or the dulness of the markets, of the exactions of their landlord, or, under bated breath, of the oppressions of the Police, of the breach in the reputation of some young woman, or of the *Punchayet* that is going to be held over the delinquency of her seducer.

Coal or coke has not yet come to be employed for culinary purposes in rural Behar, and in many villages the only kind of fuel available is cow-dung cake. Cow-dung is much prized as one of the best of animal manures, and the ashes of it when burnt, together with other sweepings, are collected and stored in a place set apart for the purpose, in the house of the cultivator, for subsequent use in the fields.

The villages are sometimes connected with each other and generally with the nearest Railway Station by roads made by the Local and District Boards. These serve as feeders to the railway lines and help to convey the surplus produce of the villages to the nearest local mart, or for transport by railway to other places where there is a demand for them. In a fertile locality is often to be seen in the neighbourhood of railway stations a cluster of warehouses and godowns belonging to merchants, generally from other parts of the country, for the purchase and export of these commodities. This network of Road-cess roads, though so essential in the economy of Rural Behar, may, unfortunately, from the mode of their construction, prove a source of great danger to the health of the community; and if the theory of obstructed drainage being the cause of malarious fever be correct, subject Behar to the recurring visitations of a pest which decimated Lower Bengal some years ago and is still lurking, though in a less virulent form, in some of its fairest districts. We have often found these roads made in total disregard of the slope of the country and obstructing its natural drainage. In some cases, this breach of what should have been the fundamental principle of road making in India, has been so flagrant, that, while the fields on one side of the road are, on account of the obstruction caused by it, submerged during the rains and thus rendered unfit for cultivation, the lands on the other side are cut off from their necessary supply of water. This indifference to sanitary laws arises, we believe, from ignorance of them; and hygiene, we think, might very profitably form a part of the curriculum of studies prescribed for engineers. It is high time that our engineers should learn that houses should be so built as to satisfy the

conditions necessary for the health of their inmates, and that roads should be so made as not to interfere with the sanitation of the locality.

On two days in the week, a market is held in the village, or in some neighbouring one, at which articles of food of the commonest and coarsest kind, necessary for bare subsistence, can be had, and where the people from the surrounding localities come to buy and sell them. Though the primitive barter is not an infrequent form of transaction in Rural Behar, and though we are often reminded of the Homeric times when "a hundred beeves the shining purchase bought," the dealings at these markets are generally carried on through the medium of money. Besides the ordinary coins, money is represented by small uncoined pieces of copper, rectangular in shape, called differently, in different parts of the country, *Kutchas*, *Dhepuas* or *Gorakpuris*, or *Luhias* where the metal employed is iron instead of copper. The weights and measures of the country diverge widely from those prevalent in urban areas, though exact uniformity in this matter is not observed even in the different towns. The *seer*, the unit of weight, consists, in the most usual, of 12 gundahs only, or, in other words, of the weight of 48 Rupees—the standard *seer* being the weight of 80 Rupees. The *Paseri* (which literally means five seers and represents that weight in civic communities) is equivalent to $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kutchas*, or village, seers in rural tracts.

It must not be supposed that the humdrum round of drudgery of a Behar peasant is unrelieved by any redeeming features. Fishing often forms an ordinary recreation for him. The monotony of his existence is further broken by the recurrence of feasts and festivals, so frequent in the religious calendar of a Hindu or Mahomedan, which form the red-letter days of his life. The *Holi* and the *Dewali*, the *Eid* and the *Mohurram*, are looked forward to with the greatest expectancy and interest, and exercise a considerable influence, generally for good, on the life of the people. To a superficial observer it seems strange, however, that, while the Mahomedans do not generally participate in the religious festivities of the Hindus, there are thousands of Hindus who do not scruple to join in the festivals of Islam. Those, however, who dive below the surface and are acquainted with the real nature of Hinduism, know that this is only an index of its all-embracing and catholic character. It is not strange that the votaries of a religion which inculcates the noble truth embodied in the lines:—

“यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।।

अत्यूथानसुधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥”

“परिजागात्र साधनां विनाशार्थं च द्रुकृत्तान्

धर्मसंस्थापनार्थं सज्जवामि युगे युगे ॥”

should take part in doing honour to the memory of the Saints and Imams of Mahomedanism, or of the Prophet. The applicability of the dictum was never meant to be confined to the geographical limits of India, and, viewed in the light of these verses, the founders of other faiths are but the incarnations of the same Divine Spirit that is supposed to have inspired the author of the *Gita*.

Besides these ordinary breaks in the continuity of the prosaic life of the village, an element of romance and poetry is imparted to it by the periodic fairs held in various parts of the Province. The bulk of the rural population—men, women and children—even from distant parts of the Province, flock to these gatherings, which play an important part in the complicated system of Indian society. As nothing in India is absolutely free from a tincture of religion, most of these fairs, if not all, were invested with an odour of sanctity, in their inception, from which they have not been dissociated even to the present day. The sites at which they are held are generally regarded as sacred, being at the confluences of holy streams, the vicinity of consecrated springs, or the neighbourhood of shrines whose reputation for religious merit runs high in the locality. Almost invariably these gatherings take place on days sacred to some God, or allotted to some particular festival; and originally the people from the surrounding territory used to flock to these spots either to perform their ablutions or to worship. The congregation of so many persons gave rise to the necessity of providing for their creature-comforts, and stalls of country confectionery came in time to be held there. Vendors of other goods began to perceive their opportunity, and temporary sheds came gradually to be erected on such occasions for the sale of the different necessities and luxuries of village life. The success of these traders and the growing fame of the fairs attracted dealers of various classes and added to the number of visitors and sight-seers. The scope and extent of the *méla* was by degrees thus expanded, and people began to combine motives of religion, business and pleasure in their visits to the fair. Among the principal objects which change hands at many of these *mélas*, are cattle, which form such an important factor of agricultural industry. People who have a bullock or heifer to spare, for instance, come to part with it at the *méla*, where purchasers are found among those who want one.

At this moment we can call to mind no fewer than fourteen of the more important of these fairs, held at different places

and on different days of the year. On the occasion of the *Sibarati* in the month of February or March, and again on the *Trayadasi* day in the month of Baisakh (April), a *mela* takes place at Kat Berhampur close to the Railway Station of Raghunathpur in the district of Shahabad, on the grounds adjoining a temple dedicated to Shiva; another at Bihta, on the East Indian Railway in the district of Patna, and a third in the district of Sarun at a place known as *Bhagu Asram*, from the hermitage of the Sage Bhirgu, believed to have been situated there in ancient times. On the day sacred to Shiva, are also to be seen, at places remote from each other, many more gatherings of the same kind, half-secular, half-religious in their character—at Seonar, for instance, near Barh, and at Deokund in the Arungabad Sub-division of the Gya district, where tradition locates the site of *Chaman Rishi's* Retreat. On the same day at Baikatpur, within an easy walk of the E. I. R. Station of Khusonpur, a fair is held in honour of the God Shiva and his wife Parvati, whose love for each other could not brook the idea of the separation implied in the possession of two different bodies, and they are accordingly represented as having one only in the figure of Gouri-Shankar, whose temple is pleasantly situated on the bank of the river Ganges. It continues for two days on this occasion, but is renewed on every Monday of the month of Sravan (July-August), and again on the last Monday of the month of Bhadra, when the Gods have their annual change of dress. The Hindu festival of *Ram Navami*, sacred to Ram, witnesses every year a gathering at Janakpur, in olden times the capital of the pious King Janak, in the district of Durbhanga. The *laun*, or the extraordinary month which is added triennially to the Fuslee or lunar year of Behar to make it keep pace with the solar calendar, is the occasion of a grand fair at Rajgir, about 18 miles distant from the head-quarters of the Behar Sub-division of the Patna district. The place is of great antiquity and seems to have taken its name, which is a corruption of the word Rajgriha, from the castle of King Jarasindhu. It is noted for its hot springs, ablution in the waters of which is supposed to confer great spiritual benefit. The assemblage of people at the time of the fair is so vast, and the gains to the priest who officiate at the baths and the other rites pertinent to the occasion, are supposed to be so enormous, that even the nature of their duties and the character of their claims have been dragged into the uncongenial atmosphere of our courts and examined in the dry light of law and that matter of fact realism which is fatal to the religious sentiments with which these holy offices have been for centuries invested. Babu Nistaran Banerjea, M.A., B.L., Munsiff of

Behar, was lately called upon to decide the rights of the landlord to a share of these profits of the priesthood, and we make no apology for giving below an extract from his lucid and elaborate judgment which has brought into a focus all that is known about the origin and history of the *mêla*.

"About the antiquity of Rajgir, there cannot be any serious contention. Hindu tradition speaks of the place as the capital of *Jatasindhu*—King of Magadha, who was one of the principal actors in the great war celebrated in the Epic Poem of *Mahabharat*, and this was about the 15th century before the Christian Era. Major-General Cunningham considers that the new town of Rajgir was built at some period not later than 560 B.C., according to Buddhist chronology. The researches of Broadley, published in the Indian Antiquary and those of Dr. Buchanan in his work on Indian Antiquities point in the same direction. There are hot springs at Rajgir which lie on the banks of a rivulet known as the *Saraswati*. The temperature of the water varies at different places of the springs, or the *Kunds* as they are called. About the origin of these Kunds, nothing certain is known; but that they have a distinct Hindu origin, as is shown by their names—Ganga-Jumna, Ananta-Rishi, Sapta-Reshi, Brahma-Kund and so forth, is apparent. Whether these spots were places of religious worship before the ascendancy of Buddhism is not known; but there cannot be any doubt that, after the overthrow of Buddhism and the fresh revival of Hinduism, these places became objects of religious pilgrimage if they had not been so at one time long before that. In course of time it came to pass that pilgrimages to the spot during the *laung* (Hindustani leap year) and bath in the springs—were considered highly efficacious. Vast concourse of people attracted by religious enthusiasm assembled there, and the *laung mêla* every third year became a well-recognised institution."

The day of the full moon in the month of Kartic, sanctified in the popular imagination by the love-adventures of Sri Krishna, is the time for various such gatherings in distant and different parts of the country, such as Gya and Sonapur. The one at Gya, irrespectively of its religious aspect, is mainly noted for the sale of cattle of all kinds by the country folk. But pre-eminent among the fairs of the province, and perhaps of all India, is the one at Sonapur, held in honour of Harihar Nath, whose image in the temple at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gandak is believed to have been set up there by Rama, while on his journey to the forests of the Deccan, in obedience to his father's behest. The gathering lasts for about a month, is visited by thousands of persons from all parts of India, and is the occasion of the most extensive sale

of live-stock. Elephants, camels, cattle of all sorts and descriptions, dogs, birds and other animals are to be found in great abundance, but the number and variety of horses brought there for sale is something remarkable. All Northern India contributes its quota to this famous horse-show. There may be seen the sturdy breed of Kathiawar, the hardy horses of Hardwar, the sure-footed hill-ponies of Bhootan. Besides this grand gathering of animals, the *mêla* offers a collection of country-manufactures from all parts of India. The beautiful ivory work of Delhi, the brass-wares of Benares, the bell-metal articles of Sewan, the carpets of Mirzapur, the tents of Cawnpur, Patna and Buxar, the iron-wares of Chupra—are all presented for sale in this national exhibition. Besides these luxuries of civilisation, the fair offers the simple peasant of Behar all that he wants to satisfy the needs of agricultural life and labour.

In addition to country manufactures, enterprising shops for the sale of European goods from the metropolis and the district and provincial capitals do not neglect this opportunity for doing a smart business. Custom has allotted particular places for the different classes of goods and manufactures, and there is seldom a departure from the old-established practice on this point. The sites of *Minabazar* and *Loabazar* are as fixed and certain as are those of the several bazars in the Municipal Market of Calcutta. The stalls and booths in these bazars are arranged in rows, having open spaces between, which do duty for streets and roads. But one of the great attractions of the fair is the European quarter. The Sonepur Fair furnishes the occasion of a sort of annual picnic to many of the European officials and non-officials of the neighbouring districts. They remain in it for nearly a week when it is in its full swing. All sorts of amusements are got up for their entertainment. They have their races and balls, their cricket and Badminton. A city of canvas is improvised with their *shâmidnds* and tents pitched in lines running parallel to each other, with large spaces between to serve for roads. The *shâmidnds* are generally placed in front of the tents, and below them are spread beautiful carpets on which are placed chairs and sofas as if in a drawing-room. Each camp is charmingly decorated with an abundance of flower pots artistically arranged. It is fancifully illuminated at night with lamps and Chinese lanterns suspended from the trees with which the place abounds, and the whole scene wears the aspect of fairy land. Turning for a moment from the *mêla* to the temple of Harihar Nath, on the morning of the day of the full moon, we find the gate of the quadrangle surrounding it besieged by a throng of earnest devotees, each struggling with the

other to effect an entrance. This surging crowd presents the appearance of an impenetrable mass which completely blocks the passage, and the bulk of it have to be content with simply pelting against the wall, over the gate, a small earthen vessel containing the water of the sacred river intended to be poured on the head of the God, who, it seems, is credited with taking the wish for the deed.

Islam is not behindhand in the matter of such gatherings. The *mells* at Monair and Phulwari are both of Mahomedan origin. The latter celebrates the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet, and is held on the 11th and 12th of the Hijree month of Rabi-ul-awal, on the occasion of the Mahomedan festival of *Fateha-dooz-dohum*. Phulwari has gathered round it an aroma of sanctity from its being the seat of a long line of Shahs, or spiritual preceptors, reputed for their piety and learning and credited with miraculous powers. On the occasion in question prayers are offered, the memory of the Prophet is blessed, and verses from the holy Scriptures are recited under the presidency of the Shah. But the part of the programme at such religious meetings which forms the source of the greatest popular attraction is, as with the Capuchins, the exhibition of holy relics, such as a hair believed to be from the beard of Mahomet. The *sufism* (liberalism) of the Shah of Phulwari, permits the introduction of music at these religious services, and the feelings of the Shah and of his congregation are generally worked up to such a pitch that it is not an uncommon phenomenon to witness the voluntary or involuntary contortions and gesticulations habitual to the Puritans of old. Hindus join with the followers of Islam in flocking to these assemblies. In course of time they began to attract such large crowds that shop-keepers and public purveyors saw their opportunity and seized upon it to their advantage.

The other *mella*, also Mahomedan in its inception, is the one known as Ghazi Mia's *mella*, and takes place at Monair on a Sunday in the month of Jeyt, lasting for one day only. Shop-keepers from Dinapur, Patna, Chupra and Arrah come there and hold their stalls on the Eastern-side, and sometimes, for want of accommodation, on the other sides, of the pond attached to the famous mausoleum of Monair, noted for its beauty and antiquity and known as *Mahdum Sahib's Durgeh*. These stalls and booths are mostly for the sale of sweetmeats, fruits, toys and articles of feminine toilette prized by the rustic dames of the adjoining villages, who, clothed in their best attire, go out holiday-making with the men whenever a fair is held in their neighbourhood. Flags called Ghazi Mia's, from which the *mella* has taken its name, are planted on the eastern side of the pond which, by

a subterranean aqueduct, used to receive, when necessary, an accession of water from the river Sone. The rude music of the country is discoursed from under these flags, and the complete transformation of the scene in the course of a single day from death-like silence and dull dreaminess to obstreperous mirth and crowded jollity reminds one of the mediæval tales of fairy transmutations effected by the magician's wand. It is a noteworthy peculiarity of these gatherings, and one which adds a greater romance to them, that they are frequented more largely by the women even than by the men.

After this imperfect sketch of the environments of village life, let us next survey some of the principal classes composing the rural population. Though the most prominent figure in the village community is unquestionably the peasant, he has been of late, during the discussions in connection with the Bengal Tenancy Act and the Cadastral Survey, so often before the public, that he may be dismissed with a bare mention. His life of patient labour and suffering, his state of chronic indebtedness and poverty, his relations with the zemindar and the money-lender, and in some cases the exactions of the former and the cunning with which he tries to evade or the courage to stand against them, have become familiar to every one conversant with the literature of the legislation in question. In some rare instances, the oppressive attitude of his landlord has developed in him qualities which have not only made him the trusted representative of his fellow villagers in their struggles against the zemindar, but have strained to the utmost the powers of our legislature to protect the interests of the landholding class. We have seen the entire tenantry following the lead of these village Hampdens and unfurling the standard of revolt by acts of open defiance of the landlord.

The Bunya.—The person next in importance to the cultivator or producer is the Bunya, or the person who forms the first link in the chain of agency which conveys the surplus produce of one place to the consumer at a far off one. He may be seen of a morning leading his pack-bullocks laden with grain or pulse, chillies or jaggery, to a neighbouring market, or the nearest Railway Station. Sometimes, when he has no bullocks of his own, or when he is rich enough to make purchases on a large scale, he entrusts the commodity bought by him to the carrier, who takes it on his own bullocks to its destination.

The Gaureri or Shepherd.—The Gaureri is the shepherd in the strictest sense of the term. It is the calling of his caste to tend sheep and he generally follows that avocation. But it is seldom that he has a flock of his own to tend. The possession of a flock means some capital, but the circum-

stances of the *Gaureri* are generally so abject, that it is with the greatest difficulty that he manages to keep body and soul together from year's end to year's end. In very rare and exceptional cases, however, he happens not only to be the owner of the sheep, but is moreover in a position to engage others to keep them. As a rule he tends the flocks of other people on a pay which varies with different localities and individuals and averages between eight annas and two rupees a month, in addition to a quantity of some sort of food grain or its equivalent in money, which he gets daily as his subsistence allowance. Sometimes he is paid in kind; that is to say, he gets half the outturn of wool on the occasion of every sheep-shearing, which generally takes place thrice a year, once in Kartic (October or November), once in Falgoun (February or March), and again in Asar (June or July). Besides his share of the wool, he may take the milk, if any, left after the nourishment of the young of the ewes in his charge. But though the milk and the *Ghi* (clarified butter) made from it are in great request in towns and other centres of civilisation on account of their medicinal properties, there is hardly any demand for them in the country, and consequently the gain to the gaureri from this source, whether as recognised allowance or as illicit perquisite, is more nominal than real. However much he may be steeped in poverty, an Indian is seldom without the luxury of a family more or less large. But what he gets barely suffices for his own maintenance, and his womenkind have to find employment as day labourers either in weeding the fields, in transplanting the seedlings, or in reaping the crops when ready. And when the crops are reaped, they try to eke out their miserable livelihood by gleaning.

Whatever the nature of his pay, the duties of the gaureri are almost always the same. He is entrusted with the flock by his master, and is responsible to him for their safe custody and keeping. The sheep live entirely by grazing, and the main business of the shepherd is to find suitable pastures for them. These are found in fields when they are bare, after the harvest is gathered, or when they lie fallow, and in waste lands or on hill-sides when the fields are sown with crops. As the dung of the sheep is considered to be one of the most fertilising of manures, when the sheep are quartered in a bare field, the owner of it has to reward the shepherd by giving him his food for the day, *vis.*, a pound or a pound and a half of rice or some other food grain. But this quantity is often regulated by the number of the sheep that he brings to graze on the land. Frequently the Gaureri has to go to places far away from his home and that of his master in search of pasturage for

his flock. It sometimes happens that many gaureris from neighbouring and distant villages congregate together on the same common, considerably remote from the habitations of man ; and there the shepherds improvise a temporary fold where man and beast find refuge from the inclemency of the weather. Here they remain for days and weeks together, till the grazing grounds are exhausted, when they break up their abode and seek " fresh fields and pastures new." The Barabar Hills in the district of Gya and the surrounding lands at their foot form such an annual resort, after the rains, for flocks from villages far and near. In some cases the flocks which the Gaureri has thus to feed and tend consist of sheep belonging, not to one, but to several individuals. The habits of these shepherds remind one of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia, and probably also of our primitive forefathers, going about with their flocks, now pitching their tents at one place and now at another, till the country round is denuded of its green garniture.

Besides the usual business of his class, the Gaureri finds as frequently a useful occupation in the manufacture of blankets, either on his own account, or as an employee of others. The material used in making them is the wool of the sheep, which is greatly valued for this purpose, and is sold at some places, as in parts of the Gya district, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ seer per rupee. The blankets are prepared by manual labour, with the help of a sort of hand-loom, and are largely used both as an article of dress and as bedding by the lower orders of the people who can afford to enjoy this luxury. Unless, however, an improved system is introduced in the manufacture of the blanket, the encroachments of western civilisation threaten, in no distant future, to strangle an industry conducted on such archaic lines. Warned by the fate of other similar manufactures, the Indians, should, in this instance, take time by the forelock, or else this useful industry which forms the means of livelihood of thousands, will go the way of its predecessors which have perished in their unequal struggle for existence with mills and machinery. Already an improved plan of making blankets is being followed in our jails ; but as Government wisely steers clear of competition with private enterprise, and as the product of prison-labour is not the inexpensive article in ordinary use among the common people, this handicraft has not as yet been prejudicially affected to any appreciable extent.

The Cowherd.—Time and social conservatism have not succeeded, even in Behar, in impressing the character of a caste on those who were originally entrusted with the duties of the cowherd. One of the reasons at least is not far to seek. The nature of these duties being comparatively light, they are generally assigned to those who, from old age or boyhood, are

unfit for more active work. They consist in taking out the cattle of the villagers in the morning to graze in some adjacent common during the day and bring them back to the houses of their owners in the evening. They have, moreover, to milk them whenever necessary, and for these duties they are paid from two to three annas a month for each head of cattle. In the case of goats, however, the allowance is only an anna for each animal. Besides the usual monthly stipend a perquisite is granted to them in the shape of food or money on the occasion of feasts and festivals.

The Malla or Fisherman.—With his clan calling, of plying boats and fishing in the river, water-course or pool, the Malla, like many of the other residents of the village, combines a variety of occupations to eke out the slender and precarious subsistence derived from his ancestral vocation. As for the business of boatman, this he gets seldom, except when his village is in the neighbourhood of a river which is large enough and in a locality important enough to support a permanent ferry, or in which a ferry has to be kept up during the rainy season when it is not fordable, or except when he finds such employment in riparian towns away from his home. Like many of his co-villagers, he is often also the tenant of some land, which he cultivates. His women, too, like others of their social standing, work for wages in the fields or assist their husband or son in the agricultural operations of their own farm. Sometimes their business is as coolies to carry the surplus commodities of the village to the nearest market or Railway station.

Modern civilisation has made its aggressive inroads even on such remote outskirts of society as Rural Behar, and won for labour new fields of employment which afford remunerative work even to the Malla. The use of kunkur lime for architectural purposes in towns has widened the sphere of his usefulness, and given him an additional means of livelihood. A brisk business in getting out kunkur from the beds of rivers which abound in it and its conversion into lime has sprung up of late, and the Malla alone is employed in the operation of dredging to extract it. For every hundred cubic feet of kunkur so taken from the river and stacked on its bank, he gets in some localities Re. 1 and annas 4, and for the same quantity carried to the nearest Railway station, as at Belá, on the P. G. S. Railway, at a distance of a little more than two miles from the river side, the charge for cartage is Rs. 2-4. Besides the amount paid to the Malla and the carter, the owner of the riparian estate has to be paid an annual fee for the liberty to dredge for kunkur from a specified portion of the river.

The growth of this new industry has given employment to various classes of labourers, especially to the women of the lower orders of the people. Those living in the vicinity of Railway stations are engaged in loading the kunkur in Railway trucks of different carrying capacities of from 340 to 462 maunds at some stations, at a rate ranging between 12 and 14 annas per truck for a given distance. Sometimes the women pick out the kunkur from the sandy banks of the rivers and carry it themselves, either to the nearest Railway station or to some place half way to it, whence it is again carted away to the former for conveyance by rail.

The Burhi (Carpenter).—Even the simple requirements of rural life in Behar demand the services of a carpenter and a smith, and there is hardly a village or a group of neighbouring villages which is without them. Two *paseris* of grain of each of the three principal crops of the year, *viz.*, the Autumn, Winter and Spring (*Bhadoi*, *Khareef* and *Rabbi*), are given to the carpenter by every agriculturist as his wages for the year, in addition to a bundle of sheaves of corn, not less than a *paseri*, which he gets when he goes to the fields at the reaping season of each of the crops. To obviate the chance of any dispute which might arise in estimating the quantity of sheaves that he is entitled to receive, the whole of his dues are sometimes commuted into nine *paseries* of grain, three of each description, seven *kutchá* seers making a *paseri*. His services consist in making the plough and other implements of husbandry, such as the handles of the spade, sickle, *kodari*, *khurpa* and *khurpi*, of wood supplied by the agriculturist. These generally last for a year; but he has to repair them, if necessary, in the course of it, without any further charge. Besides this, he has also to do all the carpenter's work in the making and putting up of the *Láthá*, which is a lever on a fulcrum—a rude device for drawing water from the well for purposes of irrigation. When he is employed on any work unconnected with agriculture, the peasant has to give him, on account of his day's labour, $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers (*kutchá*) of either rice or coarse flour, with a little salt and condiments for two meals, besides two annas in cash. When he does the work of other people, he works on a daily wage of four annas.

The Lohar (Blacksmith).—Like the carpenter, the village smith is also intimately connected with agricultural labour. He has the making of the plough-shares and the blades of other agricultural implements, with iron furnished by the husbandman. As a year's work is sufficient to wear them out, there is a perennial recurrence of the necessity for the exercise of his, as of the carpenter's, art. Like the carpenter, too, he is paid in kind and gets so many *paseries* of produce for each

of the three principal crops. Besides the making of the tools of husbandry, he has also to repair them whenever required. As the Behar peasant finds it easier to pay in corn than in money, he gives the Lohar a certain quantity of grain for work not connected with cultivation.

Here we bring this fragmentary account to a close, with the adjuration of the poet :—

“ Let not Ambition mock their useful toil,

 Their homely joys and destiny obscure ;

Nor grandeur hear with a disdainful smile,

 The short and simple annals of the poor.”

A. C. GHOSE.

ART. III.—A LITTLE-KNOWN MADRAS DISTRICT.

SITUATED half way between Bombay and Cape Comorin, South Canara forms the most northerly of the Madras districts, occupying the western portion of the Peninsula.

Geographically, the district is of peculiar interest, for the latitude of its chief town, Mangalore, is at the extreme end of the arc of parallel which is nearer to the Equator than any similar arc that has been measured in any part of the Globe. South Canara is essentially a forestal district, the slopes of the Western Ghâts, and even the plains lying within Canarese boundaries, being clothed with dense forests of magnificent timber, whose growth is stimulated by a copious rainfall, the average of which is at least 147 inches, or higher than that of any other district in Southern India. That the people understand how to make use of this abundant natural wealth, is clear, to some extent, from the fact that minor forest produce is extensively used for the manuring of the 500 odd square miles of land under rice cultivation in the district. In an ever-green and deciduous forest region, it is natural to find a wide and useful variety of timbers of commerce, and teak, blackwood, sandal-wood, ebony, cinnamon, &c., are common in all parts of the district. Within recent years the timber industry has been considerably developed through the exertions of the Forest Department, and a large and growing exportation is constantly taking place to Bombay, Mysore, and to several parts of the Madras Presidency. Such produce as pepper, cocoa-nuts, areca-nuts, ginger, myrabolams, cardamoms and sugarcane are also common, and their collection and cultivation afford employment at certain seasons to large numbers of poor people. Even in the matter of therapeutic plants, South Canara is eminently well off.

The forests are the home of the bison, elephant, tiger, sambar, cheetah, black bear and hyæna. The handsome large red squirrel of the woods, the pretty little mouse deer, and the curious Indian scaly ant-eater are to be found in the jungles and ghât forests. Crocodiles—not the mugger of Bengal rivers—are common in all the larger streams, and the boa constrictor grows to a greater size than elsewhere in the Peninsula. Its fat is esteemed by the natives as a valuable and unfailing specific for the most obstinate of cutaneous disorders. The entomologist, the ornithologist and the pisciculturist would revel in delight over the treasures that this rich region holds. Snipe, duck and teal are plentiful, and the plover ranges all along the coast. The lordly *masheer* and the snake-like *ophiocephalus*

swarm in the streams, while tasty pomfret and seer, and humbler mackerel and sardine are caught at sea and in the estuaries. In fact, the hauls of the last two are at times so heavy that, to quote a certain witty London sub-editor, "Peter's record is frequently broken." The surplus of these hauls goes to make an excellent manure.

South Canara is not among the happy countries that have no history. It must at one time have formed part of the ancient Dravidian Kingdom of Chera, mentioned in Asoka's rock-cut inscriptions of the third century B. C., and its present name is undoubtedly a misnomer. By what curious accident of history it lost its real Tuluva identity is unknown. Ancient polyandrous customs; the existing *Aliya Santana* system of inheritance, whereby property descends in the female line from mother to daughter; the legend that the land was reclaimed from the sea by Parasu Rama, all go to show that it belonged to the ancient Kingdom of which Malabar itself was a portion. The most ancient written account which we find of South Canara is that contained in the Holy Scriptures. In the Third Book of Kings, Chapter X, we have an account of the riches and glories of Solomon and of the abundance of spices brought to him by the Queen of Sheba.*

There is sufficient historical evidence to warrant the belief that most of these spices went from the maritime region which, in modern times, has come to be known as South Canara. Pliny, Ptolemaios, Indicopleustes and other very early writers, in recording the commercial relations that subsisted in the earliest days of the Christian era between Greece, Egypt and Arabia on the one hand, and the Malabar Coast on the other, make frequent allusion to Nitrias (modern Mangalore), Kallianpur (a great port, which, according to Indicopleustes, exported brass and blackwood and cloth, and had a King of its own, with a community of Christians under a Persian Bishop), and to other Canarese ports which are still outlets for the commerce of the district. From the 7th to the 16th century when the Portuguese power reached the zenith of its greatness, the Moors monopolised the trade with South Canara. They fell back, but not without a long and heroic struggle, before the irresistible might of the then greatest of European nations, the nation which, mainly through the genius of Prince Henry, the Navigator, was enabled to deprive Genoa and Venice of the privilege of being the exclusive distributors of eastern commerce to European markets. The long Moorish connection with South Canara is still evidenced by the enterprising

* The identification of the country of the Queen of Sheba with Malabar is, we fear, unsustainable.--ED. C. R

Moplah and Navayat communities, the former of whom are the result of unions between Arab sailors and native women, while the latter are the descendants of a little colony of Mussulmans that fled in the early part of the 8th century from the province of Iran to the Malabar Coast in order to avoid the persecution of a tyrannous ruler.

Early in the 16th century, the Portuguese put in an appearance on the coast of South Canara and gradually made themselves masters of the whole of the trade of the coast, completely crippling the maritime power of the Mohamedans in the Indian Ocean, and unconsciously paving the way for that great union between the East and the West which has already been productive of such benefit to the world, and is destined to be productive of yet a great deal more so long as what the Germans have happily described as the Eastern Trend goes on and helps to unite nations now alien in thought, religion, customs and manners, language, and large-hearted, cosmopolitan sympathy. It was her heroic age when Portugal discovered this splendid and priceless gem of Asia, and valiantly and heroically did her sons fight to wrest the prize from those who had so long held possession of it. The struggle for commercial supremacy in the Indian seas was a bitter and protracted one, but in the end victory remained with the European, and the late Sir William Hunter, describing the issue, observes with much truth, "the swift audacity of the hero-nation forms an epic compared with which our own early labours are plain prose."

Once the Portuguese had established their commercial supremacy, they began to levy a kind of tribute of grain at all the coast ports. The policy which they shaped out for their guidance and for the preservation of their Eastern interests and possessions was, firstly, to hold a monopoly of the sea-borne trade of the coast, maintaining for that purpose a large fleet and erecting factories at the various important ports along the coast of Africa and India; secondly, to conclude treaties with the Native Princes, without taking possession of any large provinces, and thirdly, to propagate Christianity by all the means at their disposal. It was a short-sighted, and, as it proved, a fatal policy. Christianity was repugnant to the deep-seated religious feelings of the Hindus and the Mohamedans alike, and the foreign traders, being associated with preachers and evangelists, fired by an ardent desire to spread the light of the Christian Gospel, came gradually to forfeit the confidence, excite the suspicion and stir up the wrath of the Native rulers and inhabitants. Naturally enough, the Portuguese hold on their newly-acquired commercial privileges slackened, instead of becoming strengthened with time. The distance between Portugal and India was in those days dreadfully long, and those

who had mapped out Portugal's Asiatic policy for her were compelled to admit the impossibility, under existing conditions, of maintaining a sufficiently strong protective fleet in such distant and unfriendly waters. Swift and glorious, therefore, as had been the rise of Portuguese power and dominion in South Canara, as also along the entire coast, equally swift and in a far greater degree inglorious was its decline. Only the remnants, the fading embers of the fire of Portuguese greatness remained when the English appeared upon the scene in the early years of the last century. An effort was, no doubt, made to fan those dying embers once more into flame; but the effort was fruitless, and the power of Portugal passed away even as a tale that is told. Yet, in South Canara, as in every other foreign country in which they have settled, the Portuguese have left behind them relics that will long survive, of their once influential and brilliant Eastern Empire. Roman Catholic Churches and Chapels are dotted all over the district, and congregations worship in them who have the same bigoted attachment to their faith that characterise the Roman Catholics of the Latin countries of Europe; in the most rural hamlets of the district, ryots and artisans go about bearing names that filled with lustre the most eventful pages in Portuguese history; and in respect of many of their domestic beliefs and superstitions, these Native Christians of South Canara serve to remind us from whom they imbibed most of their religious instincts.

- Not long after the arrival of the British in South Canara, the district was convulsed by an invasion on the part of Tippu. This fearless but cruel and tyrannical Mohammedan suspected the Christian converts of assisting the English against him. This was too much for Tippu to endure, and a terrible persecution of the Christians ensued. In the course of a single night, 60,000 of them were seized and forcibly deported to Mysore. Their sufferings on the way were intense, and only a portion reached Seringapatam, where the men were circumcised and the able-bodied selected for military service. The lands of the Christians were confiscated and their Churches destroyed. Many of them returned after the fall of Seringapatam, and their descendants, numbering over 70,000, now form one of the most prosperous sections of the community.

In 1799, Seringapatam fell and the puissance of Tippu collapsed abruptly. In that year also, Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro became the first Collector of Canara. In 1834 the Coorgs gave trouble, and, three years later, another little rebellion broke out. Since then peace has prevailed. In 1862, the district was split into two, for commercial reasons chiefly, and North Canara became a part of the Bombay Presidency. But, notwithstanding this administrative separation, there is

still a strong bond of sympathy between the inhabitants of the two halves of a province which Nature designed to be one, and it has been noticed that this bond has only become stronger with the growth of education and the spread of enlightenment.

The archæological remains that exist in South Canara, though by no means very ancient, are profoundly interesting. Of Jain relics, there exist *betlūs*, or colossal statues of the "Great-Gawd Budd." Only three of these are known to exist in the world, two being in Canara, one in Mysore. The largest one is near Karakal in the former district. It is 41 feet 5 inches high and is said to weigh about 80 tons. Prominently situated on the top of a huge granite rock, on the margin of a picturesque lake, it appeals to one's fancy as fit emblem of a creed that was revered in India when the world was still young. Mr. Walhouse, a former Judge of Mangalore, writing of it in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1875, says:—"Nude, cut from a single mass of granite, darkened by the monsoons of centuries, the vast statue stands upright with arms hanging straight, but not awkwardly, down the sides, in a posture of somewhat stiff but simple dignity. The form and lineaments are evidently the same with those which, from Ceylon to China and utmost Tartary, have handed down with unvarying tradition the habit as he lived of that most wondrous of mortals that ever wore flesh, Gautama Buddha."

We who have travelled are irresistibly reminded of the Buddha with the merciful countenance who sits, facing the ocean, on an eminence in Kamakura, the Japanese town, not far from Yokohama; only there, the teacher is enrobed, while here in southern India he stands "sky-clad." Once every sixty years the scattered Jains gather at Karakal from all quarters and bathe the colossus with cocoanut oil.

Other Jain remains in South Canara are the *Bastis*, or temples, always most picturesquely located, and the beautiful *Stambhas*, or pillars, one of which, the most elegant, is about fifty feet high. It is of stately grace, and the carving is elegant, intricate and most delicately wrought.

Although Canarese is the official language of the district, Tulu, the vehicle of expression of the ancient Tuluva, is spoken by nearly half the population. It is in this language that the sacred books of the Havik Brahmins of the Northern Taluk of Kundapur are written, showing that the language was in vogue in the eighth century A. D., when the early Brahmin colonists arrived in the district. The Hindu population of South Canara forms to-day 81·68 per cent. of the whole; the Mussulmans, 10·60; the Christians 6·75 and the Jains 0·97.

Just as in the adjoining province of Malabar, the worship of Bhutas or demons prevails largely. The devil dance, the invocation of tutelar deities, serpent worship and other customs all

go to show the Dravidianism of the mass of the people. The Brahmins of the district are split into twelve sub-divisions, the fairest and comeliest of whom are the Haviks who are said to owe their colour to "their residing for many generations in the comparatively cool shade of the areca-nut gardens." Then, there are the Bunts, the warrior class of old, corresponding to the Nairs of Malabar. These Bunts are now the chief land-owning and cultivating class. They are a fine stalwart race, with a sturdy independence of manner, fond of outdoor sports, football and buffalo racing chiefly, but more than all else, cock-fighting. Numerous other castes and tribes go to make up the motley population of the district. The Koragars, or basket makers, were held in such contempt that till lately one sub-division of the tribe dared not spit on the ground, and wore a shell round the neck into which shell they had to spit. The women of another sub-division are still given to clothing themselves with the utmost sparsity in a raiment of leaves freshly gathered every morning for the purposes. The Billavas, or the toddy drawers of the district, have singular customs. Sexual license before marriage is permitted within the caste, provided the marriage ceremony afterwards is different from that which characterises the marriage of a virgin. The difference lies in the woman's having to be first married to a plantain tree, after which the ceremony of joining hands is carried out without the pouring of water. The Mogers, or Tulu fishermen, are also another interesting Hindu tribe, Vaishnavite by religion. Among them, if a man wishes to dissolve his marriage, he has only to go to the maternal uncle of his wife, tell him that he has divorced her, strike three blows on a tree, and pay him the modest sum of Rs. 1-4-0. The Native Christians of South Canara are a prosperous, independent community, though they have not yet quite shaken off the trammels of caste. The Jains of the district belong to the naked, or sky-clad, division. One of their customs is especially interesting. They always filter water carefully, in order not to destroy the *animalculæ* in it.

I have already shown that South Canara is a pastoral district. About 75 per cent. of its people derive a living from cultivation, rice being the staple produce. Cocoanut and areca-nut plantations, too, are plentiful. The wages of the farm hands are small, and average from 2 to 2½ annas a day; but no country owns such a prosperous peasantry as Canara, or shows such an air of pastoral comfort. The trade of the district is thriving and extensive, and, even in respect of manufactured industries, it is now coming into notice. In a few years, South Canara will be placed in railway communication with the rest of the Peninsula, and, when this takes place, the district will certainly come into the forefront of Madras provinces.

VISITOR.

ART. IV.—JOHN COMPANY'S PADRES AND THEIR PARISH.

THE Rev. H. B. Hyde has long been known in Calcutta as one of its most enthusiastic and hard-working antiquarians: and his close association with our oldest Parish Church has been the means of throwing a flood of light upon some of the most obscure passages in the early history of the English in India. His new volume, which he styles the "Parish of Bengal," * is a veritable monument of industry and research, and we are more than ever reminded of the loss we have sustained by his departure for Madras. Under the guise of a chronicle of the ecclesiastical events which preceded the building of the present St. John's Church, we are afforded a series of animated sketches of Calcutta and Calcutta life during the century which opened in Europe with the Revolution of 1689, and closed with the taking of the Bastille just a hundred years later. The result is one of the most entertaining books of old-world gossip we have encountered since we reluctantly closed the delightful pages of Dr. Busteed.

To those who were privileged to listen to the admirable lectures delivered by Mr. Hyde a few months ago, there will be much that is familiar in the present compilation: but there is much also that is entirely new. That it will appeal to a wide circle of readers, we are confident, in spite of the proverbial indifference of Anglo-India to its past. For there are signs abroad that the Calcutta of to-day is repenting of its studied neglect and discourtesy towards the Calcutta of olden time. Like his forbears, the Englishman still betakes him to the East to make a fortune or to die of a fever: but he is no longer so absorbed in his profession and his pleasures as the case-hardened *qui-hye* of a bygone generation. The popularity of Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta* and of Sir William Hunter's memoir of the Thackerays tells its own tale: and the reproach can no longer be justly levelled against the Anglo-Indian, that he lives entirely in the present, and has never a thought to cast behind him. And yet, notwithstanding, we wonder how many there are who are able to give a meaning to Mr. Hyde's quaint title, or who are aware that for over a hundred years the entire Bengal Presidency formed one single parish. It was not, in fact, until the advent of Lord Cornwallis

* The Parish of Bengal: 1678 to 1788: by the Rev. H. B. Hyde, M. A., a Senior Chaplain on Her Majesty's Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment, Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co., 1899. Price, Rs. 4.

that in 1788 the Company's Chaplains were appointed to stations where their ministry was fixed: and the arrangement, which to us seems so cumbrous and inconvenient, was the obvious and only possible one at the time of its creation.

For our Empire in India was a very small affair indeed in 1667, when the London East India Company first resolved to provide their scattered settlements in Bengal with a Chaplain.* The head-quarters of the English merchants lay at Hooghly. Hard by at Chinsurah, and almost within a stone's throw, the Dutch were striving with them for the custom of the subjects of the Nabob. Still more formidable was the organized opposition of the "interlopers," who were making strenuous efforts to share in the large profits of the trade, and were presently to oust the London Company from its pride of place. Among these interlopers or private traders was a notable "young beginner" of the name of Thomas Pitt, "a fellow of a haughty, huffing daring temper," destined in after-years to be Governor of Fort St. George, to discover the finest diamond in the world, and to be the progenitor of two of England's greatest statesmen. Outside Hooghly, a few isolated factories at Dacca, Balasore, Cossimbazar, Patna and Rajmehal made up the sum total of the English possessions in Bengal. Where Calcutta now greets the world with her amazing medley of Western opulence and Eastern squalor, there stood three obscure villages; and twenty-three years had yet to elapse before Job Charnock was to establish himself at Suttanuttee, after a series of bewildering attempts to settle at such unsuitable spots as Hidgelee, Oolooberriah and even Chittagong. It was thus into a very modest cure of souls that the Court of Directors, after ten years' discussion and procrastination, inducted their first Chaplain on the 2nd November 1677. The man upon whom their choice fell was John Evans, of Jesus College, Oxford, who was to hold his office for fourteen years, and to adorn the Bishopric of Bangor for as many more.

He must have sailed for India within a month of his appointment, for his arrival at Hooghly, with his wife and sister-in-law and two children, is recorded on the 23rd June, 1679. His new parishioners appear, from all accounts, to have fallen far below the standard which the Company expected from its servants: and, in the September following the arrival of Evans, Streynsham

* In 1677, the following six Chaplaincies constituted the whole of the London Company's existing or projected ecclesiastical establishment:—Surat, Fort St. George, Bantam, Bombay, St. Helena, and the Bay (by which collective name the settlements in Bengal were known): but no appointment had apparently been made up to that date to the factories of the Bay, and Mr. Hyde, in the course of his indefatigable researches, has been unable to light upon any such.

Master, the President of Fort St. George, was despatched to the Bay "to regulate and set in order what he should find amiss." The result of his visit was the promulgation of a number of disciplinary orders: and, as absence from public prayers constituted one of the offences for which penalties were ordained, it is to be hoped that, as a consequence, the little factory Church, which the minister lost no time in building, rejoiced in a larger congregation than the stocks which were prescribed as the alternative to divine worship.

In October, 1681, there reached Hooghly William Hedges, the specially-appointed Agent and Governor of the London Company, to whose diary we are indebted for many interesting sidelights upon the Indian career of Evans. Matthias Vincent, the chief of the Factory, had fallen into disfavour with his masters on account of his "trafficking with interlopers" and his "diabolical acts with Braminees;" and Hedges' instructions were to seize him and send him forthwith as a prisoner to England. Vincent at once removed to safer quarters at Ohinsurah, where he joined Pitt in trading on his own account: and Hedges started for Dacca in the vain hope of inducing the Nabob to order the expulsion of the interlopers. Evans accompanied him, and in a letter from Dacca which bears date the 5th December, 1682, he chronicles the deaths of his two children and of his sister-in-law, who had married John Byam, Chief of the Balasore Factory. His wife was apparently with him, for he observes that "she is grown exceeding Fatt:" and she lived to return with him to England and to survive him by nearly ten years. Christmas was spent with Job Charnock at Cossimbazar, and by the end of the year the party returned to Hooghly. We have also records of visits of Evans to Balasore, the first being as early as April 1679, and the second in the following year. But, in spite of the assiduity with which he devoted himself to his clerical duties, the Company could not forgive his friendship with such notorious interlopers as Littleton, the Pitts,* and Alley. Hedges reports that "Agent Beard, Mr. Evans, the minister, and Mr. Trenchfeild were very often in company with the Interlopers, especially ye two latter who are seldom out of their company." And it must be confessed that Evans' object in such association was to make money.

Much invective has been hurled against this remarkable man

* He was named as guardian to the son of John Pitt in the latter's will. John Pitt, who was at the time of his death in 1706 "Consul-General of the English nation on the coast of Chormandell" and President of the new Company at Masulipatam, was cousin of the more famous Thomas Pitt. George Morton Pitt, the boy to whom Evans was guardian, was President of Fort St. George from 1730 to 1735, and a Member of Parliament, and died in 1756.

on the ground that he amassed a fortune by trading in unauthorized goods against the regulations of the Company. But let us for a moment consider the surroundings amid which he lived. His salary was fixed at fifty pounds a year, and he was to receive fifty pounds more as a gratuity, if he gave satisfaction to the Council of "the Bay." We may smile at the scale of remuneration which was then sufficient to attract an Englishman to the gorgeous East: but those were days when the salary of a factor ranged from £20 to £40 a year, and a writer was deemed to be passing rich on £10. It need hardly be said, however, that there were other methods of making a fortune open to them. They were permitted to add to their official incomes by private trading in those commodities which were not the monopoly of the Company, and were, moreover, privileged to draw considerable sums from the public treasury for diet-money, attendance, and the like. Still, at this point their perquisites ended: and the temptation to make yet a little more was irresistible. The Company fulminated in vain against such breaches of trust. Of all the crimes which a man could commit in those days, the two most heinous in the eyes of the Court of Directors were for a private merchant to trade in India in their articles of commerce without a license, and for a covenanted servant of theirs to aid and abet such flagitious proceedings. And yet there was not a servant of the Company who had not done, and did not do, the one or the other. Evans followed the example of those around him. He permitted himself to make friends among the English traders, who evaded the Company's monopoly by shipping from foreign ports, and was thus enabled to effect more than one successful investment. So successful, in fact, was he that he aroused the jealousy of the expiring London Company, and he was dismissed from their service by the Court's letter of the 22nd January, 1691-92. "Mr. Evans," they wrote, "having betaken himself so entirely to merchandizing, we are not willing to allow him any further salary or allowances after the arrival of our two ministers we are now sending you."

Meanwhile, he had been helping to make history. The years 1686 to 1690 were a stormy crisis in the fortunes of the Bengal factories. The hostility of the Nabob's Foudjar at Hooghly led to a sharp skirmish: and after a gallant defence, Job Charnock had been compelled to withdraw "all ye Right Honourable Company's concerns and our own." On his way down the river, he halted at Suttanuttee (upon which even then he had cast his eye) and negotiated in vain for peace. But the Nabob's troops came nearer and nearer; and, while Charnock was doing what he could to hinder their progress by demolishing all the forts within his reach, Captain Nichol-

son was sent to take possession of the island of Hidgelee. Then followed the occupation of Hidgelee and its siege by "Abdul Summud, the Nabob's buxy," the hasty retreat to Suttanuttee, the removal of the agency to Balasore, and finally the forcible transportation of the entire English settlement in Bengal to Madras by Captain Heath, whose six months' mad cruise around the Bay in search of a site to take the place of Hooghly reads more like a romance than like sober fact.

In all these perils and disasters the sturdy Welsh Chaplain and his wife bore their part: but they did not apparently return with Charnock to the Bay in July 1690, and were still at Fort St. George, when the Council received the news of the "trading parson's" dismissal. Evans seems to have been refused permission to leave the Presidency, and his departure in June 1693 was to all intents and purposes an escape from custody. He made his way to Suttanuttee, where Francis Ellis had just succeeded the dead Charnock as chief of the Old Company. By him he was allowed to go on to Hooghly, in spite of the positive instructions received by him to detain the "buissey politick Padre" until the arrival of Sir John Goldsborough, the "Commissary Generall and Admirall of the East India Fleet" and "Chief Governor of the Right Honorable English East India Company's Affaires," who, like Hedges, had been sent out to crush the interlopers.* But the interlopers were now becoming too strong for the Old Company, and in 1698 were destined to supplant it altogether. They had for the present established themselves in the deserted factory at Hooghly, and were doing a thriving trade, thanks to Thomas Pitt, now member of Parliament for Old Sarum, who had reached Bengal in the October of 1693, and was judiciously employing his time in bribing the Nabob of Dacca. Evans did not remain long, however, in their society. He had spent fourteen years in India and was anxious to return to England. Goldsborough was only too glad to facilitate his departure, and in February 1694, he sailed from Suttanuttee on Captain Dorrill's ship the *Charles the Second*.

The subsequent career of "the quondam Minister, but late great Merchant," as the Court of Directors sarcastically call

* Goldsborough was actually knighted by William the Third on his departure from England in 1691-92: but it is worth noticing that the prefix of Sir is often erroneously applied to the names of early servants of the Company. As Sir William Hunter has pointed out in the introduction to his History of India (now alas! to remain unfinished), the factors in India habitually addressed each other in their letters as Signor, a practice derived from the Levant merchants who were the chief founders of the East India trade: and the contraction of Signor into Sir is more than sufficient to account for the error.

him in one of their letters, is full of interest. He took an active part in founding the two Societies familiarly known as the S. P. G. and the S. P. C. K., and in 1701 he was consecrated Bishop of Bangor. In 1716 he was translated to the see of Meath, and died in 1724, leaving the whole of his large fortune to Church purposes. There is an amusing reference to him in a letter written by Thomas Pitt to Sir E. Littleton in 1701. "I hear," says Pitt, "our old friend Doctor Evans is made Bishop of Bangor, alias Bengall, and 'tis said by your means. I am glad you are soe much in love with Bishoppes, that you contribute to the making of 'em, soe hope you 'le send him home a superfine peice of Muslin to make him sleeves." Hedges gives Evans a bad character, and the redoubtable Dean Swift violently quarrelled with him in his later years over his behaviour to a "poor curate." Even Sir Henry Yule speaks of him as a "questionable ecclesiastic" and a "merchandizing padre." But Hedges was not a disinterested party, and the author of *Gulliver* would have picked a quarrel with the veriest saint on earth. Mr. Hyde, to whom is due the first complete and connected account of the career of the pioneer Chaplain of the Bay, has formed a very different estimate of his character: and there seems no reason why John Evans of Jesus College, Oxford, and Bishop of Bangor, should not claim a place as of right among the worthies annually commemorated by the patriotic Welshmen of Calcutta on St. David's Day.

We have dwelt at length upon the connection of Evans with the "parish of Bengal," for the reason that it affords an excellent illustration of the thoroughness of Mr. Hyde's methods no less than of the value of his researches. Until the appearance of Mr. Hyde's admirable article upon the First Bengal Chaplain in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review*, there was little or nothing known of Evans or of his Indian life: and Mr. C. R. Wilson, in his *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, acknowledges his indebtedness to him for nearly the whole of his information upon the subject. Mr. Hyde has been no less painstaking in his treatment of the lives of Evans' successors. But of many there is, unhappily, little to record beyond the date of their arrival, followed, after an interval of a few months, by that of their death. The name, however, of one of them, Joseph Paget, who died at Dacca in 1724 at the age of twenty-six, derives special interest from the fact that his tomb was visited by Heber exactly a century later.* During these frequent inter-

* The grave of Paget lies immediately in front of a curious octagonal Gothic tower, surmounted by a cupola, and containing three plain slabs. Heber was told by the old Durwan of the burial ground that the latter was

regnums, we are told that the factory surgeons were ordered to read the prayers, and that when on one occasion the duty was undertaken by a Member of Council, that dignitary provided himself with a suit of black clothes for the purpose—so brilliant, apparently, was the costume of the factor in the days of Queen Anne. The Calcutta of those days, according to that eighteenth century Sinbad, Captain Alexander Hamilton, was nothing if not broad-minded. "In Calcutta," he writes, "all Religions are freely tolerated but the Presbyterian, and that they browbeat. The Pagans carry their idols in Procession through the Town. The Roman Catholicks have their Church to lodge their idols in, and the Mahometan is not discountenanced : but there are no Polemics, except what are between our High Church Men and our Low, or between the Governor's Party and other private Merchants on Points of Trade." Hamilton could speak feelingly upon the latter subject, for he was himself a private merchant : and it was perhaps on that account that he found Calcutta so unnaturally inclined towards Scotchmen.

Among these forgotten padres of the early settlement, the figures stand out prominently of Benjamin Adams and William Anderson, the builders of the first Presidency Church, which stood upon the site now covered by the west end of Writers' Buildings. In 1709 it was completed and solemnly dedicated to St. Anne, out of compliment (no doubt) to the royal lady, whom, according to Pope, three realms obeyed, and who "sometimes counsel took—and sometimes tea." For half a century, the Church remained the place of worship of the Settlement. It lost its tapering spire in the furious cyclone of 1737, and in 1756 it shared in the general destruction of Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah, whom a recent Bengali historian has facetiously depicted as the mildest and most humane of men. Among his manifold labours on behalf of the Church he loves so well, Mr. Hyde has discovered the parish register of St. Anne's in duplicate at the India Office, and the whole of it has been transcribed and added to the records of St. John's.

Inseparably connected with the siege of Calcutta by "Sir Roger Dowler," as he is sometimes absurdly styled in the letters and papers of the period, are the names of Gervas Bellamy and Robert Mapletost, the then incumbents of the Chaplaincy. Bellamy, who was the senior, had been in India since 1726 and, after setting the climate at defiance for thirty years, met his

the tomb of "Columbo Sahib, Company-ka nuokur." "Who he can have been," observes the Bishop, "I do not know : his name does not sound like an Englishman's, but, as there is no inscription, the Beadle's word is the only accessible authority." Mr. Julian Cotton suggests that the mausoleum may be that of Clerembault, a Dutch Chief of the Company's factory, who was married to a Mohamedan wife,

death amid the horrors of the Black Hole. When the morning dawned (Holwell tells us) the brave old man was found dead with his son, the Lieutenant, hand in hand, near the southernmost wall of the prison. Equally gallant, and prevented by no fault of his own from sharing his colleague's fate, was Mapletoft, who did good work on the defences, and who perished from privation and exposure at Fulta, whither he had been carried against his will. Mr. Hyde dwells with pardonable pride upon these two doughty Christians, the prototypes of many a gallant padre in the ranks of our modern military chaplains. The story of the cowardly flight of Governor Drake and the Members of Council is an ignoble one. As Voltaire took occasion to say in his most biting words, the Quaker was of a very different stamp from the fighting Admiral who fell in Nombre de Dios Bay. But it is the first and only instance of its kind in the history of British India, and need not be recalled, except it be by way of contrast to the courage of those who remained behind to uphold the honour of the British name. To say, as Macaulay does, that "the Fort was taken after a feeble resistance," is to cast an unmerited slur upon Holwell and the slender garrison of which he took command. As a matter of fact, the Fort was fiercely defended for some thirty hours, and the enemy's own list of killed and wounded entirely negatives the assertion.*

Foremost among the gallant band of Englishmen was John Buchanan, Captain in the Hon'ble Company's service, who held by the Fort when Minchin, the Commandant, deserted it, and who was the senior military officer to perish in the Black Hole. From a petition, dated the 9th of June, 1758, and filed in the Calcutta Mayor's Court by Warren Hastings "of Cossimbazar, gentleman," respecting the administration of the estate of his wife's late husband, Mr. Hyde has made the interesting discovery that Buchanan's widow, Mary, was none other than the first Mrs. Hastings, who died a year later at Cossimbazar, and whose tomb in the old Residency burying ground has been daubed with a brilliant blue by the Public Works Department.† Mr. Hyde is of opinion that she was in all probability the daughter of Colonel Carolus Frederick Scott, the predecessor of Minchin as Commandant of the Company's Forces. She must have been among the ladies who were sent on board the ships when the assault on the Fort became imminent: and it

* By the confession of Surajah Dowlah's own men, over 5,000 of their troops, together with "80 jeinadars and officers of consequence," were killed in the attack upon the Fort from first to last.

† A similar indignity has (one is sorry to learn) been offered to the cenotaph of Sir Thomas Munro at Gooty in Southern India, the walls of which have been coloured a gaudy pink by some unæsthetic individual in authority.

is more than likely that Hastings, who made his way down the Ganges to Fulta after his escape from Moorshedabad, met her and, it may even be, married her in that dismal refuge. Mr. Hyde reminds us that this would not be the only marriage assignable to Fulta during the latter months of 1756 : and, although there are no records of English marriages in Bengal between February 20, 1756, and the beginning of 1758, it is at least certain that the little band of fugitives had a clergyman in their midst, even after Mapletoft's death, in the person of Richard Cobbe, the Chaplain of Admiral Watson's flagship, the Kent, and the shipmate of "good doctor Ives," who made free use of his journals in the compilation of his curious contemporary narrative. But whether Hastings was married to his first wife at Fulta or not, it is to Mr. Hyde that the credit is due of establishing the identity of the lady. Hitherto she has always been erroneously described as the widow of Captain Dugald Campbell, an officer who was accidentally shot at the capture of Budge-Budge, during the operations preceding which the entry into Calcutta of the avenging army on the 2nd of January, 1757.

On the return of the English to the Settlement, Cobbe succeeded Bellamy and Mapletoft as incumbent of the "parish of Bengal," but there is reason to believe that he never officiated publicly in Calcutta, on account of the disabling nature of the wounds received by him at the taking of Chandernagore, the memorable engagement in which, as the inscription upon his tomb in St. John's Churchyard tells us, that gallant little midshipman Billy Speke "lost his leg and life." O those who immediately followed Cobbe in the Chaplaincy, we may single out Henry Butler and William Hirst. The former went up-country on field service with Olive and was with the army, probably in Behar, when the conqueror of Surajah Dowlah returned to England in January, 1760. He appears to have been a commercial speculator as well as a cleric. But fortune did not smile upon him as she had done upon John Evans. His estate, which was considerably involved, was administered by his friend and creditor, Warren Hastings : and we read that among his effects were not only a good library of theology, but ten wigs and two gowns (let us hope both Geneva ones), fifteen sheep, a horse, two bullocks, and a palankeen. Butler's fate would seem to have served as an awful warning to the cloth, for he is the only discoverable example (says Mr. Hyde) of a Bengal Chaplain of the last century who bought and sold goods for profit with his own hands.

No less remarkable, although in a different way, was William Hirst, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Chaplain from 1762

to 1764. Hirst was quite one of the most accomplished men who have ever belonged to the Clergy of Bengal, and many a page in the transactions of the Royal Society bears witness to his scientific knowledge and his literary attainments. He had visited Lisbon shortly after the earthquake of 1755, and made a careful study of the devastated city. While staying at Government House, Madras, in June 1761, he was able to observe a transit of Venus, of which he sent a minute description to the Society: and to him also posterity is indebted for accounts of the two violent earthquakes which convulsed Bengal in 1762. It fell to his lot to preach the sermon in commemoration of the 150 gallant Englishmen who were cruelly murdered at Patna by orders of Meer Cossim Ally in October, 1763, fighting desperately to the last with bottles and plates, in default of the knives and forks of which they had treacherously been deprived by their executioner, the infamous renegade Reinhardt. Among the victims was Henry Lushington of the Civil Service, who owed his escape from death in the Black Hole to the "refreshing draughts" he drew from Holwell's shirtsleeves. He had afterwards been Clive's Secretary, and in that capacity was the author of the *loll coggedge*, the famous duplicate treaty on red paper, at the foot of which Admiral Watson's name was forged by order of Clive, for the deception of Omichund.* The news of the massacre created a great sensation in Calcutta: and, in addition to the sermon, a fortnight's general mourning was ordered, and a day of universal fasting. Hirst resigned the Chaplaincy in 1764, and for five years continued his scientific work at home. The manner of his death is shrouded in mystery: for when, in 1769, the Bengal Commission of Superintendence was appointed, he was selected to accompany them, and neither he, nor they, nor their ship were heard of again.

In the time of Hirst the place of St. Anne's had been taken by a Chapel built on the south of the eastern gateway of the old Fort and abutting on the Black Hole. For three years after the recovery of Calcutta, Protestant Calcutta had worshipped in the Portuguese Church at Moorghihatta: but the construction of the new Fort William afforded a site, and the Chapel was not only constructed, but dedicated, during the six months of Holwell's Presidentship. It remained the

* When Watson was told of the forgery on his death bed, he is said to have replied that, as there was so much iniquity among mankind, he did not wish to remain any longer among them. For an admirable account for the Patna massacre, Mr. Beveridge's article in the *Calcutta Review* for April, 1884, should be read. Reinhardt, better known by the nickname Sombre given to him on account of his swarthy complexion, was, of course, the husband of the famous Begum Sumroo, who was so anxious for Heber to visit her at Sirdhana in 1824.

Presidency Church for twenty-seven years, and was the forerunner of the present edifice. On Hirst's resignation a clergyman of the name of Parry obtained the Chaplaincy, and was incontinently dismissed, in a manner which reminds us of George the Third and the Royal Marriage Act, for solemnizing the marriage of a Member of Council without the permission of the President, who was then Lord Clive. He was restored after two years' suspension, during which he not only performed his clerical functions, but consoled himself with taking shares in the much criticised salt, betel and tobacco monopoly, sanctioned by Clive. If we are to believe the somewhat jaundiced *Considerations* of Mr. William Bolts, Parry's two-thirds share brought him in no less than £2,800 the first year, and £2,200 the second. But his enjoyment of his fortune was destined to be very brief. He lived just long enough to consecrate the Park Street South Cemetery, which took the place, in 1768, of the present St. John's Churchyard, the original burying-ground of the Factory, where to this day Charnock sleeps undisturbed amid the dust and din and steam of the town he called into existence.

The Calcutta of those days was by all accounts an uncomfortable place of residence. A lady, Mrs. Kindersley, who lived in it in 1768, describes it as being "as awkward a place as can be conceived," with mansions and hovels, warehouses and gardens jostling one another, and huddled together in inextricable confusion. So unhealthy was the climate that people met together at the end of the rains and congratulated one another on having survived another season; and sailors, by an odd distortion of the name of the old factory-house at Hooghly, spoke contemptuously of Charnock's city as another Golgotha.* And yet there was still living, in her house near the Bankshall, Mrs. Carey, the one woman who had survived the Black Hole, and who could well remember how, before the fateful siege, Calcutta had been a fenced city, and how stockades had been hurriedly erected in the Mahratta scare of 1742.† The name of her husband was to be found

* Herron in stating his sailing directions for taking a ship down from Hooghly to the sea, speaks of Gull Gat. This was the site of the old English Factory, Gholghat, a name still preserved in the "Gholghat Dispensary" at Hooghly. It was probably (says Sir Henry Yule) some confusion between the English establishments at Gholghat and at Calcutta which led to the extraordinary forms which we find Frenchmen giving to the latter name, e.g., Golgonthe (Luillier, 1705). Sonnerat (1782) though he writes the name Calcuta, improves upon this by saying the English both write and pronounce it Golgota. Such grotesque perversions were only too common: but perhaps the palm may be given to "Jno. Gernaete," which appears in an MS. of 1680 as a substitute for Juggernaut.

† The precaution was no idle one. In 1748, the main body of Mahrattas was as near as Burdwan, and they plundered the Cossimbazar boats. The

upon Holwell's monument to his fellow-sufferers, which immediately faced the main gate of the old Fort, and stood as near as possible to the ravelin where the bodies of the victims were flung into a common grave.*

In those early days, the Governor's house and gardens lay hard by the Fort, and the grounds extended from the river bank right up to the Lal Bagh with its splendid tank, which we have disguised to-day under the name of Dalhousie Square, and which was the rendezvous and recreation-ground of the Settlement. Northward, through what is now Clive Street, ran the road to Perrin's Garden, where it had once been the height of gentility for the covenanted servants of the Company to take their wives for an evening stroll or a moonlight fête. But Perrin's had dropped out of favour so early as 1752; and Bellamy lived to see Buchanan's powder-factory established in its shady walks, and the patronage of the beauty and fashion of Calcutta transferred to Surman's Garden in Cooly Bazar, nowadays re-christened by the more euphonious name of Hastings. East of the Circular Road, which commemorates the Mahratta Ditch, was Halsi Bagan, the garden house of Omichund, where Holwell and his three companions were brought in June, 1756, the day after the terrible scene in the Black Hole, and left all night in a three-foot tent exposed to torrents of tropical rain. On the western side of Tank Square, where now the Post-office and the Custom-house meet the eye, towered the old Fort, in which were lodged the factors and writers, as well as the two hundred soldiers of the garrison, whose chief business it was to guard the Company's boats of merchandise, as they travelled slowly down the river from Dacca and Cossimbazar and Patna. St. Anne's Church had stood to the west of what is now Writers' Buildings, but which were then undreamt of. The principal houses clustered north of the Church and the Lal Diggee. Adjoining the graveyard was the Company's powder-magazine, and the hospital of which Alexander Hamilton wrote that "many go in to undergo the Penance of Physic, but few came out to give an account of its Operation." Around the two hundred and twenty acres of Christian Calcutta there ran a row of palisades. They were

same year they were at Balasore, which they subsequently captured in 1760, and in 1761, they besieged Midnapore for no less than fourteen days, reducing the inhabitants to the verge of starvation. It was not until 1803 that Lord Wellesley finally drove the Mahratta hordes out of Orissa.

* The obelisk, which was a familiar object in Calcutta for over sixty years, was removed in 1821, and its place is now usurped by Sir Aschley Eden's statue. So thoroughly was the work of demolition effected that no trace even has been found of the tablets with which Holwell adorned it. Tradition connects this act of vandalism with the then Governor-General, the Marquess of Hastings, but Dr. Busted has shown that there is little, if any, corroboration in contemporary writings to support the story.

continued along the river face, and the edge of the creek whose entrance stretched from Koyla Ghaut to what is now Hastings Street and whose course is still perpetuated by the name of Creek Row. It was on the banks of this creek, on the spot now occupied by the Scotch Church, that the southern battery was thrown up in 1757: and so paltry was the extent of the early settlement that the two remaining batteries of any importance were situated, the one on the river bank at the foot of the modern Clive Ghaut Street, and the other where Hastings Street, Council House Street and Government Place now meet.

The old burying-ground itself lay on the south, and there was a gated bridge opening from it across the creek at the south-east corner of the present St. John's Church, and another at the opposite corner leading to the gun-powder magazine. Here there was the third redoubt, of which we have just made mention. The creek took a half turn around it, and crept westwards, the palisades running parallel with it across Wellesley Place and Ranee Moodee Gully. Thence they took a northerly course, along Mission Row and Mangoe Lane to Lall Bazar, when there were even then crossroads and a cutchery. The entrance to the bailey, which ran around the whole town within the palisades, was Fancy Lane, which Mr. Hyde takes to be the site of the old gallows-tree, from the resemblance of its name to the native word *phansi*. * The northernmost limit of the town was Rajah Woodmunt's Street: and the palisades included within their ambit the edge of Old China Bazar, and the Portuguese and Armenian Churches. Every road issuing from the town was secured by a gate, and at the river-end of each was a gated ghaut.

But there was now no longer any fear of an invasion of the "Morattoes:" and the Ditch was acquiring far more enduring fame as an object of offence than it had ever done as one of defence. Although the maidan, where the Cathedral now stands, was still a forest, infested with dacoits and wild elephants, building was going on within the precincts of the settlement with great rapidity, and the number of English residents was yearly multiplying. Chowringhee was not yet the street of palaces which it now is, and the inhabitants still lived in what is to-day the business quarter of Calcutta; but the more wealthy had garden houses beyond Tolly's Nullah and in the north of the town. The Collector's House at Alipore,

* The suggestion of the bailey has not, we believe, been before made Mr. Hyde has, however, by the aid of a plan or map which he has discovered in the British Museum, made its existence quite clear, and there can be no doubt, we think, of the correctness of his surmise.

which was later on to be the infant home of Thackeray*, was the country lodge of Sir Philip Francis, where the author of Junius and his boon-companions strove to conquer the unconquerable mental and physical stagnation of Indian exile with cards and wine. Hastings received his guests at Belvedere and came into Calcutta for the purposes only of business. His private office and the Council Chamber were in Esplanade Row, almost facing the Government House of his successors: and his initials were to be found, until recently, scratched upon a pane of glass in one of the windows of the corner-house.†

The beautiful Mrs. Imhoff, or "Baroness Imhoff," as she is usually styled, who became the Governor-General's second wife, is said to have held her *salon* in Hastings Street. Old Court House Street recalls memories of the Old Court House, which stood at its northern extremity on the spot where the steeple cock of St. Andrew's Kirk crows triumphantly over the Bishop of Calcutta. Behind it, in the north-western corner of Lyon's Range, was the old Theatre. Mr. Justice Hyde, the chronicler of Nuncomar's trial, and the hero of the "siccās, siccās, brother Impey," story, occupied a house on the site of the present Town Hall: and Sir Elijah's villa *inter paludes* is the Loretto Convent in the Middleton Row of to-day. The name of Park Street testifies to the spacious compound which surrounded the Chief Justice's mansion: but the thoroughfare was once known as Burial-ground Road, from the fact that it led to the cemetery which Parry had consecrated, and in which he himself reposes. It was long the custom for way-farers to form themselves into large parties before braving its unseen terrors: but the change of appellation has, happily, calmed all such fears of the supernatural. Lall Bazar was the fashionable resort of the day. At the angle which it makes with Bow Bazar was the Boytaconnah, the historic tree under whose spreading branches Job Charnock made up his mind to found his city of Calcutta. The modern Police-office was once the palace of John Palmer, the son of Hastings' Secretary, and a King among merchant-princes. Opposite was the old jail in which Hickey and Nuncomar were confined. At the cross

* The novelist was actually born, on July 18 1811, in the house in Free School Street which is now the Armenian College; but five months later his father was appointed Collector of the Twenty-Four Pergunnahs, and it was at Alipore he lived until, on the 13th September 1815, Richmond Thackeray was borne to his last resting place in the North Park-street burying-ground.

† In Colonel Wood's Map of 1784, the Council House is shown at a different spot, i.e. at the north-eastern corner of Council House Street, where the Accountant-General's Office now stands. But local tradition places an earlier Council Chamber at the spot indicated in the text.

roads stood the place of public execution, and on the same gruesome site a pillory was set up, one of whose involuntary occupants was said to have been alive as lately as 1852. Next door was the Harmonic Tavern, whose renown still rings through the dim vista of years as the scene of all the gaiety and revelry in old Calcutta. On the river bank, now no longer palisaded, there was hardly a ghaut which was not rapidly growing rich with historical associations. Chiefest among them was Chandpal Ghaut. For it was here that Francis and his fellow-councillors landed in 1774 after having spent five weary days in the journey from Kedgerree. Here, too, it was that Impey and the first judges of the Supreme Court set foot in India. And it was here also that the famous Chief Justice, as he contemplated the bare legs and feet of the multitude who crowded round to witness his arrival, cried aloud, in an outburst of misplaced humanity, "See, brother, the wretched victims of tyranny. The Crown Court was surely not established before it was needed. I trust that it will not have been in operation six months before we shall see all these poor creatures comfortably clothed in shoes and stockings."

Amid these signs of growing importance and prosperity, the need for a more commodious Parish Church began to be felt: and the lady to whose letters we have already referred, complains that the "only apology" for a place of worship in the town was "some rooms" in the old Fort. There was no lack of vivacity, however, in the audiences who attended to listen to the twenty-sixthlies and twenty-seventhlies of the preacher. We learn from the sprightly young lady who wrote under the name of Sophia Goldbourne, that at Church "ancient sanction" allowed any gentleman without introduction to meet any lady at the entrance as she stepped from her palankeen, and, taking her hand, to lead her to her seat. The gallants who availed themselves of this antique usage, were mostly "old fellows," who chiefly made a point of "repairing to the holy dome" on the Sundays after the arrival of Europe ships, and not seldom a choice for life had thus been made, the new importations "becoming brides in the utmost possible splendour," having "their rank instantaneously established and are visited and paid every honour to which the consequence of their husbands entitles them." We have no doubt that they squabbled over precedence in much the same way as the Factor's wife and the Surgeon's wife in 1706, who became deadly enemies because the latter was so rude and so persistent as to "squat herself down," Sunday after Sunday, in the chair which the former lady should have graced. Matters, indeed, went so far in this particular case that Mr. Arthur King, the indignant Factor, formally complained to the Council and

laid upon them all responsibility for "any disturbance or unseemly conduct that may arise in consequence." Mr. Hyde says he would like to know—and so, we confess, would we—whether Mrs. Factor ever did go so far as to snatch Mrs. Surgeon's bonnet from off her aggravating head: but the muse of history, in her usual provoking way, refuses to enlighten us on the point.

In 1770, the year after the death of Parry, there arrived in Calcutta, as Chaplain, William Johnson. Fate has ordained that his fame should survive as the fourth and last husband of the much-married "Begum Johnson," who had not only been wife of a member of Council in the days of Colonel Clive and the Black Hole, but could also boast of being the grand-mother of an English Prime Minister, and who lived to see John Company dictating terms to Holkar and Scindia and the very Mahrattas whose onslaught upon Calcutta she had once so much dreaded.* Mr. Hyde reminds us, however, that Johnson has other claims to our recollection: for it is to his energy that we owe the present Church of St. John's. In 1776 he petitioned the Council to provide a permanent building in lieu of the makeshift in the disused Fort: and the matter was referred home to the Court of Directors. There the matter was shelved for seven years: and it was not until 1782 that the project finally took shape. All memory of St. Anne's had vanished, and Writers' Buildings had been erected, without opposition from the Chaplain, upon the spot upon which it had once stood. No thought was entertained of building upon the old site, and the ground upon which St. John's now stands was still occupied by the old gunpowder magazine yard. But its appropriateness was undeniable, for it immediately adjoined the old burying-ground of the days of Gervas Bellamy, where lay the bones not only of Job Charnock, *conditor urbis*, "always a faithful man to his Company" (as his

* Mr. Hyde will forgive us for pointing out that he is in error in describing Johnson as the Begum's fifth husband. She had been previously married, as the inscription on her tomb in St. John's Churchyard tells us, firstly in 1738, at the age of 13, to Parry Purple Templer, nephew of Thomas Braddyll, then President at Calcutta: secondly, some five years later, to James Altham, of the Civil Service, who died a few days after the marriage: and thirdly, after a widowhood of two years, to William Watts, who had been senior Member of Council and Chief of Moorshedabad at the time of the taking of Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah. Amelia, her eldest daughter by Mr. Watts, married Charles Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool, and was the mother of the Prime Minister. The Begum herself married Johnson in 1774, and survived until 1812, when she died at the age of 87 "the oldest British resident in Bengal, universally beloved, respected and revered." She refused to accompany her husband to England in 1788, and he had to console himself as best he could with the three and a half lakhs of rupees he carried away with him by way of a competence. The Begum's house was in Clive Street, where the Bonded Warehouse and Commercial Buildings now stand, and where Governor Cruttenden had lived in the days before the siege.

masters gratefully described him after his death) but of Admiral Watson and of a host of unremembered worthies of olden time, such as Ralph Sheldon, the first Collector of Calcutta in the days of good Queen Anne, "no unworthy scion of the great house of Sheldon," as the Latin inscription upon his tomb proclaims him.* Hastings himself took the greatest interest in the progress of the scheme. The land had been sold by the Company some seven or eight years previously, and it was at the suggestion of the Governor-General himself, that the land was generously handed over by the proprietor, Maharajah Nubkissen, the ancestor of the Sobhabazar family, whose patronymic, we may add, is Deb and not Dey, as misprinted on page 81 of Mr. Hyde's book.

There still remained the money to collect: and Mr. Hyde gives an amusing account of the lottery which was started to enlarge the building Fund, and which was for five months the rage of the settlement. The arrangements were on an ambitious scale. Three thousand tickets were offered for sale at ten gold mohurs a piece: and, as a reward to the venturesome, three hundred and thirty-five prizes were announced, varying in amount from one lakh to five hundred *sicca* rupees. In addition, the holder of the first ticket drawn out of the wheel of fortune was to receive ten thousand rupees, and the lucky possessor of the last, twenty thousand. The local poets burst incontinently into song upon so inviting a subject; and when, on Friday, August 6, 1784, the drawing commenced at the Old Court House, excitement was intense.

"Here you might see in brilliant rows
 Beauties balloon'd and powder'd beaus,
 Such anxious fidgets—'How d'ye feel?'
 'Law, Sir, my ticket's in the wheel!'
 'I hope, dear ma'am, 'twill be a prize;—'
 'I hope so too,' dear ma'am replies."

Behind these "anxious fidgets" waved the great palm-leaf fans, fringed and brilliantly painted: and the wheels were placed in the centre upon a well-raised platform. Mr. Hyde does not tell us who carried off the lakh of *sicca* rupees, but the first ticket drawn, which brought ten thousand rupees to its owner, was curiously enough, a blank. The drawings continued for ten days, and the excitement grew greater and greater, as the chief prizes were not won until quite the end. When the

* Two Chief Justices of Bengal, Sir Robert Henry Blosset (1823) and Sir Christopher Puller (1824) are also interred within its precincts, side by side with Sir Benjamin Malkin, Judge of the Supreme Court (1837) and Bishop Turner (1831). It is a melancholy commentary on the short lived character of an Indian reputation that Malkin and Puller are better known as part authors of musty law reports and Blosset as the uncle of George Grote, than as occupants of the Calcutta Bench.

JOHN COMPANY'S PADRES

accounts were finally adjusted, it was discovered that no less than Rs. 36,800 Company's rupees had been realized for the Fund.

On the preceding 6th of April, the foundation stone was solemnly laid by Mr. Edward Wheler, the senior Member of Council, in the absence of the Governor-General who was up-country. While preparing the foundations for the steeple, or western porch, the gravestone was discovered of William Hamilton, the famous surgeon who had accompanied Surman and Stephenson in their embassy to Delhi in 1715, and whose cure of "Ferrukseer, the present king of Indostan, of a malignant distemper" obtained for the English a permanent footing in Bengal. It was suggested by Hastings that it should be placed in the centre niche of the entrance at the east end of the Church; but for some reason or other, this was not carried out, and the stone has found a resting place in the Charnock Mausoleum, where it may still be seen by those who love to muse upon the beginnings of the English in India. Finally, on the 24th of June 1787, "a very numerous and respectable company of ladies and gentlemen assembled" to witness the consecration. At their head was Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, and one wonders if his mind carried him back to the days when the Governor and Council and the civil and military servants of the Company marched in solemn Sunday procession to the little factory Church at Hooghly, and when umbrellas of state were solemnly reserved for the members of Council and his reverence the Chaplain.*

And here we must regretfully take our leave of Mr. Hyde's fascinating pages. To all those who desire to know more of the Calcutta of periwigs and patches, of hookah-burdars and torch-bearers, of Holwell and Francis, we heartily recommend the "Parish of Bengal." And who is there in these days of deplorable bustle and racket and matter of fact, that can resist the temptation of a sentimental journey into this land of dreams, in which Englishmen lived in state, and fortunes were still to be made by shaking the pagoda-tree? The illustrations with which the book is adorned are an all powerful lure in themselves. Mr. Hyde has freely placed at our disposal the many treasures with which he has adorned the walls of the vestry-room at St. John's. Side by side with

* "1676, 16th August—" There being an ill custom in the ffactory of writers having roundells carried over their heads .. it is therefore ordered that noe person in this ffactory shall have a roundell carried over them, but such as are of the Councell and the Chaplaine"—Diary of Streynsham Master, Governor of Fort St. George, quoted by Sir Henry Yule in his notes to Hedges' Diary. But although the Chaplain in those days was allowed a roundell or umbrella, he was denied a palankeen, which was strictly reserved for the Chief and the Second of Council.

the portraits of John Evans and Mapletost, are those of Charles Weston, the friend and patron of Holwell, and Sealy, the ancestor of a Viceroy in the person of Lord Northbrook. In a succession of pictures drawn from every conceivable source, we trace the development of Calcutta and its Parish Church, from the days of Holwell and the palisades up to the times of our great-grand-father the Director. We are privileged to see in the original register the entry made by Chaplain Johnson of the marriage of "Miss Varlé of Chandernagore and Mr. Francis Grand, writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service," and immediately below, by the strangest of coincidences the record of the union of Warren Hastings and his "dearest Marian," the beautiful Mrs. Imhoff.* Upon another page we can acquaint ourselves, from the neat scholarly writing of Sir William Jones himself, with the reasons why he and his brother-judges of the Supreme Court declined to subscribe to the fund for the building of St. John's: and upon yet another we may read, in Hastings' own words, his modest acceptance of the compliment paid to him by inscribing his name on the first stone of the new Church. The mausoleum of Charnock is not forgotten, nor the famous altarpiece of Zoffany, the "Last Supper," in which the artist has immortalized his friends (and enemies) in Calcutta.

Amid such an *embarras de richesses* it is perhaps ungracious on our part to ask for more. But there are two other entries in the marriage registers of St. John's of which we should have been glad to secure a glimpse—the entries which record the marriages of William Makepeace Thackeray's parents and grand-parents.† Nor can we help wishing that Mr. Hyde had been able to see his way to reproducing the map of Calcutta in 1742, which he mentions on page 43 as preserved in the British Museum, and a page or two of the registers of St. Anne's. And yet we have really no right to make such a demand, for we have rarely, if ever, seen so interesting or so unique a collection of illustrations, as they stand. The pity is that Mr. Hyde has not been able to instil something of

* Madame Grand was married at Hooghly on July 10, 1777. The date of Hastings' marriage is almost exactly one month later—August 8.

† "Sylhet" Thackeray, who bore the same Christian names as his grandson, and who came out in India in 1766 in the same ship as Madame Grand's future husband, was married in St. John's Church, on the 31st January, 1776, to Miss Amelia Richmond Webb, a descendant of the General Webb, of Wynendael fame, who is immortalized in *Esmond*. Their second son, Richmond, was the novelist's father, and was married in his turn, on the 13th October 1810, to the daughter of John Harman Becher, whose kinsman Richard Becher had shared with his wife the agonies of the flight to Fulta, and was the colleague in Council of Clive and Holwell in the happier days which followed it.

his reverence and affection for the past into those who have disfigured the first Mrs. Hastings' tomb at Berhampore, have allowed Holwell's monument to his fellow-sufferers in the Black Hole to fall into ruin,* and have not scrupled to erect an unsightly red brick building in the midst of the historic compound of St. John's. This last act of vandalism must have gone to the heart of Mr. Hyde. We can almost fancy that his regret at departure from his beloved parish was not altogether untinged with relief at escape from residence in a parsonage the garish inelegance of which must jar upon the nerves of every man of sentiment and taste. For there are few pastors of whom it can be so truly said, as of Mr. Hyde, that his Church has been to him almost as a daughter: and it would have been difficult to devise a more touching or more appropriate parting tribute than the one he has chosen to offer her. We shall look forward with renewed interest to the larger volume of "Church Annals of Bengal" which we understand he is actively preparing.

H. E. A. COTTON.

* It has been reserved for Lord Curzon to repair in some measure for the grievous wrong done to these forgotten heroes; and we record with pleasure the fact that His Excellency has ordered the placing of a marble tablet with a suitable inscription upon the spot where they met their tragic death. But we hope that this is only the beginning of a series of similar acts. "Let us praise famous men" runs the text so familiar as University and College commemorations. There are none worthier of remembrance than the stout-hearted souls who lived and died at their work of making Calcutta: yet where are the streets which honour the memory of Charnock and Watson and Holwell and Sheldon?

ART. V.—HINDU SOCIETY IN THE RATIONALISTIC AGE.

(B.C. 1000 to B. C. 260).

(*Independent Section.*)

SOME information about the manners and customs of the Hindus during the Rationalistic Age is to be gathered from the accounts of Greek travellers in India.

Megasthenes, in describing the Hindus, says :—

“They live happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine, except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor extracted from rice, instead of barley; and their food is principally a rice potage. The simplicity of their laws and contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges and deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess sober sense. Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem.”

The religious and domestic ceremonies performed by the Hindus underwent further expansion during this period. It is unnecessary, for the most part, to give any detailed account of these ceremonies, as the bulk of them have fallen into desuetude, and so have little interest for modern Hindus. We confine ourselves to two important survivals of them, *viz.*, the *Sradha* and the *Durga Poojah*. *Sradha*, as its name implies, is an act of veneration to one's departed relations. It is natural for mankind to commemorate the memory of their deceased kinsmen by some token or periodic celebration. Some people put on mourning; some erect tombs, temples or churches; some establish charitable institutions, and the Hindus, over and above monumental endowments and charitable works, perform *Sradhas*, or periodical celebrations, in honour of their departed forefathers and other relations.

All Hindu ceremonies possess an inner or spiritual import. Taken in their outward aspect, and from an economic point of view, they may appear to be ugly, superstitious and extravagant acts. But when the inspiring motive, the rationale, and the poetry of the thing are understood, they excite our admiration rather than contempt. When the Hindu offers cakes and libations of water to his departed forefathers, it is not to be supposed that he superstitiously

believes that the deceased is able actually to partake of them. Similar is the case when he offers certain choice things to the gods. The offer in both cases is a sort of dedication, as when we dedicate a book to some respectable and learned person. The Hindu is enjoined to take *prosad*, or the remnant of the food partaken of by his *guru*, or spiritual leader, or parents. He considers it an act of disrespect and selfishness to take his meals without a thought or care to see that they have been first satisfied. This deferential act towards the living is also done towards the deceased, in order to show that death has not altered, in the least, the son's respect for his parents, and that he would still take their *prosad*; that he cannot rest satisfied without associating the good things he enjoys with the memory of those to whom he owes his existence and welfare. The thought of even imaginary ingratitude, or what may appear to be the semblance of ingratitude, is unbearable to a true Hindu.

The Durga Poojah is the grandest annual religious festival of the Hindus. It lasts three days in Ashin or Kartick; the *bhashan*, or the ceremony of immersion of the image in water, taking place on the fourth day, when, for a few days following, friends and acquaintances, happening to meet together, generally embrace one another. The Courts and other offices being closed, the people make a very merry time of it. They dress themselves in their best, holding a sort of *conversazione*. The poor are relieved and fed, and the rich entertained with sumptuous banquets, *jatras*, or musical performances, and various other sorts of diversions. The Poojah, which is considerably on the decline owing to the spread of English education, may be undesirable on grounds of economy, but its usefulness in creating a strong and sacred bond of national unity cannot be over-estimated. There cannot be a Hindu family without its religion: religion being closely interwoven with social customs and manners. What is really worshipped is not the image in mud sculpture, but the attributes of the Deity, conceived through the medium of the image. And this periodical public acknowledgment of the Creator by the Hindus appears to contrast favourably with the absorbing secularism and gross materialism of Western civilisation. This happy blending and association of pleasure with religious and charitable acts, is perhaps peculiar to the Indian system alone. The friendly embrace on the Bejoia and succeeding days is a great factor of social unity; even enemies forget their old quarrels and are reconciled to one another, if they happen to meet on such days, when they cannot avoid this ceremony of courtesy. Taking place shortly after, and being associated with, the grand Poojah, it works as a charm in healing old sores and confirming friendships.

This age witnessed the birth of Buddhism, which is not essentially different from Hinduism, but rather a rationalistic view of it. Its founder was Gautama Buddha, who proclaimed it in the year 522 B.C. Self-culture is the corner-stone of this doctrine. Self-culture, leading to purity of heart and equanimity of mind, is what develops humanity best. Buddha rejected the Vedic rites and ceremonies as worthless. He denounced penances and religious austerities, on the one hand, and vicious self-indulgence on the other. He was for a golden mean between these extremes. His religion was essentially a religion of equality and love. He repudiated caste-distinctions and was an advocate of universal brotherhood. His mission was to promote equality, fraternity, and piety. The ethical value of Buddhism is very great. "It breathes a spirit of benevolence and of forgiveness, of charity, and love." The following extracts from the *Dhammapada*, a collection of the moral precepts of Buddha, will give some idea of his teachings :—

"Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time ; hatred ceases by love.

Let one overcome anger by love. Let him overcome evil by good. Let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth, and so on."

Buddha's doctrine of Nirvana presents a difficult problem, requiring a careful solution. Does it inculcate utter annihilation of the soul ? Such a hypothesis would involve a moral absurdity. It would be inconsistent with the goodness and justice of God, who rewards the virtuous and punishes the vicious. We see that virtue often suffers and vice prospers. If the termination of our physical existence puts an end to our spiritual existence, and if there is no future life in which such apparently unjust disparities of condition are to be adjusted, how can they be otherwise reconciled ? Moreover, how can the capacity of the human soul for infinite perfection be fully developed if its existence is limited to the short span of life allotted to us here ? "How can we," asks Addison, "find that wisdom that shines through all God's works in the formation of man, without looking on this world as only a nursery for the next, and believing that the several generations of rational creatures, which rise up and disappear in such quick succession, are only to receive the rudiments of existence here, and afterwards to be transplanted into a more friendly climate where they may spread and flourish to all eternity ?"

According to the *Geeta* the soul is imperishable.

The soul cannot be pierced by weapons, burned by fire, dissolved by water, or dried up by air.

Chap. II, v. 23.

Nirvana, then, does not mean the utter annihilation of the

soul. It would be an insult to the understanding of the great religious reformer, Buddha, to attribute such a meaning to him. What he meant by the term was the absorption of the soul in God, the Eternal Soul from which it emanated. In other words a state of perfect freedom from sin, the highest development of humanity, amounting to Godhead.

As remarked by Dr. Hunter, "life, according to Buddha, must always be more or less painful, and the object of every good man is to get rid of the evils of existence by merging his individual soul into the universal soul. This is Nirvana, literally 'cessation.'"

In the Gospel of Buddha, by Dr. Paul Carus, which is a compilation of the translations of the Buddhist Scriptures by prominent scholars and acknowledged authorities, Nirvana is explained as meaning "the peace of God that passeth all understanding."

About 256 B. C., Asoka, the King of Magadha, or Behar, became a zealous convert to Buddhism. He did for Buddhism what the Emperor Constantine did for Christianity,—made it a State religion. This he accomplished by five means :—

- (1) By a Council to settle the faith ;
- (2) By Edicts setting forth its principles ;
- (3) By a State Department to watch over its purity ;
- (4) By Missionaries to spread its doctrines ;
- (5) By an Authoritative Revision or Canon of the Buddhist Scriptures.

The law of *Karma* was brought into prominence by Buddha, who preached that our salvation depended, not upon the performance of religious rites and ceremonies, but upon our Karma, or conduct. He thus brought spiritual deliverance to the people by doing away with sacrifices, and with the priestly claims of the sacerdotal class as mediators between God and man.

HINDU SOCIETY IN THE BUDDHIST AGE (B. C. 260 to A. D. 500).

A glimpse of the social life of the Hindus during this age can be obtained from the accounts of Chinese travellers to India.

Fa Hian, who came to India about A. D. 400, thus speaks of the people of Northern India :

"The people are well off, without poll tax or official restrictions ; only those who till the royal lands return a portion of the profit of the land. The Kings govern without corporal punishment. Criminals are fined lightly, or heavily, according to circumstances. Even in cases of repeated rebellion, they

only cut off the right hand. Throughout the country the people kill no living creature, nor drink wine, nor do they eat garlic or onions, with the exception of *Chandals* only."

Our attention should be drawn to that part of the account where the traveller observes that throughout the country the people kill no living creature, nor drink wine. It indicates a high order of civilisation which even Western culture has failed completely to attain. Even the degenerated Hindus of the present day are peculiarly noted for sobriety and scrupulous regard for animal life. Such happy results are due to the teachings of Buddha and the catholicity of the Hindu religion. Cruelty in all its forms has always been declaimed against by moralists, especially by the Aryan Hindus.

From the same source we learn that the Hindus of this period were honest and upright. They were faithful to their oaths and promises; being without craftiness or deceit. They dreaded the retribution of a future life, and made light of the things of the present world.

The Hindus lost their empire in India mainly on account of this disposition, of making light of the things of the present world. The principal duty of the Hindu kings was to please their subjects and consult their real interests. They were looked up to as the natural rulers and leaders of mankind, and their authority was supported more by moral and spiritual, than by physical, force. Their easy subjugation by plundering and marauding barbarians was not due to the discontent of their subjects, or to want of social amalgamation, or national unity, but to their apathy and indifference to material prosperity and self-aggrandisement, their hearts being more bent upon securing a place in heaven, than consolidating an empire on earth.

The administration of the country was, we state on the authority of Houen Tsang, conducted on benign principles, the charge of maintaining the administration, preparing religious sacrifices, rewarding merit and patronising learning, and of affording charitable relief, being all met by assignment of lands of the State. Those who cultivated the royal estates paid one-sixth part of the produce as tribute. The taxes of the people were light, and the personal service required of them was moderate.

This appears to have been a more extensive system of feudal tenure than that which prevailed in medieval Europe. It was calculated to afford great encouragement to agriculture. Ample provision was made for rewarding men of distinguished ability; charity and religion were fostered. Above all, the people were allowed a considerable latitude of self-government. They were happy and prosperous, as the incidence of taxa-

tion and the State demand for a share of the produce of the Crown lands were light.

"The union of the village communities," says Mr. Elphinstone, "each one forming a separate little State in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause, to the preservation of the people through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

The accounts of India given by Chinese travellers are in perfect accord with those of Megasthenes, a Greek ambassador at the Court of Chundra Gupta. He observed with admiration the absence of slavery in India, the chastity of the women, and the courage of the men. In valour they excelled all other Asiatics; they required no locks to their doors; above all, no Indian was ever known to lie. Sober and industrious, good farmers and skilful artisans, they scarcely ever had recourse to a law-suit, living peaceably under their native Chiefs. The kingly government is portrayed almost as described in the Code of Manu. The village system is well described, each little rural unit seeming to the Greek an independent republic.

The body of the Aryan Hindus still formed three separate castes, Brahmans, Kshattriyas and Vaisyas; and all of them were equally entitled to wear the sacred thread, to study the Vedas and to perform religious rites and ceremonies. The Sudras, or conquered aborigines, were excluded from the learning and the religious rites of the Aryans, but nevertheless, they lived under their protection and adopted Hindu manners and customs. Sir William Hunter charges the Indo-Aryans with cruelty towards the Sudras. But a careful insight into Hindu Society cannot fail to disclose real homogeneity amidst apparent heterogeneousness. It is erroneous to suppose that the Indo-Aryans treated the Sudras after the manner of Russian serfs, Greek helots, or Roman plebeians. They were regarded more as children and dependents than slaves or conquered people. There was not that feeling of humiliation and self-debasement under a foreign yoke on the one hand, or haughty domineering and insulting deportment on the other, that are frequently now observed in the relations between the natives and Anglo-Indians.

But whatever was the state of things in this respect in ancient times, it is evident that the Hindu castes, as they exist at present, are drawn towards one another by ties of sympathy and common religion.

Sub-castes were not formed in this age, although the Vaisyas followed various professions, such as those of goldsmiths,

blacksmiths, potters, weavers, &c. Professional castes had not then been established, and the Vaisyas, following all the different professions, still formed one undivided caste, being permitted to study the Vedas and wear the sacred thread.

The marriage of girls at a mature age was looked upon with disfavour, and, with the frequent invasion of foreigners and the insecurity of the times, the custom of early marriage, *i.e.*, of placing little girls under the protection of their husbands came into vogue. Widow marriage, which was freely allowed, in ancient times, was also now discouraged, though not prohibited. Inter-caste marriages were still allowed under the old restrictions, *viz.*, that a girl of a higher caste should be confined by marriage to a family of her own caste. The inhuman custom of Sati was not yet known in India. Thus, though some unhealthy customs were gradually creeping into Hindu society with the gradual decline of national vigour and life, women were still regarded with respect and honour.

This position of respect and honour, the Hindu female has not materially lost, as some European writers seem to think. No doubt, she is kept under tutelage, first of her father, then of her husband, and lastly of her son. But she is certainly not treated as a slave or menial drudge. Her labour is a labour of love; she prefers the comfort and happiness of her parents, husband and children to her own. Self-denial, patient endurance, economy, simplicity, modesty, tenderness and sincere affection are the principal features of her character. Love, as depicted in English novels, plays but a small part in Indian society, for the choice of a mate is not often left by Indian custom to the parties concerned; but its absence is more than compensated by the intensity of the attachment that exists between members of the same family. The family in the old sense of the word still exists in India. In England it is a very different institution. The romance of Indian life is the romance, not of the individual, but of the family. There is good and there is evil in both systems, but it is far from certain that the advantage is wholly on the English side.

The life of the ancient Hindus was materially simple and spiritually sublime. Mr. Elphinstone draws a comparison between them and other ancient nations;

"Of all ancient nations the Egyptians are the ones whom the Hindus seem most to have resembled; it might be easier to compare them with the Greeks as painted by Homer, who was nearly contemporary with the compiler of the Code of Manu, and, however inferior in spirit and energy, as well as in elegance, to that heroic race, yet on contrasting their laws and forms of administration, the state of the arts of life and the general spirit of order and obedience to the laws, the eastern nation

seems clearly to have been in the more advanced stage of society. Their internal institutions were less rude ; their conduct to their enemies more humane ; their general learning was much more considerable ; and in the knowledge of the being and nature of God, they were clearly in possession of a light which was but faintly perceived even by the loftiest intellects in the best days of Athens."

HINDU SOCIETY IN THE PAURANIK AGE (A. D. 500 TO 1200).

Hindu religion underwent a gradual change until the Vedic system was thoroughly replaced by Pauranik Hinduism. Elaborate religious rites and ceremonies took the place of the Vedic sacrifices, and image-worship was introduced. As remarked by Mr. Dutt "The essential and cardinal doctrines of both forms of Hinduism are identical. They both recognise One Great God,—the all pervading breath, the universal soul,—Brahma ; they both maintain that the universe is an emanation from Him and will resolve into Him ; they both recognise rewards and punishments in after-life or lives according to our deeds in this world ; and they both insist on the final absorption of our souls in the Great Deity. But, while identical in essential principles, the two forms of Hinduism differ in minor doctrines and observances. The main difference in doctrine is, that the Vedic religion insists on the worship of the manifestations of Nature, called Indra or Surjya, Agni or Varuna, and led up to the worship of the Great Deity. The Pauranik religion, on the other hand, worshipped the Great Deity in his three-fold power of creation, preservation and destruction under the names of Brahma, Vishnu and Moheshwara, and legends of numerous other gods and goddesses were added to fill the popular mind and excite the popular imagination."

The Purans, eighteen in number, are divided into three classes, *viz.*, those sacred to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva respectively. They are very voluminous, containing about 400,000 slokas, or couplets of verses. They were principally composed in the Vikramadityan age, *i.e.*, in the two centuries and a half from 500 to 750 A.D., although they may have been largely added to in subsequent times, even after the Mohammedan conquest. While the Purans narrate the legends of gods and goddesses and inculcate image-worship, another class of works called the Dharma-Shastras lay down rules of action for men. The principal compilers of these Shastras were Parasara and Vyasa.

At a later period were composed the Tantras, which were calculated to counteract the evil influences of the Sankhya

Philosophy, and the Charrak, or Atheistical School. There are now two rival classes of Pundits, namely, those belonging to the Vedic and those belonging to the Tantric Schools. Each of them considers his rivals as the exponents of a false or mistaken religion. This antagonism is highly objectionable and based on a misunderstanding of the true spirit of the Hindu Scriptures, from the Vedas down to the Tantras. There is a substantial agreement in these religious works as to the fundamental principles of Hinduism, although there may be minor differences as to the modes of worship, or rites and ceremonies. Neither nature-worship nor image-worship is idolatrous; both are intended to offer worship to One Supreme God, through the medium either of Nature or of the image.

As nature-worship is worship of God in nature, so image-worship is worship of God through an image. The Hindu does not worship the clay or stone image before him, but conceives the attributes of the Deity through the medium of an image, which serves only to fix his mind. True religion is Samipya, feeling the presence of God, Sayuyya being one with Him, and Salokya, living in Him. These are the principal elements of Divine service and religious conduct universally adopted throughout the civilised world. If the Hindu method of worship is idolatrous, then all systems of religion which prescribe the worship of God in a particular form are also idolatrous, "for they all have their ideals and what are idols if not the external representations of their ideals?" "Idol," says Carlyle, "is eidolon, a thing seen, a symbol. It is not God, but a symbol of God. The most rigorous Puritan has his Confession of Faith, and intellectual representation of Divine things, and worships thereby. All creeds, liturgies, religious forms, conceptions, that fitly invest religious things, are in this sense eidola, things seen. All worship whatsoever must proceed by Symbols, by Idols; we may say, all idolatry is comparative and the worst idolatry is only more idolatrous."

The Hindu welcomes all modes of worship, the progressive stages being from image-worship to mental worship, and from mental contemplation of the Deity to union with Him. So long as there are diversities in intellectual, moral and spiritual advancement in a society, there must be divers methods of worship and various conceptions of Divinity. To adopt one uniform system for persons of different culture is practically to do away with worship altogether.

Prayer is the spontaneous outburst of deep emotions towards the Deity. Sincere and fervent devotion constitutes the essence of prayer. So long as one has a firm faith in and profound veneration for God, it is immaterial how he

worships or prays to Him. Tantra is science as well as religion. The two have been happily blended together so that Hindu Astronomy, Geometry, Algebra, Medicine, Law, have all been connected, in some way or other, with religion. The Tantrics made wonderful discoveries in the departments of medicine, animal magnetism, psychology and general knowledge of things. From a religious point of view, they are the worshippers of Sakti, or power.

The Tantras may be divided into three groups :—firstly, they collected and arranged systematically the wisdom of by-gone ages ; secondly, they purged whatever was considered unattainable and false, either in religion, science or politics ; and thirdly, they imported into these subjects fresh ideas and experience that appeared suitable to them. They did all these things at a time when they were most needed, namely when Hindu society was completely unhinged.

Glimpses of the social life of the Hindus during this period may be obtained from the classic literature of the Vikramadityan age. Girls were not married at an early age ; they were taught to read and write. Music and painting were also considered female accomplishments. The marriage of widows was strictly prohibited in the later Pauranick period. It was then that the cruel custom of Sati came into vogue.

Sub-castes sprang up in this period. The Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas who followed different professions were now divided into fresh castes, such as the Kaisthas, the Vaidyas, the goldsmiths, the blacksmiths, the potters and the weavers, and they were deprived of their ancient right to acquire religious learning and wear the sacred thread. Religious knowledge thus became the monopoly of the Brahmans. This monopoly was the root of Hindu degeneration or spiritual decline. Knowledge is power and light, and when the major portion of the community was excluded from its privilege, the result could not but be general ignorance and superstition, weakness and debasement.

MODERN HINDU SOCIETY.

Chaitanya, the great apostle of love, inaugurated a new period of Hinduism. While the Vedas impart a true knowledge of the Divine nature, Sree Gauranga made the real presence, as it were, of the Deity, felt as One Real and Loving Personality. The Haribol he uttered, was a celestial music producing a wonderful spiritual effect. The Nama Sankirtan, which he has inaugurated, continues to the present day, and is calculated to bring about the spiritual regeneration of the Hindus and bind them together in the ties of universal brotherhood, if properly appreciated and feelingly uttered in the spirit of the renowned religious teacher. The devout and sincere utterance of

Harinam cannot fail to produce a galvanising effect, moving us to our very core, purifying and transporting us to ecstasy. Chaitanya, like Christ and Buddha, attained the highest development of humanity, and his holy life is a grand object-lesson of learning unselfishness and self-denial—benevolence and purity. There is genuine joy only in the emotions of the heart; sensibility is the whole man. It is the culture of the sentiments which constitutes real manhood. True religion consists in love to God and love to man.

The doctrine of the universal brotherhood of mankind, preached by Buddha, appears to be reflected or shadowed forth in Chaitanya's teachings of love and compassion to our fellow-creatures. But, as Buddhism degenerated into puritanism, so Chaitanya's message of love has resulted in bairagism or religious asceticism.

Puritanism, or asceticism, can serve no useful purpose. It cannot be said that pleasures should be altogether avoided as great obstacles to virtue. They keep up our spirits and cheerfulness—the best means of preserving health. They refresh us after labour and renovate our strength. They are perfectly allowable, provided they are innocent.

Pleasures, being a sort of relief to labour, are means to an end. If exclusively indulged in, they pall upon the senses and defeat their own object. Such being the case, a constant round of pleasures cannot afford true happiness or satisfy our aspirations. But moderate and innocent enjoyment of pleasures is not only lawful but necessary. In order to enjoy such pleasures we must have wealth. Wealth is a real and substantial thing which ministers to our pleasures, increases our comfort, multiplies our resources and not unfrequently alleviates our pains. Is desire of wealth really incompatible with our spiritual welfare? It has been said that one cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time. This does not mean that a proper and judicious use of wealth is ungodly, or that an unostentatious and sincere devotion to God is inconsistent with good fortune. All that it indicates is that the abuse or pride of wealth may lead to irreligion and vice. Wealth, like pleasure, is a means to an end. When the end is lost sight of, and wealth is sought for its own sake, when people die in harness, not knowing what the sweets of retirement are, or hoard up riches, stinting themselves and suffering from self-denial and mortification of the senses, it is all the same whether they are rich or poor. A truly happy life is the result of two facts, the development of material prosperity and the progress of humanity. These two elements are closely connected the one with the other. The inward is reformed by the outward, as the outward by the inward. Civilisation is the result of two facts; the deve-

lopment of social and individual activity, the progress of society and of humanity.

Individual and social progress being the principal elements of civilisation, Hindu Society, in order to regain its past state and occupy a prominent place among modern civilised nations, must attain this two-fold perfection. It must combine the advantages of the old and the new order of things.

There has been a dearth of Hindu social reformers. This want can be supplied if every learned Hindu householder carefully studies the Hindu philosophy and scriptures, and introduces into his family the approved manners and ~~customs~~ enjoined by such high authorities, modified, no doubt, by the altered circumstances and the spirit of the present age. In this way a germ will be created of genuine progress. And as social progress is the sum total of individual progress, in course of time Hindu society would undergo substantial improvements upon esoteric lines urgently demanded in its interests.

In order to attain this highly desirable social progress, we must first of all enquire what are the excellencies and peculiar good features on the one hand, and the wants and imperfections on the other, of the existing Hindu social constitution.

The Hindu joint family system has called forth the admiration even of high-placed Englishmen. "I am not blind," says Mr, now Sir, H. J. S. Cotton, in a letter addressed to a native friend, "to the excellencies of your family organisation; and desire to especially acknowledge the admirable domestic influence it exercises upon its members. As an Englishman with my home in a country where the family tie is comparatively lightly regarded, and the members of a family tear themselves asunder as a matter of course, and almost without compunction, and settle apart from one another in all the quarters of the Globe, I cannot but appreciate the immense affective superiority of the organisation you enjoy. Properly speaking, it is only by the natural cultivation of the family affections that a man is able instinctively to call into existence dispositions calculated to fit him individually for public life. In your family arrangements you possess, therefore, through a process of progressive development, the necessary panoply of life, and I trust that the high recognition of the urgency of domestic sympathy will never be forgotten, whatever may be the vicissitudes, the joint family system is destined to experience."

Side by side with this excellent family organisation, there exists a pernicious practice, eating into the vitals of rural Hindu social life, I mean *dalladali*, or party spirit. If a villager violates any religious or social custom, and the whole rural

Hindu community agree in thinking that his act amounts to an uncompromising repudiation of such custom on a very important point, he is excommunicated, *i.e.*, inter-marriage and inter-dining with his caste people are prohibited. Washermen and barbers would refuse to serve him. If there is difference of opinion as to the propriety of his conduct, his supporters and opponents form themselves into two opposite parties, who cease to dine with each other. Such is the reverence paid to custom and such are the rigorous measures generally adopted to preserve it intact! No doubt, public opinion exercises a salutary influence upon the manners of an individual or society, and is on that ground entitled to great respect. But, in matters of social custom, it is better to obtain, in case of difference of opinion, an authoritative decision of persons competent to form a correct and enlightened opinion on the point in dispute, than to boycott a person on the erroneous supposition, it may be, of the violation of a custom.

* Another source of evil is the popular belief in fatalism. In the following translation of certain well-known slokas, there is a clear recognition of the principle of free will :—

“Prosperity attends the effort of the great man. It is only the unmanly and imbecile who say men are favoured by fortune; act your manly part in killing the demon of fate. You are not to blame if you do not succeed in spite of your best exertions.”

A belief in fatalism is not only philosophically absurd, but a great obstacle to progress, making us lead indolent and inactive lives. For if one is led to think that his destiny will be the same, whether he applies himself diligently to further his interests, or leads an inactive and idle life, he can hardly have any strong motive for self-improvement. Far from doing any good, it sometimes leads to fatal consequences. A person under the influence of such a belief is often found to refuse medicine, even when dangerously ill. If he suffers from misery or hardship of any kind, he will attribute it to Divine dispensation, and, perhaps, will unblushingly charge God with injustice and cruelty. It is unscientific to ascribe to supernatural agency the result of our actions ending in vice or misery. Science ascribes to natural causes what ignorance ascribes to supernatural causes. According to this view, the calamities with which the world is afflicted, are the result of the ignorance of man and not of the interference of God. We must not, therefore, ascribe to Him what is due to our folly or vice.

Whatever is catholic and rational demands our best consideration; whatever is illiberal and irrational ought to be rejected. There should be no misconception of the true nature of

Hindu religion and social customs. Of such customs, some are universal or invariable, such as marriage, Upanayana, Sradh, &c, and others are local or variable, such as Garbadhana, Pumsavana, &c. The former are intimately connected with Hindu religion. They form, so to speak, the backbone of the Hindu social and individual life. A Hindu, by ceasing to observe them, ceases to be a Hindu. But the latter class of rites and practices is of a local or rather festive character, and their observance is merely optional. As I have already observed, ~~moral efficacy~~ or purpose is the test of the ~~validity of a custom or rite.~~

KAILAS CHANDRA KANJILAL, B.L.

ART. VI.—THE LAND LAWS OF BENGAL.

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CHAPTER III.

The Land Tenures.

IN Bengal we have at present the singular spectacle of a landed aristocracy, composed mostly of modern wealthy families, who have invested their capital in landed estates for the purpose of getting a fixed annual income. These estates are let out generally on permanent leases, and the proprietors are nothing but annuitants in the literal sense of the word. Those intermediate holdings which are styled Permanent Tenures in legal phraseology, abound in this province more than anywhere else. They have cast their ramifications far and wide and constitute the bulk of landed property in this part of the country. Thus, between the landlord and the cultivator, there intervene in many cases a body of interlopers, who have for generations, for good or for evil, held sway over the ryots, and who are responsible to the landlord only for the payment of a fixed amount of yearly rent. These tenure-holders are the Taluqdars of Bengal—a class of people whose influence and wealth at the present day are steadily increasing, and who undoubtedly form the backbone of the landed interest of the province. The extortionate demands of land-revenue and the repeated encroachments on the profits of Zemindars in the shape of fresh imposts on land threw them into a state of great alarm and excitement. To oppress the ryots with fresh demands was not a task at all congenial to the old Zemindar who used to look upon them as his own children: so the only way out of this embarrassing position was for him to let out the estate at a fixed annual rent, leaving the new tenure-holder to squeeze as much as he could out of the ryots. Thus the State, by imposing an exorbitant land revenue on the Zemindar, laid him necessarily under the temptation of permanently leasing out his estate to others. These latter had no course left them in their turn, in many instances, but that of plundering all below them.

Of all the land-tenures in Bengal, the *Putni* is the most important and valuable. It came into vogue in the estate of the Burdwan Raj, and, like most permanent tenures, is alienable and heritable in its nature. In addition to these attributes, it has others which raise it specially in the estimation of Zemindars. It is governed by a special law of its own, Regulation VIII of 1819. By virtue of this law Zemindars are empowered to

apply for a summary sale of the tenure before the collector for realization of all current half-yearly and yearly rents due. This application is made twice, once on the first day of Kartick and again on the first day of Bysack. If the money is not paid down on the sale day, the tenure is sold off. Any one acquainted with the dilatory character of the proceedings of our Courts of Justice and the troubles of executing a Civil Court decree, combined with the excessive charges on account of Court fees, process fees and pleader's fees, knows how litigation takes the life out of a man in this country. The Zemindar, of all people, knows how dangerous it is to litigate, but the pity is that he has to come, however unwillingly into Court, where his troubles are more often aggravated than relieved. He sues for a couple of years' rents from his tenant, who appears and contests the suit. In the end the Zemindar wins. The tenant asks for a review, and so the proceedings are prolonged without the least prospect of the Zemindar's rents and costs being realised. By this time, he has had to pay, perhaps, no fewer than twelve instalments of revenue to Government, while he is in the sad predicament of not having realised a single pice of the rents due from his tenants. While the Government realises its dues like a machine from the Zemindar, the latter has to watch and wait—till perhaps his estate is knocked down to the highest bid, which means a mere trifle in comparison with his purchase money and the money he laid out originally in improvements.

Struck apparently with this great hardship on the Zemindar, the Government, with a benevolent intention, introduced the system of *Putni* tenure. It entitles the Zemindar to a speedy realisation of rents from his tenants, by making a simple application at a cost of a trifling sum of eight annas only before the Collector. But the trouble, and verily it is a sore trouble to him, begins as soon as the tenure is sold. The defaulting tenant forthwith files a civil suit to have this summary sale set aside on the ground of irregularity. It is an open secret that a sale of a *Putni* tenure, by a Collector in accordance with the provisions of Regulation VIII of 1819, is rarely held valid by a Civil Court. Like the course of true love, the proceedings under this enactment never run smooth. Either the sale proclamation was not duly issued, or notices were not served and published by the Collector according to law. It has not been though fit to amend this fossil Regulation, which was passed by the legislature in the beginning of the present century, by the light of the experience of nearly a hundred years, although there is a crying necessity for a change.

On the first day of the Bengali year, when the Zemindar applies for sale of a *Putni* tenure for realisation of his

dues of the previous year, a notice, specifying the balance due from the tenant is stuck up in a conspicuous part of the Collector's Court, stating that, if it is not paid before the first of the next month, it will be sold on that day by public auction in liquidation. A similar notice is posted up at the Zemindar's office, or *Sadder Cutcheree*, and a third is sent out for publication at the principal town or village upon the land of the defaulter. The rule of service is thus set out in the Regulation:—"The Zemindar shall be exclusively answerable for the observance of the forms above prescribed, and the notice required to be sent into the mofussil shall be served by a *single* peon, who shall bring back the receipt of the defaulter, or of his manager for the same; or in the event of inability to procure this, the signatures of three substantial persons residing in the neighbourhood, in attestation of the notice having been brought and published on the spot. If it shall appear, from the tenour of the receipt or attestation in question, that the notice has been published at any time previous to the 15th of the month of Bysack, it shall be a sufficient warrant for the sale to proceed upon the day appointed. In case the people of the village should refuse or object to sign their names in attestation, the peon shall go to the Court of the nearest Munsiff, or if there be no Munsiff, to the nearest *thana*, and there make voluntary oath of the same having been duly published;—certificate to which effect shall be signed and sealed by the said officers, and delivered to the peon."

Now in this sending out of a single peon with the sale notice, as much difficulty is felt by the Zemindar as in the proverbial belling of the cat. The messenger, of course, hurries with his notification of sale through the villages of the defaulting tenure, and it rouses as warm an interest as the sending forth of the Fiery Cross did in the days of Rhoderic Dhu in the Highlands of Scotland. The sale of the tenure becomes an engrossing topic of discussion amongst the ryots, who are fully aware of what is in store for them; how the possession of the tenure by the new purchaser is to be attended with riot and opposition, and how their rents are sure to be increased by the new man. Conscious of these facts, they band together under the protection of their old *taluqdar*, and support him through and through when he brings a civil suit to set aside the summary sale. Thus the statement of the single peon of the Zemindar regarding the correctness of the publication of the notification of sale is set at naught by the mendacity of the host of men produced by the tenant. The result is that the Zemindar not only loses the case, but is cast in damages and costs, for he has to return the whole of the purchase money to the purchaser with interest and costs

Irregularities are so common in the proceedings of this sale, that, either through the Collector not having published the notice in a conspicuous part of his Court, or through the laches of the Zemindar, the sale is often set aside. The slightest deviation from the rules laid down in the Regulation for the service of sale notices is a material irregularity for which the sale is liable to be set aside. While in revenue sales the jurisdiction of the Civil Court is narrowed down to the utmost limit, in the sale of the *Putni* tenures, on the contrary, this jurisdiction is extended to the utmost extent possible. While Government has shown a most anxious solicitude for the recovery of its own revenue, it has done nothing of the kind with regard to the recovery of rents by Zemindars from their tenants. This clearly incongruous state of things with reference to unequal laws about the recovery of revenue by Government and rent by Zemindars puts the latter at a very great disadvantage. In Government estates, rents are realised by the simple process of issue of certificates, which have all the force of decrees of Civil Courts. Why, then, is the Zemindar not allowed to do the same for the recovery of his rents from unwilling ryots? Even the single boon of applying for a summary sale of *Putni* tenures is attended with so many risks and disadvantages, that it has come to be looked upon as a most doubtful blessing. If the Collector refuses to sell a tenure or sells it improperly, you have no remedy by appeal to the Commissioner or the Revenue Board. It is a most strange principle of law that, while appeals are allowed in all revenue sales, there is no provision in *Putni* sales for them. In these latter cases, the pecuniary value at stake sometimes reaches lakhs and lakhs of rupees, and to make the Collector a simple autocrat in such an important matter is, to say the least, highly arbitrary! Sometimes the Collectors, by refusing to sell *Putni* tenures, subject the landlord to the greatest hardship. The Revenue Board is imperative in the framing of its rules on this subject, and has lately inserted a proviso that, although no appeals are allowed in these cases from the orders of the Collectors, still, the Commissioner of a Division, on the motion of parties, can advise the Collectors as to the proper mode of procedure when they have erred, so as to rectify future errors of the kind. This is virtually shutting the stable-door after the steed is stolen. The law regarding the sale of *Putni* tenures should be amended and framed on the lines of the Revenue Sale law. The notices to be served should be served exclusively through the medium of the Collector, and the jurisdiction of the Civil Court should be narrowed down as much as possible, regard being of course had to the fair and just rights of all parties. The law, as it stands, is all on the side of the tenant and dead against the interests of the Zemindars as a body.

Sales of *Putni* tenures are far more numerous than those of Estates. Formerly they usually extended over two or three days ; while now they are generally completed in one.

The Burdwan Raj is the holder of the largest number of estates that are let out in *Putni*. These tenures, again, are let out by the tenure-holders to others at fixed rents, and this process of sub-infeudation sometimes goes down to the third or fourth degree. The under-tenants have always a right to stay the sale of the original tenure by lodging the amount of rent for which the Zemindars have sued. Such money paid by under-tenants for the preservation of the parent-tenure is to be carried to the account of the tenant lodging it. If the *Putnidar* has any rent due to him, the money so deposited will go towards the liquidation of the same, and if no rent is due to him from the under-tenants, the money deposited will have the effect of a mortgage and can be realised from the usufruct of the tenure.

Just as in revenue sales estates are sold free of all encumbrances, and all tenures and under-tenures fall through, so in sales under the *Putni* law the tenures are sold free of all encumbrances and all engagements with under-tenants are cancelled.

Beyond a year's rent, the Zemindar cannot sue according to the provisions of Regulation VIII of 1819 before the Collector for a summary sale. Arrears of rent of more than a year, even of *Putni* tenures, must be recovered under the Bengal Tenancy Act, like arrears of other permanent tenures. The same extortionate charges for Court fees and pleader's fees, and the same troubles on account of the law's delay and insolence of office, which are inherent in regular suits, in our Courts of Justice, are encountered in such cases.

The question whether a *Putni* tenure can be sold in summary sale before the Collector when a co-sharer of the Zemindari has applied for such a sale without joining with the rest, has now been decided in the negative. The broad principle of law on this subject is that no co-sharer of an estate is entitled to apply alone. But if the co-sharer has himself granted his own share in *Putni* lease, or, in other words, if, by the terms of the lease, such a co-sharer is entitled to realise his share of rents separately without any connection with others, he can apply for sale in the same way as if he were the owner of the entire estate.

Tenures are either heritable, or their rent is fixed in perpetuity, or both. These three sorts make up almost a complete classification of tenures in Bengal. Those that are heritable are known commonly as "Maurusi," those at fixed rents as "Mukurari," and those that are both heritable and have their

rents fixed in perpetuity as "*Maurusi Mukurari*." *Putni* tenures come under the last denomination.

To determine whether a tenure or under-tenure is permanent and held at fixed rent, it must be shown that it has been in existence on payment of a uniform rent since the Permanent Settlement, or, that being a difficult thing to prove, it must be shown that it has been paying that rent for the last twenty years. Such a tenure, however, is liable to an enhancement of rent if there has been any increase of area. Permanent tenure-holders cannot be ejected for non-payment of rent, but their tenures can be sold in execution of a decree for the rent thereof. ~~But they may be ejected for a breach of any covenant in a lease.~~ Such breach, if capable of being compensated by the tenant, does not warrant an ejectment, unless the latter has failed to pay the compensation.

A contract in a lease that the tenant shall have no right of alienation is now generally held to be bad. The Bengal Tenancy Act expressly enjoins that every permanent tenure-holder has a right to transfer his tenure absolutely. The present state of the law is that, notwithstanding such a restrictive condition, it is not enforceable against a purchaser, unless there is an express provision for forfeiture or for re-entry by reason of an assignment in violation of its terms. It applies only to voluntary alienation, and not to sales in execution of decrees or assignment by operation of law.

The right of a joint-landlord to sue for rent is now beyond dispute, but the decree he gets is an ordinary money-decree. The landlord, in execution of a rent decree, is not now bound to bring the defaulting tenure to sale, but he is quite at liberty to follow any of the tenant's property for the realisation of his dues.

The effect of a sale of the tenure for arrears, at the instance of the sole landlord, is to free it practically from all encumbrances, excepting those that are "protected."

The defaulter can, if he likes, get the sale set aside by depositing, within a month, the arrears of rent with a penalty amounting to 5 per cent. of the purchase money, which is to go to the purchaser as compensation. The Bengal Tenancy Act entitles any one having any interest which is voidable upon a sale for arrears, to pay into Court the decretal amount of rent and costs and stop the sale. The amount thus paid becomes a lien on the tenure.

Service tenures, or lands leased out in perpetuity by the superior landlord to persons on condition of their discharging certain services or duties, either personal to him or to the public at large, have long abounded in Bengal, and have been the subject-matter of litigation in our Courts of Justice. The

duties of policemen and soldiers were often, in olden times, rewarded by grants of lands from the State. The village watchman has come down to us with his little patch of land from time immemorial. The Government is, however, slowly but surely working out the destruction of the service tenures of our village Chowkidars. The lands have, by recent legislation, been made to revert to the landlord, the Government promising to pay the Chowkidar's salary, partly from the revenue derived from these lands and partly from the proceeds of taxation. As long as he enjoyed the service tenure, the lands were not subjected to any assessment by Government. But now the authorities not only assess these service tenures at the highest figure possible, but impose heavy taxation on the villagers whose life and property are safeguarded by the nightly watch of the Chowkidar. The extinction of these tenures has already commenced, and its evil effects have become apparent. It has not only launched the province upon a sea of litigation among landlords, tenure-holders, and chowkidars, but has brought the last named individuals into a most critical position. The lands which maintained them and their family for countless generations are now gone, and the salary they get is so trifling that they can no longer make both ends meet. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that these men should be driven to swell the ranks of ruffians, bandits and robbers, and it is too late now for Government to retrace its steps, as it is doing in many instances, by issuing notices to landlords to lease out these reverted Chowkidari Chakran lands to the Chowkidars themselves at the lowest rate of rent and without any bonuses. If this is not tinkering at legislation I do not know what is. The amount assessed becomes a part of the police-fund of the locality. The village watchmen who used to get the entire proceeds of the lands, now get nothing from them except the revenue assessed on them. The balance of their salary is got from villagers in the form of a tax.

In the meanwhile a crop of litigation has arisen between the landlord and the *Putnidar* with reference to the rights of each to these Chowkidari Chakran lands. These lands have been settled with the Zemindar, and naturally he says to his tenant: "You have no right to them. They form an altogether separate estate, and were so long vested in Government." The *Putnidar* replies: "It is mine by right all the same, as it appertained to the parent estate, which was let out to me in permanent lease originally without any reservation." How far this contention is valid, the Privy Council will ultimately have to decide. The Zemindar has to pay revenue for these lands over and above what he pays for the original

estate, and is he to bear all this burden while a third party reaps the benefit? Had the Zemindar not consented to the settlement, where would the *Putnidar* be?

The Calcutta High Court seems to favour the rights of the landlord to these service-free lands, to the entire exclusion of the *Putnidar*.

In addition to these lands, certain lands were devoted exclusively to the service of the police by landlords, who were responsible in those days for public peace and good order as well as for the administration of justice. The Government, however, resumed all these police establishments and took them under its own control and also all lands devoted to police purposes. The amount of assessment levied on these lands forms what is paid by Zemindars as police revenue in many estates.

In hilly districts such as Bancoorah and Beerbhoom, the Ghatwali tenures form a class unique in their nature. They are held for the purpose of police-service in the majority of cases. The duty of the "ghatwals" was to protect the hill-passes and travellers. Some hold their lands entirely rent-free and some at a quit-rent payable to Government, or to the Zemindar. These tenures also abound in Chota-Nagpur and Hazaribagh. The holders in Hazaribagh are almost independent chiefs, paying a nominal yearly rent to Government. The head of these chiefs is called a "Tikaet." The *Pax Britannica* has long since embraced even the primeval forests of Hazaribagh and Chota-Nagpur, and the duties of these chiefs have almost become obsolete. Many of these are nothing more than permanent tenures at the present day. In some places the 'ghatwals' are under the Zemindar directly. As soon as the services rendered by these 'ghatwals' were found to be needless in many instances, both the Government and the Zemindar attempted to do away with them, but the 'ghatwals' asserted their hereditary rights to the lands, whether their services were needed or not. This contention became the subject of constant litigation and strife in past years, unless and until it was settled once for all by the decision of the Privy Council in the case of *Koolodeep Narain vs. Mahadeo Singh*, 6 W.R., 109. These tenures were held to be hereditary, and the Zemindar incompetent to resume the lands at his option. Neither had he the power to put an end to the tenures on the ground that the services were no longer required.

The question, originally came before a Full Bench of the High Court at Calcutta. The learned Chief Justice, Sir Barnes Peacock, in an elaborate judgment, said—"Some cases were cited to show that, even assuming these lands to be subject to a ghatwali tenure, the Zemindar has a right,

whenever he pleases, to dispense with the ghatwali services and to take back the lands. Now, I must say, that this is the first time I have ever heard such a contention as that. It is not because the services, are released or dispensed with, or become unnecessary that the estate can be resumed. If a grantor release the services, or a portion of the services, upon which lands are holden, the tenant may hold the land free from the services, but the landlord cannot put an end to the tenure and resume the lands. Many services upon which very valuable estates are held, are of little value now. The estates may be very valuable and the services almost valueless. But some large landed proprietors would be somewhat astonished if they were told that the services have been dispensed with, and their estates are liable to be resumed. It might as well be contended that, if lands were granted at a small quit-rent, the landlord might relinquish or dispense with the payment of the rent and take back the lands."

In spite of this decision of the highest tribunal of the land, the local Government seriously applied itself to the task of assessing ghatwali tenures in several cases, and did it successfully by sheer force of authority. The Bengal Administration Report of 1895-96, page 42, para. 113 says :—"The services which the ghatwals (in Bankura), as a sort of inferior police, used to render are no longer required by Government, and Sir Charles Elliot decided to undertake the settlement of a few ghâts without legislation, by amicable arrangement, on the following conditions:—(a) That the figures as to area of the survey of 1880 to 1887 be accepted ; (b) that the lands be assessed with rent at a rate about 25 per cent. below current rates ; and (c) that the ghât be settled with the Zemindar, the Maharajah of Burdwan, at 50 per cent. of the assets, the ghatwals henceforth becoming raiyats of the Zemindar. It was ruled by Sir Charles Elliot that the status of the ghatwals would be that of occupancy raiyats, the raiyats under them being held to be entitled by custom to acquire a right of occupancy."

In the judgment a part of which I have quoted above, His Lordship, Sir Barnes Peacock further added :—"Clearly the Zemindar had no right to dispense with those services which had been reserved by the former Government for the benefit of the public. Suppose the former Government had granted land for services of a religious nature to be performed. The British Government would not require those services, but that would be no reason for determining the tenure of the person who held the land upon those services, as long as he is willing to perform them. The tenure is not to be determined merely at the will or caprice of the landlord, when

the land has become valuable, probably by the exertions and expenditure of capital by the tenant." How Sir Charles Elliot, in the face of such a judicial decision, with the full consciousness of the sense of wrong that would be inflicted on these service tenure-holders if their lands were subjected to assessment, could placidly come to the conclusion of doing so by legislation if compromise fell through, is a riddle too difficult for solution to the minds of laymen.

CHAPTER IV.

The Ryots.

There is, perhaps, no class of subjects so important to the well-being of the country as the ryots, or the cultivating class. In India, where agriculture is the principal occupation of the people, the welfare of the cultivating class is a matter of vital moment. If there is a class of men on the surface of the earth upon whom the primeval curse of God has fallen it is the ryot; for truly it may be said of him that he earns his bread with the sweat of his brow. It was he who, under the protecting shadow of the landlord, endeavoured with all his might and main to burn the jungle grass, break up the clay soil, and sow the land. It was his thews and sinews that were primarily concerned in cutting down the jungle and clearing the waste. It is directly through his exertions that India has become the greatest corn-growing country in the world. He is the mainstay of the landlord and the Government alike. As the bulk of the revenue of the country is derived from land, it is only fair that the welfare of the cultivating class should be well looked after by Government.

The Permanent Settlement, the Magna Charta of the landholding class, reserved a special clause for the protection of the ryot, and the intervention of Government when necessary. The question of fixing his rent was mooted almost from the days of the Permanent Settlement up to 1859, when the Rent Act first saw the light of day. The principle which underlies all these discussions is that, as the Settlement has fixed permanently the yearly revenue paid by the Zemindar to the Government, it is only fair that the rent paid by the ryot should also be fixed in the same way. The battle raged fiercely, for some time, until, in 1859, the thin end of the wedge was introduced in the form of the Rent Act, and all enhancements by Zemindars were severely checked. One might think that this made the condition of the ryots far better:—far from it. It was only the lull before the storm, for only a few years afterwards the Road and Public Works Cesses were introduced and made permanent throughout the land. Much is made, in writing anything about the ryots now-a-days, of the so-called

illegal cesses realized by the Zemindar in olden days :—but it is entirely forgotten that what the Zemindar used to take in those days as cesses was paid only occasionally, and at the same time most cheerfully, while at present a series of the most extortionate cesses have been levied permanently and are realized regularly through the machinery of the Revenue Department, without any consideration for the ryots' position or circumstances. This policy of heaping one burden after another, upon Zemindars and ryots, has produced the most disastrous results in this country. The land-holder has been impoverished equally with the tenant. Why this should be the ultimate result of the so-called beneficent legislation of Government with reference to land is obvious to the most cursory observer. The benevolent legislation which the British Government has introduced from time to time for the purpose of safe-guarding the interests of the ryots has been nullified by the imposition of a succession of land taxes of the most extortionate character. What the State gave the ryot with one hand has been taken away by the other. The landlord is to pay all these taxes directly to Government and then realize them by means of civil suits. The process is certainly as costly and ruinous as can be, and it is no wonder that the ryot suffers in many instances more than the landlord.

The status of the ryot has now been made clear by the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. He is a cultivator in the strictest sense of the word. In Bengal he may be said to enjoy generally a very large immunity from enhancement of rent. It is only when the land which he occupies is found by measurement to be of greater area, or where the price of food-grains has increased, or the rent paid by him is below the prevailing rate, or the productive powers of the land have improved by fluvial action, or improvements carried out at the expense of the landlord, that an enhancement of rent can be claimed from him. On the other hand, he can get his rent reduced on grounds exactly the reverse of these without any great ado. Even the increased rent cannot be realized from him save and except by a civil suit. He is presumed to pay rent at a fair and equitable rate, which cannot now be increased by more than two annas in the rupee, and any contract in violation of this rule has been held to be null and void. Rent once increased cannot again be increased for the space of fifteen years. These privileges, of course, hold good only with reference to an occupancy ryot, who attains the right of non-eviction by simply occupying lands for a succession of twelve years. A positive indulgence has now been given him by the legislature, for a ryot has at present all the presumption of being an occupancy ryot from the beginning, if he has

settled in a certain place for the space of three years only. The holding of an occupancy ryot is heritable, but not transferable, except where custom and usage make it so. He cannot be ejected for non-payment of rent; but his holding is liable to be sold in execution of a decree for rent, which is a first charge on the holding. He may use the land in any way he pleases, provided it does not impair the value of the land or render it unfit for the purpose of the tenancy. He can even cut down trees, if it is not in violation of any local custom. The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 has made a wide departure with reference to the status of an occupancy ryot. Hitherto he had no proprietary right whatsoever in the soil; but the Act gives him a proprietary right, although greatly limited in its character.

The right of an occupancy ryot is to be respected even when sales for arrears of revenue or rent take place. The Revenue Sale law specially provides that a purchaser of a whole estate, in spite of his right to make null and void all under-tenures and evict under-tenants, is not empowered to "eject any occupancy ryot holding at a fixed rent or at a rent assessable according to fixed rules under the laws in force." An occupancy ryot can surrender his holding whenever he likes.

In many districts the occupancy ryot has always played an important part in the increase of cultivation and improvement of agriculture. Like the Irish peasant, he has an unbounded love for his homestead and holding, and instances are numerous where his family has lived in the same place for several generations.

It will be seen from the above that the aspersion cast on Lord Cornwallis, that he was actuated, in the framing of the Permanent Settlement solely by the motive of creating a landed aristocracy similar to that of England in Bengal at the sacrifice of the interests of the ryots was as baseless as it was ungenerous. It may be well to quote here the exact words of the Regulation:—"It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people and more particularly those, who from their situation, are helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such Regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent taluqdars, raiyats, and other cultivators of the soil." The Minute which he wrote on the Permanent Settlement, while conceding all proprietary right in the soil to the land-holder, is pregnant with sympathetic feelings towards the ryot. I quote here a couple of sentences from that able document:—

"Whoever cultivates the land, the Zemindar can receive no more than the established rent, which, in most places, is fully

equal to what the cultivator can afford to pay. To permit him to dispossess one cultivator for the sole purpose of giving the land to another, would be vesting him with a power to commit a wanton act of oppression, from which he could derive no benefit. (Fifth Report.)

The other class of ryots are the non-occupancy ryots. Contract and usage determine their payments of rent.

These are almost the only class of tenants that can be ejected, though with difficulty. The main grounds for ejectment are failure to pay rent, rendering the land unfit for tenancy and breach of contract. Ejectment suits to be successful must be brought after six months' notice to quit.

One of the strangest doctrines of law promulgated by the Indian Legislature, which appears both unjust and repugnant to an Oriental people, is that there can be no occupancy right in a ryot's homestead lands.

Non-agricultural lands are governed by the Transfer of Property Act and the Contract Act, English law being applied to cases where no distinct provision is laid down in these Acts. Rules of equity and good conscience are applied to them, but in several instances they have not been applied wisely.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONDITION OF THE BENGAL RYOTS.

There is no question more important and interesting than the condition of the cultivators of the soil in different parts of the Province of Bengal. No discussion of the land-laws of Bengal would be of any value unless it were shown how they affect the material well-being and happiness of the ryots—that toiling and moiling class of people through whose physical exertions the jungle has diminished, agriculture has spread, and a magnificent internal trade has sprung up throughout the province. It will be a rude shock to the feelings of many to learn that, even in the Bengal Presidency—the most civilized and the most advanced of all—, there are millions of cultivators sunk in the utmost depths of poverty and degradation.

Shall I recite the hard routine of a peasant's life? A tiny thatched roof, supported by a few bamboos, is his only shelter from the fierce sun and rain throughout the livelong year. He toils from morn to dewy eve, ploughing and working in the field. At about nine in the morning he snatches a hasty breakfast of fried rice, after which he works again under the burning sun up to noon. He then takes his mid-day meal—a dish of boiled coarse rice, seasoned simply with salt and chillies. He is an utter stranger to luxury, and can ill-afford to get even the barest necessities of life. Until the influx of Manchester

goods, be used to wear homespun cloth, thick as canvas and strong as iron. Returning home from the field at candle-light, he eats the same coarse fare, mixed, perhaps, with a little curry, and then lies down to sleep on a mat or on the bare floor. At sowing time he works for a whole week without any break, and sometimes even at night, if the moon serves him. During transplantation he labour amidst pelting rain and ankle-deep water. Then, as a bumper crop appears and begins to ripen, he has to keep a sharp look out day and night, scaring away wild beasts from ravaging his golden harvest. By December all the grain is cut, threshed, and stacked in granaries.

The ryot of Bengal proper is in a fair condition, compared with the ryot of Bihar and Orissa, with whom existence is daily a most difficult problem to solve. Poor though the Bengali ryot is, his condition is prosperous in comparison with the most pitiable state of the Bihari and the Urya. The former can somehow make both ends meet, while the latter cannot, and has to half starve during most of the days of his existence.

I shall describe the condition of the Bihar peasantry first of all.

Bihar is a large and fertile province washed by the two mighty rivers, the Ganges and the Sone. The boon of Permanent Settlement has long been granted to it; but still we find here a state of things which is almost appalling in its nature.

This favoured region is, by the admission of all who are acquainted with it, "notorious for the utter wretchedness, the hopeless destitution, which are chronic among its people." This state of things is entirely borne out by the Administration Reports themselves, and is not in the least exaggerated.

Mr. Tytler, opium agent of Siwan, whose knowledge of the North and West of the District is unrivalled, estimated that ninety-five per cent. of the ordinary ryots live and die in debt. Good seasons do not go far to increase their savings, for what profit they make is immediately devoured.

I shall quote below what the Hon'ble G. Toynbee, now of the Revenue Board, said with regard to the state of the people in a report, while he was the District Magistrate of Patna.

"The expression 'living from hand to mouth' has assumed for me a more definite and tangible though less satisfactory meaning than it ever had before. I have been over the houses of hundreds of the poorer classes, and have seen how they live and what they eat. I could not have believed, had I not seen it for myself, how abject is their poverty..... Many of them do not know what it is to have two meals a day; and most of them do not know, when they rise in the morning,

whether they will get one full meal or not. Wages have remained as before, while the prices of all kinds of food have increased. Over-population seems to be an effectual bar to any material improvement that might otherwise be brought about by increased means of communication, by education, and other similar means."

The Bengal Government reported thus in 1878: "Nearly every local officer consulted is agreed that while a system of summary and cheap rent procedure is required in the interests of both the Zemindar and the ryot, the most urgent requirement of Bihar is an amelioration of the condition of the peasantry."

The Bengal Government in the Administration Report, for the Patna Division, for the year 1896-97, says:—"Scarcity which made itself acutely felt towards the end of the year greatly affected the material condition of the poor classes. The Commissioner is of opinion that the famine relief operations have established the fact that about three per cent. of the population are habitually on the verge of starvation, or rather would be, were it not for the intervention of private charity." This even is a rosy picture of the state of the Bihari ryot, and if the Commissioner had said that twenty-three per cent., instead of three per cent., of the people were habitually under starvation, he would have been nearer the mark!

I quote again the testimony of a high English official on this point:—"The low condition of the agricultural and labouring classes in Bihar has formed the subject of much consideration of late years. Needless to report what has often been said before as to the ignorance, indebtedness and general helplessness of the Bihari ryot. No fresh touches are added in this year's report to the melancholy picture. It is only apparently in the north-east of Shahabad and along the Soan that the ryots have anywhere got any position of comfort." Moved by the most wretched condition of the Behari ryot, Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, C.S., Commissioner of the Bhagalpore Division, wrote a pamphlet on it under the title of the "Ruin of an Indian Province." After exhaustively dealing with the subject he concluded in the following words:—"In India every servant of The Crown is not only an official in the narrower sense of the word, bound by the rules of official subordination and reticence, but a trustee of the public honour. I have written under the sincere conviction that the condition of the great Province of Bihar with its twenty millions of people is a disgrace to the English name."

With these stern facts staring us full in the face, he would indeed be a very bold man who would attempt to show a contrary state of things in Bihar. Yet no less a personage than Mr. R. C. Dutt, late of the Indian Civil Service, while sing-

ing the pæans of the Permanent Settlement, did this at Lucknow in his Presidential address at the annual convention of the Indian National Congress during the last Christmas holidays. In his otherwise excellent speech he instances Bengal as the province where the cultivators are as prosperous as can be desired, quite forgetful of the broad fact that no less than half its population is submerged in the most abysmal depth of degradation and poverty. The extracts which I have made from the Administration Reports of the Bengal Government leave no room for doubt regarding the pitiable condition of the Bihar peasantry. The shadow of famine which fell on the province of Bihar only a couple of years ago, showed how acute was the distress of the people; and, although no less than a crore of rupees was spent on relief by Government, as a matter of fact, we all know how inadequate was this sum to cope with the ravages of the famine.

I will give a few more touches to this sad picture of the Bihar cultivators by quoting the testimony of another official on the point. It is from the Administration Report of the year 1875-76 and runs as follows:—"So far, then, we may hope that the lot of a labourer, which was always very hard, has not become harder of late. But we must sorrowfully admit that it is as hard as can be borne. A plain calculation will show that the wages will suffice for little more than the purchase of food and leave a slender margin for his simplest wants. In Bihar, indeed, a comparison of prices with wages might indicate that his lot must be hard beyond comparison." It need hardly be said here that the labourers are the real cultivators of the land and their number is as large as 12·3 per cent. of the total population of the country. According to the returns of the latest census, the grand total of persons directly supported by the land comes up to more than two-thirds of the entire number of adult males. When two-thirds of the people of Bihar are steeped in poverty, it goes without saying that the condition of the ryots is as sad and wretched as it can be.

I shall add to this my own personal experience of the Bihari ryot. I was at Bihar for a short time to visit the sacred hot-water springs of Rajgir. While the solemn and sombre scenery of the surrounding hills, with their rippling rivulets and gushing springs, enchanted and delighted our mind, the concourse of famished creatures who used to come to us and beg for food made us extremely sick and sorry. Scores of these men passed their days under the shade of trees, and satisfied the cravings of nature by eating wild fruits and roots, or sometimes, at the most, by eating small fish from the river. Rajgir itself is a big pasture-ground where hundreds of thousands of kine, oxen and sheep are sent out for the purpose of

grazing, their owners being too poor to give them any food at home. The shepherds who had charge of these herds were perfect pictures of misery and starvation. Their monthly wage was from one to two rupees. After grazing the cattle for the whole day, they came back after sunset to their place of abode, which was simply a few acres of bare ground, surrounded by prickly shrubs within whose circumference lay the lean and lank beasts, they themselves occupying the centre. They took a couple of coarse *chappatis* made of *Joara*, which is the worst food for man in that part of the country, and sank down at night on the earth to sleep with simply a blanket on, shelterless and almost foodless. Nor is this all. The night was generally made hideous by the roar of the tiger which came down on the herds of cattle and carried away one or two every day.

Let me conclude my account of the condition of the Bihar peasantry by quoting the remarks of no less a personage than Sir Ashley Eden, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

He wrote—'In the report of the Commissioner of the Bhaulpore Division a lamentable account is given by the Sub-Divisional Officer of the state of things in the Barh Sub-Division, two-thirds of which is leased out in farms to non-resident speculators, while in the remaining one-third at least half the landlords also are non-resident. The terms run usually for seven years, and are only renewed on the payment of a heavy and increasing premium, which falls entirely on the ryots. The tenants are said to have no rights, to be subject to the exaction of forced labour, to illegal distraint, and to numerous illegal cesses, while the collections are made by an unscrupulous host of up-country bailiffs. There can be no doubt whatever that the combined influence of Zemindars and land speculators has ground down the ryots of Bihar to a state of extreme depression and misery.'

Is there a landlord who will read this and not blush for very shame? I think not. Sir Ashley Eden has laid the entire blame of the poverty of the Bihari ryot at the door of the landlord and the money-lender. I do not share in that opinion. There is no doubt that the ryot there is fearfully rack-rented, but it is due much more to the avarice of the State as the prime landlord than to that of the landlords themselves.

Bishop Heber referring to the conduct of the Company's Government towards the Bihar landlords writes:—'In Bihar, at least, the Zemindars had not, even yet, any real confidence in the permanence of the rate, and in fact there had been in so many instances revisions, remeasurements, re-examinations and surcharges that some degree of doubt was no doubt not unnatural. Some of the Bihar landlords had observed that they did not hear of any abatement made by the Company in those

instances where the advantage of the bargain had been notoriously on their side, while they also observed, so long as in the recent measure adopted by Mr. Adam (Collector), the Government possessed and exercised the power of taxing the raw produce of the soil to any amount they pleased in its way to market, it was of no great advantage to the landholder that the direct land-tax remained the same.' That hobby-horse of Sir Charles Elliott—the Cadastral Survey—has added greatly in Bihar, even in times of famine and scarcity, to the burdens of the landlord and the misery of the ryot alike. To wring a sum of no less than two lakhs of rupees from them in such a time of distress as the last famine was anything but humane.

I will now deal with that delightful and extensive tract of country known as Chota-Nagpur, with its fine forests studded with coal mines, and its picturesque hills forming its natural boundaries on all sides. It is largely peopled by those aborigines—the Coles, the Dhangars and the Santals, who are said to have retreated before the conquering Hindoos into the hilly fastnesses situated to the south-west of Bengal. They still retain their original language, habits and superstitions, unaffected by the civilising influence of British rule. These wild tribes had been under the control of the Rajpoot landlords who had gradually got the upper hand in their country. They lived either by hunting wild animals or by cultivating their fertile lands in the primitive fashion. The Zemindars did their best to import into the country from Bengal a class of industrious farmers and improve their estates, but the rancorous hostility engendered by this course led the inhabitants to break out into open insurrection in 1832. The fields of these foreign settlers were laid waste, their hamlets burnt down and more than a thousand were slaughtered in cold blood before the authorities could send any help. The rebellion was checked only after a large body of troops with horse and artillery had been sent to the spot, and many of the insurgents shot dead. Lord Willian Bentinck, touched with pity, declared Chota-Nagpur a non-regulation province and abolished the cumbrous system of Bengal Regulations as totally unfit for these wild and primitive people. The present Mundah rising distinctly proves the restive nature of these primitive people. Mr. Grimley, the Commissioner, speaks highly of the conduct of the Zemindars in his Administration Report of 1896. The poverty of the people is, however, admitted by all. As usual with Government officers, they blame the Zemindars for it, but we all know that it is not the latter alone, but the former also, who are to blame in the matter.

Mr. Herald, of Lohardanga writes :—"On the whole the

ryots of this district are more ground down and oppressed by their landlords than in any of the twelve districts of which I have experience. That they submit to this is due to various reasons—natural temperament, poverty, want of combination, ignorance of any better state of existence. The typical system which prevails is, to put up a village to auction among candidates for a *ticca* or temporary lease. Whilst in Government managed estates an *attempt* (1) is made to secure fair dealing to the ryots by granting the lease at a sum less than the annual rental of the village, no such restriction is observable in many of the *ticcas* granted by private Zemindars!

It is a fact, however, that the annual rental for Government estates is far higher than it is in private estates, which can easily be proved by reference to the realisation papers of both. The notorious Noabad settlement and the vigorous protest of Mr. Cotton against the unusually high assessment, are so prominently known in this country that any discussion of it here would be a useless digression from the important point with which I am dealing. How did the people fare in 1896? The Administration Reports tell us:—"While in the two first years, 1893 and 1894, the total food-supply fell short of a full supply by only 15·5 per cent., the deficiency in 1895 amounted to 31·9 per cent., and was immediately followed by a still more serious deficiency of 51·4 per cent. in 1896. It needs no demonstration to show how very seriously affected the general population must have become by the end of the second of the last two years; and at the present moment their condition has been still further impaired by the disappointing outturn of the *rabi* and *mohwa* of 1897."

The Commissioner thinks that there can be little doubt that the people were, on the whole, somewhat worse off in 1896-97 than during the famine of twenty-three years ago! He then continues: "There can also be no doubt that, owing to the scarcity in the present instance having extended to the neighbouring Tributary States and that source of supply being consequently stopped, the distress is now being more prolonged than was then the case. At the first threatening, nine months ago, prices went up to famine rates, and they have ever since, week by week, continued to rise, until now, at the time of writing, rice is selling at most places at seven to eight seers and in some at six seers and under per rupee."

Two more quotations from the Administration Report of 1896, and I have done with Chota Nagpore:—

"In many places, I fear, from the reports I receive, that they have eaten their seed grain; and the fact has been noticed by more than one officer that a great part of the lands which usually grow transplanted rice have this year been sown broad-

cast, the cultivator not having the means to pay for field-labour. The field labourers, under the "Kamia" system which here obtains, are ordinarily fed throughout the year by the better-to-do cultivators and others who employ them. This year they have been deprived, in a great measure, of this support, while the beggars have realised the truth of the proverb that "Charity begins at home" and find their customary alms wanting!

The distress of all the little children of the poor was most acute. The Commissioner writes :—"There has, I fear, in many places been great neglect of their small children by adult relations against the lower classes, extending not unfrequently to robbing them of the charitable doles they had received at the relief centres, and turning them adrift to pick up food for themselves in the jungles."

It is interesting to read the language of the following Administration Report, where one finds a pathetic vein of humour running through the last sentence.

"The people appear on the whole to be in a better plight, while the members on the relief works and the gratuitous lists have, week after week, remained at a remarkably low figure, and this notwithstanding the fact that, in view of the high prices, the rates of payment were for some time fixed at a higher level there than elsewhere. One explanation of this is the praiseworthy manner in which most of the Zemindars have come forward to assist their ryots by giving them work ; but another, and I think probably the chief reason is to be found in the large extent to which the people are accustomed to supplement their ordinary food by recourse to the forest roots and fruits with which almost all parts of the district abound !"

No better illustration of the apathy of our officials to the people could be given.

Having done with Chota Nagpore, I shall now give a description of the ryots of Orissa. Although the Permanent Settlement is popularly said to have been made with reference to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, it was really made with the exclusion of the latter province, save and except Cuttack. The poverty of the Urya ryot is due principally to the repeatedly enhanced assessments of land revenue by Government. At every fresh assessment the screw is applied more and more tightly until it has assumed a gigantic proportion. Excluding the Tributary Mahals of Angul, the province has to pay a sum of about twenty-three lakhs of rupees as land revenue including cesses.

The poverty of the ryot of Orissa is so notorious that even the Administration Reports make no secret of it. There never was born a people so miserable and so overwhelmed with debt, as the Uryas.

I shall content myself with quotations from the Administration Reports only. The Divisional Commissioner writes :—

"Nevertheless the majority of the cultivators are in debt and always remain in debt to the *Mahajan*. They borrow paddy from village granaries, pay off with high interest after the harvest, and have to borrow again after they have consumed the surplus. Mr. Nogendra Nath Bannerjee, in his excellent Agricultural Report on Cuttack, published in 1893 estimated that seventy-five per cent. of the agriculturists remained almost always in debt. My predecessor in para. 58 of the last Administration Report estimated the proportion to be 50 per cent. Mr. J. N. Gupta has made a careful enquiry into this important matter in 11 villages of his sub-division, and has found that out of 556 tenants no less than 370, i.e., about 70 per cent. of the tenants were in debt."

The Commissioner thus explains the chronic poverty of the Urya ryot :—

"The true explanation of this chronic poverty of 70 per cent. of cultivators seems to be this, that they have always been in the habit of getting indebted. The easy-going Urya cultivator is less assiduous in bettering his condition and freeing himself from the grasp of the *mahajan* than the ordinary Bengali cultivator. So long as he has his land, he has credit with the *mahajan*, and he sees no reason why he should not borrow when he wants, and pay off when he can."

If you wish to see slavery in full swing on British soil, you have only to go to Orissa and mark the abject poverty and degradation reached by the *halias*. You have simply to cast a glance at the Administration Report in order to convince yourself of the real truth of the matter. "In paras. 63 and 64 of the last Annual Report, some mention was made of a class of farm labourers called the *halias*, who are said to remain in a condition of semi-slavery. The *halia* is a willing bondsman who borrows at the time of distress and offers to pay by personal service, which he seldom succeeds in doing."

Mr. J. N. Gupta, the sub-divisional officer, thus describes the way in which the hard lot of the *halia* can be relieved :— "The real obstacle which stands in the way of the *halias* regaining their personal freedom is the most exorbitant interest which is charged on the money that is advanced to these men. It is generally much more than the miserable pittance of Rs. 12 or Rs. 15, which they get as an annual salary."

The Collector of Balasore wrote sometime ago regarding the stress of poverty in that district as follows :—"I have known many cases where a family ate food once in two days and no members of that family had more than one garment."

A civilian who occupied a very high position in the service

says that a Urya ryot who may be said to be most prosperous will be lucky if he saves, in the course of the year, twenty rupees out of his income, which at the most is rupees fifty-seven.

He then goes on to say :—"This is the picture of the ryot in moderately fair circumstances. But what of the man in the lowest grade of poverty? What of the man who tills with borrowed bullocks his little patch of one or two acres; whose wife, clad in one filthy rag, scarcely sufficient for decency, labours for unwomanly tasks through the long day to add a few farthings to the scanty store, and who, bent with fatigue, and prematurely at the picture, from want and exposure, may be seen at night, robbing the tasteless leaves of wild spinach from the margin of the fetid tank to eke out the unwholesome meal of coarse rice which must suffice her and her starving family? Not even the squalid hut, with its forlorn inhabitants, escapes the lynx eye of the *piyada* (Cess-Collector). They must pay their quota to swell the flowing stream of extortion; there is the lean cow, sell that and pay; there is one brass drinking vessel, he will take that in lieu of the demand."

It remains now for me to deal with the ryots of Bengal Proper. Bengal is without doubt the wealthiest, the most advanced, and the most populous province of the Empire. It is here, if anywhere, that we expect to find the blessings of British rule shine out with the most brilliant lustre. Laws which are to govern twenty-four millions of Indian subjects for their welfare and well-being are promulgated and passed first in Bengal, and then introduced into the rest of the country, after sufficient experiment. But it is to be regretted that even here, while other classes of Her Majesty's subjects have advanced in wealth and prosperity, the landlord and the ryot have not done so in a proportionate degree. Still the condition of the ryot is far better here than in other parts of the country. Here, in Lower Bengal, he can, in times of prosperity, with the help of seasonable showers and sunshine, successfully keep the wolf from the door. He is above that pinching poverty which has made the Bihari and Urya ryot the most miserable being on the face of the earth. But in seasons of scarcity he suffers like the others. It is, however, in East Bengal that he is really prosperous and independent. He lives there in his own cottage, neatly built of bamboos and wattle, well thatched and raised on a firm foundation of well-beaten clay. It is shaded by trees and has often a garden adjoining, dense with foliage and heavy with fruit. Living in his own house, he cares not a two-pence for his landlord, with whom he is often on terms of deadly hostility. Ordinarily the ryot of East Bengal cultivates his own land, casts his net in the brooks, and demands nothing beyond peace and fine weather.

It is a well-recognised fact that the most prosperous ryot in Bengal is the ryot of Backergunge. If you wish to see the finest specimen of the Bengal peasant, go there. It is the granary of Lower Bengal and the *El Dorado* of the Bengal ryot. All the first class rice which goes by the name of *Balam Chul*, the staple food of the cream of Calcutta Babudom, is imported from Backergunge.

How prosperous the Backergunge ryots are will be manifest from the following Administration Reports of 1896, a year of great scarcity throughout the country. Mr. N. D. Beatson Bell, Officiating Collector of Backergunge, reports;—

"Rice now sells at 10 seers 8 chitaks per rupee. The great bulk of the population being agricultural is even now in great prosperity; at this moment we are probably the best fed district in India. Zamindars are collecting full rents, and ryots are squandering their money in temporary luxuries which abound in every market. I am only afraid that the high prices have tempted the peasantry into excessive sale of food grains. A few months on they may find themselves with insufficient grain for feeding themselves and sowing their fields, while their money will be mostly spent, and the price of grain perhaps higher than ever. The people of this district are delightfully imprudent. Blessed with a luxuriant soil, they live from hand to mouth as confident as Mr. Micawber that something will turn up."

Their great prosperity mainly depends on this rice trade. Rice grows all over the district, and is exported in large country boats to Calcutta and the neighbouring districts of Dacca and Faridpur. The outturn in the year 1896 was about 1,73,25,800 maunds, against 1,33,56,000 maunds in the previous year. The price rose to Rs. 4-6 in 1896 from Rs. 3-13 in 1895. Betelnuts also grow in the homestead land of almost all classes of people in this district and are largely exported to Calcutta and elsewhere in large country boats and steamers. The bulk of the export, however, goes to Burmah, where it is highly esteemed by the Mugs. The cocoanut, too, abounds all over the district and is largely exported to other parts of Bengal. In 1896 the export was about 5,00,000. Mymensingh appears to be the most lightly assessed district in the whole of Bengal. The ryots are fairly well-off, although their condition was put to a severe strain during the last famine. Although the majority of the people of this district follow the faith of the prophet, there are not more than a couple of large zemindars who are Mahomedans. The mass of the population are agriculturists, and over a crore of rupees yearly come into the pockets of such of them as are growers and sellers of the single article of jute in the district.

The district of Dacca forms the most go-ahead portion of East Bengal, the city itself being renowned as the ancient capital in Mahomedan times. In this district the tenants generally hold land directly from the landlords, the middleman being rare. The prosperity of the ryots is therefore assured.

Mr. L. P. Shirres, Collector of Dacca, thus writes in 1896 about the material condition of the people :—

“The people of this district are exceedingly well-off, chiefly owing to the low rates of rent prevailing, and to the waterways throughout the district. They have also enriched considerably in recent years by the introduction of jute. They were ~~able to~~ able to withstand the high prices of food ~~at the~~ during the year under review without exhibiting any special signs of distress. The condition of the trading classes and artisans is prosperous.”

Faridpur is famous for its very numerous sub-infeudations of zemindaris, which extend to six or seven at times. The Administration Reports show that even in Eastern Bengal the condition of the ryots is not always good. But this is the exception rather than the rule. I quote what Mr. J. H. Temple remarks regarding the district of Faridpur in his report of 1896 :—

“Like its predecessor, the year 1896-1897 began amidst plenty and prosperity ; but owing to deficient rainfall and an abnormally low flood, the outturn of the rice crop was poor, and in some parts of the district the people fared badly..... When the year opened, ordinary rice sold at 14 seers per rupee ; this price gradually rose, and it was selling at 9 seers when the year closed. This abnormally high price of rice, and the partial failure of the spring crops, have no doubt caused hardship, and in some parts of the district, especially in the Goalundo subdivision, scarcity has been reported.”

The material condition of the people of the Chittagong division cannot be said to be good. The Administration Report of 1896 says :—“Insufficient and unsatisfactorily distributed rainfall, and bad harvests for two successive years, told heavily on the material condition of the people of the division. The poorer classes of cultivators fared badly, and the labouring classes had much difficulty in finding work. While almost famine prices ruled in the market, the wages of labour remained stationary, the condition of the middle classes was almost as bad, many of them having become involved in debt. Mr. Kennedy is of opinion that the real reason of the scarcity of food in his district is the very large quantity of land given up to jute. In Noakhali, in addition to the drought, people had to face a series of other reverses ?”

The Magistrate of Noakhali writes in 1896 :—

"The state of things in the district has been rather unusual for the last four years. In 1893-94 there were serious inundations from very excessive rainfall, the mischief caused by which was immensely aggravated by the terrible cyclone of October 1893. Fortunately, the people had a little respite the next year, the crops of 1894-95 having been very good. The year following was not very prosperous, indeed one of less than average prosperity. The rains began late and ceased early. The *aus* was less than an average harvest, and the *aman*, the principal crop of the district, considerably more so, and the cyclone of 3rd October 1895 made matters seriously worse. Insect pests appeared in many places. The *ryots*, ~~and~~ ^{ready} reduced, were in bad straits. But, if the rainfall of 1895-96 was scanty and unfavourable, that of the year under report was more unfavourable still."

The Sylhet *ryots* enjoy the peculiar fortune of having the most absolute rights in the land, and resemble closely the peasant-proprietors of Europe. They have no landlord to account to. Nowhere in India do the commonest *ryots* enjoy such luxuries as fish and fruit to the same extent as in Sylhet. They cultivate their little patches of ground and mostly grow orange trees on them.

The Presidency and Burdwan divisions are admittedly the richest and most cultured portion of the Province. The present reign of law—nowhere more supreme than in these divisions—has, however, done much to destroy the friendly feeling that used to exist in former days between the Zemindar and the *ryot*, and to substitute for it continual litigation for the establishment of the legal rights of property. The high prices of corn and jute have put money into the pockets of the *ryots* of these divisions and much improved their condition. It is stated that some years ago it was not unusual to find even tolerably substantial *ryots* living on one meal a day; now they have two, many taking a small meal of cold rice, salt and onions early in the morning. So far as food is concerned, the average *ryot* cannot be said to be badly off in a prosperous year. During the last scarcity in 1876, the Collector of Hooghly writes, "in several parts of the district, cultivators and men on small salaries, including the police, were reduced to short rations."

In Birbhum and Bankura the failure of crops was extensive, and there was a good deal of suffering. In the latter district relief works had to be opened.

The Rajshahi division fared as badly, during the last scarcity, as the Presidency and the Burdwan divisions.

Perhaps nowhere is the condition of the *ryots* worse than in the Government *Khas* mahals. There the rent-roll has in-

creased by rapid bounds and the number of certificates Government has to issue, even with all its power and prestige, is much larger in proportion than the number of suits for arrears of rent instituted by private landholders. For instance, in the Palamau khas mahal the rental twenty years ago was Rs. 57,000. By the new settlement the Government has increased it to Rs. 74,000, or to more than a third of the original rental; while the rental in the estates of private landlords has increased only a fifth within the same period. This wretched state of the tenants in Government Estates is apparent from a perusal of the Administration Reports of the Khas Mahals. Thus we read in the reports of 1896:—In Bankura the ryots are in straitened circumstances and in 24 Pargannas the Bonamalipnr ryots supported themselves by illicit manufacture of salt. In Murshidabad their condition has been everywhere bad owing to poor outturn of crops. The ryots suffered similarly in Khulna, Darjeeling, Dacca and Mymensingh.

Conclusion.

I think that from what I have said above and from the testimony of Government Officials themselves it will be clear that the position of the generality of the ryots is anything but satisfactory. The ryots are prosperous in the 24 Pargunnas and suburban districts of the Presidency Division, where they generally enjoy fixed rents, and also in East Bengal, where through intelligence, industry and force of circumstances they have successfully asserted their independence. Elsewhere in Bengal Proper they manage to keep life and soul together when crops are abundant, but suffer during years of scarcity.

In Orissa and Bihar the condition of the peasantry is one of deep indebtedness and poverty. It is equally bad in Chota-Nagpur.

The picture of the French peasantry drawn by that exact and most impartial observer La Bruyere two hundred years ago will apply at this day to our cultivators of Bihar and, perhaps, of Orissa. These are his words:—"You see certain wild animals, males and females, about the land, dark, livid, naked, and all burnt with the sun, bound to the soil, which they dig and stir with an unflagging patience. They seem to articulate words, and when they stand up they show a human face, and, indeed, they are none other than men; at night they retire to their dens, where they feed on black bread, water, and roots. They save other men the trouble of sowing, digging, and reaping, and deserve not to lack of that bread which they have grown."

The question naturally arises as to the main cause of this poverty. If the excessive land revenue and cesses with which

Government has assailed landlord and tenant alike, added to the Zemindar's consequently large demands, have not impoverished the ryot, I do not know what has. Much may, no doubt, be said of the ryots' ignorance. Education, which has been making such rapid strides amongst the respectable and well-to-do natives of Bengal, has not touched in the same proportion even the skirts of the peasant and the poorer classes. While the country has been filled with hundreds of half-educated graduates and under-graduates, whom the Government cannot provide with employment and whose ambition is as boundless as the sea, there can hardly be found two in a hundred amongst the poor agriculturists and artisans who can read and write. Sir Alfred Croft, late Director of Public Instruction, has left his deliberate opinion that for the purpose of making any sensible progress in primary education, Government ought to spend at least ten lakhs of rupees more every year than it is doing at present. The yearly Administration Reports ring with one uniform complaint that for want of funds mass education is in a most backward state. The latest statistics on the point show that only 1·5 per cent. of the poor get primary education in our village schools. The Education Committee of Bengal wrote strongly to the effect that the advancing requirements of the country demand an increased expenditure on that head on the part of Government. Lord Ripon in his Convocation speech, at the Senate Hall, in 1882 referred to the dangers of the situation in these words: "We have now in India as the result of the spread of middle and higher instruction an educated class increasing in numbers from year to year, but still a mere handful when compared with the great mass of the people, for whom the means even of the most rudimentary instruction are very limited, and of whom a very large proportion are not brought within the civilizing influence of the school at all. This does not seem to me to be a healthy state of things. It is not desirable in any country to have a small, highly educated class brought into contact with a large uneducated mass; what is wanted is, that instruction should be more equally distributed, that the artisans and peasants of the land should have brought within their reach such opportunities for the cultivation of their faculties as may be possible under the circumstances of their condition, and that there should be no sharp line drawn between the educated few and the ignorant and the untrained many."

This neglect of primary education is of so culpable a character on the part of Government that no excuse can justify its conduct. Lord Curzon admitted it to some extent in his last convocation speech, from which I quote the following:—

'Primary Education can never lose its priority of claim upon the interest and support of the State. For that Government would but imperfectly discharge its duties which while it provided for the relatively intelligent and literate minority, ignored its obligation to the vast amorphous and unlettered mass of the population, and left it to lie in contented ignorance. We have recently called the attention of the Local Governments to their duty in this respect, which appears, in some cases, to have been disregarded.'

That is the primary duty of Government to impart such instruction, is now admitted by all shades of politicians and statesmen. Leave the multitude uninstructed, and there is serious risk that religious animosities, like the Benares and cow ryots and the Fallah ryots of late, and the Kol and Mundah corrections of the present day, will repeat their sad tale and produce serious disorders in the heart of populous and flourishing towns—nay in the heart of the metropolis itself. Nothing in this world is better calculated to protect the interests of the ryots than education. It will deal a death-blow to the baneful consequences of prejudices and superstitions, and make them more independent and self-reliant. It is now an established principle of social science that education tends to diminish crime as well as pauperism. I doubt whether any Government that has not imparted the rudimentary knowledge that is essentially necessary for the well-being, of the poorer classes of the people, is justified on moral grounds in rendering them amenable to a harsh penal code of laws. In 1880 the Famine Commissioners, speaking of the people of North Bihar, described them as "a tenantry very ignorant, very helpless, sunk in the most abject poverty," while again in 1882 the Government of India, in a despatch to the Secretary of State, remarked that "evidence before us of the depressed and precarious condition of the people in that part of the country is full and conclusive." As far as Chota-Nagpur is concerned the Famine Commissioners said: "About two-thirds of the population subsist on agriculture and about one-sixth are unskilled labourers, known locally as *kamias*, who are practically serfs. They are specially numerous in Manbhoom."

Mr. R. C. Dutt's statement in his Presidential address at the last sitting of the Indian National Congress, to the effect that the average rent which the Zemindar gets in Bengal is not more than a sixth of the gross produce of the land and that the share of the Government is far less, seems so egregiously wrong that I cannot allow it to go unchallenged. I shall test this generalisation by the touchstone of facts. Every student of the history of the Permanent Settlement knows full well that the Government took at that time 45 per cent., the Zemindar and under-renters only 15 per cent. and the cultivators 40 per cent. of the crops. This is exactly Sir John Shore's

estimation, and it is fully corroborated by Mr. Buchanan and a host of authorities on the subject. The Fifth Report puts the State proportion at three-fifths in fully settled lands, leaving the cultivators two-fifths (Vol. 1-18). Any argument in contravention of these statements seems to me quite unsound. To argue from the present state of things in Bengal that what amount the Government *now* takes as the share of the crops, is the standard of assessment, is simply preposterous. It was determined once for all during the Permanent Settlement, and the Zemindars have since spent crores of rupees in the purchase and improvement of their estates and the ryots have worked and laboured assiduously for the extension of cultivation throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. ^{rent} Mr. R. C. Dutt's contention falls to the ground even if ^{the} present proportion of Government revenue and Zemindar's rent to the outturn of crops be taken into account. I shall select the most prosperous district of Bengal, Backergunge, as an example. In 1895 the total outturn of crops there was 204 lakhs of maunds, the value of which amounts to 204 lakhs of rupees, taking the average price of crops at a rupee per maund. The Government revenue and Cesses come up to about 17 lakhs and the rental of the landlords and under renters to nearly 48 lakhs of rupees. This rental is therefore clearly a fourth of the entire outturn of the crops. In a year of scarcity this proportion may come up to as much as a third of the crops. In Bihar the ryot gets but $\frac{3}{16}$ ths of the produce. But when Mr. Dutt says with an air of triumph that the landlord's demand of rent should be limited to a sixth of the gross produce in Bengal, he appears to me going perilously near Mr. Parnell and promulgating like him a gospel of sheer plunder! I am, however, at one with him when he says that the boon of the Permanent Settlement should be extended to other parts of the country for the good of the Zemindar and ryot alike. Mr. Dutt is so good and well-meaning a gentleman that it is with great reluctance I animadvert on him in this article.

The prosperity of a people is indicated by the amount of their savings. Judged by this standard—the only standard put forward by political economists to gauge the condition of a people—the ryot of this country will be found very very poor indeed; grovelling in the deepest mire of poverty and indebtedness. The condition of the Irish tenantry is proverbial in the United Kingdom for its wretchedness and degradation; yet the picture of it drawn twenty years ago by one of the greatest English statesmen of the age, and one who had the greatest sympathy for Irish Home-rule, is, in comparison with that of the Indian ryot, prosperity itself.

Mr. Gladstone, in a speech on the State of Ireland, at Leeds, in October 7th, 1881, made the following remarks:—"Let me look at the farming class, which, as you know, may be said almost to constitute the body of the nation, understood as the term is understood in Ireland. Let me look at the indication of their surplus wealth. Forty years ago the deposits in the Irish banks, which are the indication of the amount of their free savings, were about five millions. Some fifteen years later than that, I think they had risen to some eleven or twelve millions. There are now of deposits in the Irish banks, which represent almost wholly the honest earnings and savings of Irish farmers, a sum of nearly thirty millions of money."

~~But~~ I give you now an idea as to the accumulated wealth of our Indian agriculturists? You may ransack the records of the Postal Savings Banks, and I dare say you will hardly find a single farthing to their credit there.

The *London Times* says, "we see a succession of famines in India, and we ask ourselves whether, apart from the calamities of nature and the disregard of all prudential checks on marriage, among a purely agricultural peasantry, other causes may not be at work." The answer to this query, is that the excessive and ever-increasing taxation of the land, together with the extortionate charges for Court-fees, stamp-fees, process-fees and pleader's fees, is mainly responsible for this most sad and deplorable state of things. The land-taxes and law charges for realising rents which add about 30 per cent. to the onerous demands on the ryot, take the life out of him in ninety-nine instances out of a hundred. If the condition of the ryot is as bad as that described in this article, in the permanently settled province of Bengal, where a class of educated and enlightened landlords are ever ready and willing to help him with their liberality and munificence, what is likely to be his state ryots elsewhere, where no such security as the Perpetual Settlement of Bengal exists, and where, at the end of every thirty years, the revenue assessments are squeezed up to the highest point, unmindful of the baneful influence they will have on landlords and tenants alike. The question raised by the *London Times* is the question of questions of the day. The famines which come in quick succession, year after year, in this country, are due principally to excessive assessment of land revenue, aggravated though they are by natural calamities such as flood or drought.

Let me conclude this article by describing in a few words the present condition of the landlord class. This condition is not an enviable one. The tremendous blow of the sunset law falls on their shoulders. The law's delay, on the other hand, puts them to a great disadvantage, and they cannot pay

the Government revenue by speedy realization of rents. The result is that most of them are steeped in debt. If statistics were taken to-day of the indebtedness of the Zemindar's class, I think hardly twenty per cent. would be found fully solvent, and barely ten per cent. in a flourishing condition. The poverty of the land-holding class of Bengal will be clearly demonstrated if their income is compared for a moment with that of English and Irish landlords.

The valued rack-rent of England and Wales in 1810 was, as returned by the Commissioners of Taxes, £29,352,301, and the rental in 1873, £99,352,301. The rental in the permanently settled provinces of Bengal was about twelve crores of rupees in the year 1876, and is sixteen crores of rupees at present. The English landlords pay about two million sterling as land-tax and a million as tithe. Deducting the three million sterling from the rental of the English landlords, there is thus left a balance of twenty-six and ninety-six millions sterling as their incomes for the years 1810 and 1873 respectively. The income of the Bengal land-holders, assuming the Road Cess valuation to be correct, is, after deducting, for revenue and cesses, five crores of rupees from their rental, about seven and nine crores of rupees for the years 1876 and 1898 respectively. It will be seen that in 1876 the English landlords were about thirteen times as rich as their poorer brethren of Bengal. Yet I have not taken into account the falling price of silver in this comparison, which will really make the English landlords immensely richer in comparison than I have said. In 1810, about a century ago, they were more than three times as rich as our Zemindars of the present day. In England the old title of "the upper ten" still represents the ten thousand millionaire landlords, who own almost the entire land of the kingdom, while our richest land-holders of that description will hardly come up to fifty individuals in all. In former days landholders were always held in high respect by the officials, and were naturally animated by a very strong sense of devotion and loyalty towards the Government. It has been the pride and privilege of the Zemindar body to have been always remarkable for upholding the dignity of the law and the Government of British India.

The loyalty of the Bengal Zemindars was strikingly exemplified during the Sepoy Mutiny. Their solicitude and anxiety for the security and integrity of the British Empire need no demonstration just now. The Town Hall meeting at Calcutta, in aid of the Mansion House Fund, testifies it in the strongest and most convincing manner.

ICH DIEN.

ART. VII.—THE ANTI-RUSSIAN CONSPIRACY IN TURKESTAN.

Last year will be remembered as a time of cyclic change, when Germany, Russia, and England firmly fixed themselves on the mainland of China; when the Phillippines, with their ten millions of Asiatic inhabitants, passed under the dominion of the United States; when, after four centuries of rule, the Spanish power rolled back from the Western hemisphere;—when the vast dominion of the Sudan, for years given up to wild and barbarous tyranny, was once more won by the English masters of Egypt. It will also be remembered as the year of a most formidable attack on Russian supremacy in Central Asia, a conspiracy equal, in fanatical spirit and potential results, to the great Indian Mutiny.

Many points about this conspiracy are still quite obscure, and the investigations and prosecutions which flowed out of it, are still uncompleted; but enough is already known to make a fairly consecutive and intelligible story of what took place. The startling feature about the whole story is, that, after a quarter of a century of peace and great prosperity, acknowledged even by the leaders of the conspiracy themselves; after twenty-five years of steady progress under Russia, a vast and determined combination, including tens of thousands of the chief inhabitants, could be boldly conceived, quietly matured, and daringly brought to the very eve of execution, without the faintest visible ripple on the surface, to warn the Russians of what was coming.

We first catch sight of the conspirators, when their plans are on the eve of completion. A vast underground propaganda had been carried on for months, perhaps for years, and the latent fires of fanaticism were ready to burst into flame. Turkestan, with Samarcand, Tashkent, and Khiva as its chief cities, had long been a stronghold of the Mussulman religion, and the Mahommedan spirit of militant faith. A special mantle of sanctity had spread over Bokhara, which, for a large division of the Mussulman world, was a more holy place than even Mecca itself. The spirit which inspired the devotees of Turkestan, is best understood by a comparison with the zeal of the old Hebrew prophets, with their unworldly and fiery devotion to an ideal law of righteousness, their passionate love for national tradition, their recognition of every event in their past history as a visible interposition of Deity, choosing them from among all peoples to declare the divine

will to the nations, and, if need be, execute that will by the sword. The fervid and fiery passion of the Semitic peoples burned as brightly in Turkestan before the Russian conquest, as it did in Jerusalem in the age of the Captivities.

The flames were covered up, not extinguished, by the advance of the Russian armies from the borders of the Siberian steppes. Thirty-four years ago, General Chernaieff won the first signal victory against the old Khans of Turkestan, when Tashkent fell into his hands and was added to the dominions of Alexander II. The next year saw the arms of Russia advance up the Syr Darya to Kodajcct, and two years later, Samarcand, great Tamerlane's capital, a city once taken by Alexander the Great, fell before the northern invader. Twenty-six years ago, Khiva was reduced to the position of a feudal dependency, and in March 1876 the last act of the drama was completed, by the annexation of Kokand, as the province of Ferghana, thus turning the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya into Russian rivers.

Then came railways, electric transport, steamboats, mills, factories, and all the arts of peace; and, during quarter of a century, the wealth of the country greatly increased. But the fires of fanaticism still burned as fiercely as ever underneath the quiet surface. Large sums were collected from the wealthy Mussulmans, and emissaries went abroad through all the khanates, calling on the inhabitants to make ready, for a blow was to be struck for Allah and the Prophet. How the actual band of warriors to whom the execution of the first part of the drama was entrusted, was organised, is not yet clearly understood; but on the afternoon of the thirtieth of May last, an army of a thousand horse and a thousand foot was actually drawn up, under the green banner of the Prophet, in the open sandy plain which leads to Andijan, the remotest of the Russian outposts towards the Chinese frontier.

The two thousand men were well organised, divided into companies and centuries, under duly appointed officers; one commander was at the head of the horse, another had supreme control of the foot, and a group of chiefs round Ishan, the leader of the rebellion, controlled the whole development of the conspiracy. The conspirators were well armed, but with cold steel alone. The leaders had determined to attack Andijan because it was the weakest of the Russian garrisons; they foresaw that success at the outset would vastly strengthen their position, and let loose the elements of popular discontent, which would soon swell their army for further and more formidable undertakings. So they bent their utmost efforts to the attainment of success from the very first.

To secure all the elements of success, they decided to attack

the Russian barracks in Andijan by night, and, for a night attack against well-armed and thoroughly disciplined troops, they saw that, to guard against premature discovery, it would be well to dispense with fire-arms altogether; since a single accidental shot would alarm the Russian regiments, and frustrate their undertaking before it was well begun. So the two thousand troops, evenly divided into cavalry and infantry, halted at the village of Kuli a few miles from Andijan. There Ishan invoked the supreme blessing of the Prophet by a gruesome and horrible ceremony, which served to kindle the fanaticism of his followers to the flashing point, while it definitely cut them loose from Russian law.

Trusting to the security which years of peace had brought, a Russian merchant named Bytchkoff had established a warehouse and a house and garden in the village of Kuli, just as English planters have their factories in hundreds of lonely and outlying nooks in British India. This merchant had in no way offended the Mussulmans, nor was it pretended that they had any enmity against him. Nevertheless he was dragged from his house by the officers of Ishan, brought into the presence of the assembled conspirators, and beheaded without the faintest show of trial or even accusation. He was a Russian, and Russian blood was needed for the ceremony of blessing the standard. The head of the unfortunate merchant, as it fell in the sand, was caught by the hair, and waved over the great green banner, laid for that purpose on the earth. His blood streaked the green banner, and the conspirators, looking on, called on Allah to protect them, to further their plan, and strike through them for the establishment of the Law.

Still massed together, the infantry in the centre, the cavalry on the wings, the troops of Ishan moved on towards Andijan. All were armed with swords and knives of Bokharan or Damascus steel, the splendid weapons which are the truest emblems of Mahomet's faith. They had tasted blood, and were burning with a single desire to fight and slay for their religion. The Russian barracks were at some distance from the native quarters of the city. Ishan's two thousand men entered the native town at nightfall, and for some hours lay hid among the houses and gardens of the faithful there, not a breath of their coming meanwhile reaching the Russian troops. This is a startling revelation of the real attitude of the East towards the West; of the sincerity of that gratitude which, we are assured, the Orientals feel for the blessings of prosperity we have conferred on them. The truth being that this very prosperity, and the sensual luxuries which follow in its wake, are added offences in the eyes of the religious and zealous elements in all Oriental religions.

The precise numbers of the Russian garrison in Andijan are not made public, as they are amongst the secrets of the Turkestan staff ; but there were apparently about four or five hundred Russian soldiers, chiefly, if not entirely, infantry, in the four barracks of the Russian fortified camp. We next see the conspirators, about midnight, gathered at the gates of the barracks. Within, all is silent ; the Russian soldiers are asleep, secure in the dream of twenty-five years' peace. Their sentinels have, so far, caught no glimpse of the throng of desperate fanatics, gathered outside in the darkness, their long keen blades drawn and ready. The cavalry, as before, are on their wings, and the infantry, a thousand in number, in the centre. They whisper the battle cry of Allah, and that terrible whisper throbs through the air, more dreadful than any articulate voice.

A space of three hundred paces separates them from the barracks. Entering the enclosure, they cross it in about ninety seconds, and are already at the doors, and still no alarm has been given. They have passed the trenches of the sappers, evidently carefully observed beforehand, without noise or accident, and the Russian soldiers are still asleep within. Then, in a moment, all is confusion and wild uproar. They are swarming into the barracks with their drawn swords, cutting at the sleeping soldiers in the darkness. The details of that struggle are unknown, but the Russians did not for an instant give way to panic, or even hesitation and uncertainty. They were at their foes with rifle and bayonet, within a few seconds of the first attack, and cries and the clash of steel were now mingled with the flash of firearms and the whistle of bullets.

A single fact, which came out in a quite formal investigation of the accoutrements of the troops, is more eloquent than all else of the real incidents of the next few minutes. The Russian troops had been supplied with a new rifle, the stock of which was made of birch. It was testified by the soldiers that, while the new gun "worked fairly well," the stocks "were too light for Asiatic heads," splitting and splintering during the struggle, while the bayonets in more than one case were bent, "especially when used against horses," and several of them broke off in the wounds. These are the vivid touches that show the reality of war, with the pageantry stripped off, and the writhing human bodies laid bare. Nor did the conspirators fight less desperately. Another little fact, from quite another quarter, this time a hospital inspection, lifts the curtains of night from those wild moments of combat. A Russian soldier in hospital had two severe wounds on his head, the skull being fractured in two

places ; there were several deep gashes in his arms and legs ; and he was pierced through the breast. The general officer inspecting the hospital asked him how his wounds were progressing :

"All that does not matter, your Excellency ; but look at my nose ; the devils have cut it off, and everyone will make fun of me." But the probability is, that this nameless flotsam of the tide of conquest never left the hospital except as a surgical subject, and so escaped the banter which he feared for his disfigured face.

While wounds like these were being dealt, in the noise and tumult, in the darkness seamed only by the red flashes of the rifles, an old Mullah with a long white beard was calmly standing in the midst of the insurgents, reading from the Koran in a loud and resonant voice, and the group of warriors round him looked for the momentary coming of "a wind from God" to strike the Infidels with death. But the wind came not, and the Infidels continued to fire on the rebels. And now it was seen that a grave mistake had been committed in concentrating the attack of the whole two thousand against only one of the four barracks ; for the other three barracks were speedily aroused by the firing, and, in a moment, were adding their fire to that of the barrack first attacked. The crowding of the rebels, giving them no room to use their sword-arms, was also a result of this concentration. This confusion, and the outflanking by the other Russian troops which it led to, were among the main causes of Ishan's failure ; yet it is easy to see how he would be justified in keeping his troops together, as otherwise a simultaneous attack by night would have been tenfold more difficult.

Amid the firing and slashing, the rebels began to fall one upon the other, writhing with bullet and bayonet wounds. They quailed before the steady volleys of the Russian soldiers, and the absence of firearms on their side was rapidly turning their reverse into a panic. We have seen how the leaders had limited their arms to cold steel, to the end of securing perfect silence, and also how perfectly that object was achieved. They did not, however, declare their intention openly to their men, but said they acted by inspiration, and that the special favour of Allah would be manifested in the victory of the sword even over the rifles of the Infidels. Further, they supplied their soldiers with consecrated staves, saying that these would protect them from even the slightest wounds. When the dead began to fall among the soldiers of Ishan, and the Russians poured their merciless fire in among them, a sudden panic and revulsion of superstition set in, the Nemesis of the false promises with which their leaders had fed them ; and in fifteen

minutes from the first attack, they were already beaten back, and their cause was lost. The leaders had seen that the whole war depended on a first brilliant success ; the first effort was a failure, and the fight was lost before it was begun.

The Russian troops, quite ignorant of the numbers of their opponents, and knowing nothing of the position of affairs outside, or of the extent to which the natives of Andijan might be ready to aid the rebels, did not follow up their first victory ; and the rebels escaped into the fields, under cover of the darkness. This was a tactical fault ; rally might very well have been fatal to the Russians, if, as was perfectly possible, the first attackers had bands of riflemen in reserve. But the Russians cannot seriously be blamed for this omission, as they had no cavalry ready, and were quite ignorant of the nature and numbers of the attacking party. The rebels carried off a number of their dead, but left thirty-one bodies lying in the open space before the barrack. Of these, seventeen had fallen by bayonet-wounds, while fourteen were pierced by bullets ; and this is probably a fairly accurate index of the relative numbers to be assigned to the " cold " and " hot " weapons, as the Russians call them. But the most deadly weapon had still to do its work.

It is still impossible to say why the attack of the rebels was not renewed ; nor is it clear, from the meagre accounts accessible, what exactly happened the morning after this first disastrous failure. Probably the rebels attempted flight, leaving their wounded in Andijan ; though the presence of the latter would be a grave menace to the safety of the inhabitants, who would be at once implicated, as accessory after the fact, in the rebellion. Pursuit, which the Russians certainly organised at the first appearance of dawn, doubtless overtook the foot-soldiers, the cavalry perhaps dispersing, and in many cases escaping altogether. However, this may be,—and it is quite possible that the Turkestan Government will keep its own counsel on the matter,—it is clear that, during the next few weeks, many arrests were made, including that of Ishan himself, the leader of this marvellously organised, but desperately ended attack on the Russian power.

The Russian soldiers stated that they were far less excited at the first onslaught, and during the bloody hand-to-hand struggle which immediately followed, than in the lull and silence which came after the first storm. Then a wave of emotion burst over them, which was a physical reaction of the nerves, and had nothing in common with fear ; and their hands trembled so that they could hardly hold their rifles, while any steady aiming was altogether out of the question. About forty of their guns were slashed and splashed with blood, bearing

all the marks of a sanguinary hand-to-hand fight, waged with all the fierceness of fanaticism on the one side, and all the trained courage of well-disciplined troops, on the other.

The grave danger which for a few hours overhung the power of Russia in Turkestan, can hardly be exaggerated. The numbers of warriors by birth and fanatical fighters by religious conviction amongst the inhabitants of Turkestan proper is very great. When Chernaieff took Tashkent, an army of thirty thousand was opposed to him. Forty thousand fought for the Emir of Bokhara. And not less than fifty thousand met the Russians under the walls of Samarcand. Had these all joined the green banner of the Prophet unfurled by Ishan, a formidable war would have been the least of the evils to which Russia was exposed, calling for the reconquest of the whole of Turkestan. The wild Turcoman tribes of Merv and Geok-Tepe might well have made common cause with their co-religionists, and to these must be added, as possible allies, all the predatory hordes who swarm along the borderland between Russia and Persia, and whose temper we can judge by the Armenian massacres of Lake Van. Further, there are the Mussulman millions of the Caucasus, who have in no degree lost their warlike spirit, or their old aspiration after lawless plunder, which is their ideal of liberty. And it was a quite definite possibility that, when the troops of Ishan stood outside the barracks of Andijan, whispering their terrible battle-cry, they might have been giving the signal for an uprising, which would have cast the Indian mutiny into the shade, convulsed Asia for years, and changed the whole future of the East.

Clearly seeing the magnitude of their danger, the Russian authorities turned all their energies to unravelling the threads of the conspiracy. This work is far from finished, as, until all the two thousand, who took actual part in the overt act of rebellion and warfare, as well as the far greater numbers who stood behind them, aiding and abetting their attempt, shall all have paid the penalty of their daring, it cannot be said that the story is closed. Meanwhile, additional traits may be added to the story, from the records of the trials. Amongst other things, it was discovered that Andijan had been isolated from the rest of Turkestan, the telegraph-wires being cut, and a Cossack scout, who was riding thither to give the garrison warning of coming danger, was intercepted and killed. Also it was disclosed that feigned attacks had been directed against both Osh and Margelan, the two garrisons nearest to Andijan in order that, pre-occupied with their own danger, they might not think of sending reinforcements to Andijan, in case the fighting there was prolonged, and word was brought of the position of the Russian troops.

The far-sightedness of this plan shows, more than anything, that this was no mere street-brawl, or anything the least like that, but a deliberately planned and carefully executed war, and that we must make very considerable additions to the numbers who actually took part in it, under arms, besides the two thousand forming the body who marched on Andijan. Had this first attack succeeded, there were not less than a hundred thousand warriors, inspired with the same spirit of fanaticism, ready to join them in their "holy war." So that the skill and resources of the authorities will be severely tried, in unravelling the threads of this wide-spread plot, and punishing the vast numbers implicated in it.

Some of the answers of the conspirators, when interrogated at their trial, shed a flood of light on the moral forces lying behind this tragedy, whose material progress we have already related. One of them said :

"Yes, I took part in this holy war, shedding the blood of infidels, fulfilling the precepts of the Prophet, and earning the reward of Paradise, and I am now in a state of blissful ecstasy, which I pray you not to break by vexatious questions. I have told everything, and shall not open my lips again."

Ishan, the leader, testified that he had undertaken this rebellion as a "Holy War," at the command of the Divinity. "Beyond question," he said, "In the days of the Khans of Kokand, the lives and persons and property of our people were far from being as securely guarded as they now are under Russian rule. But the Mussulman spirit flourished then. The people grow rich now, but their souls die. Your laws violate the principles of the Shariat ; you have abolished the church-tax of one-fortieth of all our goods, saying that it bore ruinously on the people. But did not Allah and the holy men of old know what burdens the faithful could bear ? The weak among us say that even the fivefold unction is a burden, but was it not ordained by the Prophet himself, at the command of God ? You have also set a limit to the extension of vakufs, the land consecrated to the mosques, and have forbidden the Hadj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, saying that it brings small-pox back into the Russian dominions. But do you not know that it is a high privilege to die on the road to the Holy Place ? and that such a death is a sure passport to paradise ? The family ties of the Mussulmans are threatened by your rule. Women flee from the harems, saying that they seek the protection of Russian law, but really to lead dissipated lives. Therefore I pondered deeply on the matter, desiring the freedom of the Shariat, and asking myself how I should escape the inevitable wrath of God, if I failed to fulfil the holy ordinances. All the pillars of the Mussulman world, with whom I communed con-

cerning my bitter thoughts, were of one accord in declaring that it was time to raise the standard of our fallen honour. These thoughts spread, with weeping and gnashing of teeth, among the faithful of Ferghana. They say that I cried out 'gazawat,' thereby urging my people against the infidels ; but this could only have been in a moment of delirium or of sickness. But what was to be done, that the salvation-bringing Shariat might be restored ? ”

Another conspirator took arms for the old native rule of the Khans of Kokand. He had been a great and rich man under them, and a Major-General in the native army. When the Russians conquered Ferghana, he was one of the last to submit, and lost his all. He became reduced to the necessity of driving a hired coach, to earn a living. His dream was to gain once more the proud position he had held of old, and die, if he might not live, once more a leader of armies.

A third rebel was frankly and simply bloodthirsty. “ I am a warrior by birth,” he said, “ and my father and grandfather were warriors before me. I have no fault to find with Russian rule. I simply seized my weapons, when the others did, from an innate desire for fighting. Where they went, I also went. I am quite indifferent to death.”

Another side of the obscure and hidden feelings of this far-off people is revealed in the evidence that follows:—

“ I am a humble and insignificant man,” said one of the conspirators, “ I heard nothing, and knew nothing, concerning the revolt which was in progress, or the disorders of the country. In truth, I saw nothing beyond the margin of my own rice-field. I was sleeping with two of my orphaned grandchildren ; and my wife, as decrepit as myself, was also sleeping, when a finely mounted horseman rode up to the door of my hut, woke me, and commanded me to follow him on horseback. He was armed ; therefore what could a poor man like me do, but submit ? while the fighting was going on, I held the bridle of his spare horse. I have nothing to say against being condemned and executed, if only my orphans are not starved ! ”

One of the conspirators, a well-known Mussulman, was asked how he could hope to overcome the might and majesty of the Russian arms whose invincible might was known to the whole world. How could a small, weak province like Ferghana hope to struggle successfully against the immense Russian Empire ? To this the rebel made reply :

“ Sir, it is true that there is talk in the bazars of the immensity and might of Russia. But is there little idle gossip in the bazars ? But I myself view the world from the roof of my own house.”

This is one of the few relieving touches of humour, in what

is otherwise a story of grim tragedy. Of moral and spiritual elements like these, best to be understood and interpreted by the zeal and fervour of the old Hebrew prophets, was formed the explosive force which threatened to blow the stability of Russian Turkestan into the air. It was due rather to accident, than either to the preparedness of the Russian authorities, or any serious miscalculation in the plan of the insurgents, that this tragedy did not reach appalling limits. Amongst the crowd of fanatics who fell upon the garrison at Andijan, there were several quite distinct elements ; fanatics, zealous and irreconcilable adherents of the faith of the One God ; there were adherents, interested or disinterested, of the old native rule of the Khanate of Kokand ; and there were turbulent spirits, moved by mere love of fighting, and who might just as well have been on the other side, fighting the battles of Russia in some native regiment. Finally, there were many elements carried along in the current, victims of inevitable fate, weak slaves of circumstance and ignorance. Even Ishan, who stood at the head of this revolt, and infused his martial spirit into it from the outset, bringing it, as we have seen, through all the terrible days of doubt and suspense, fear of discovery and betrayal, which hang like a thundercloud over all under-ground movements ; even Ishan was steeped in a naive and pitiable ignorance. He believed himself to be possessed of miraculous powers ; and that he was a man of great personal magnetism, is not to be doubted ; he further believed himself to have a direct commission from Allah, through Allah's vicegerent on earth, the Turkish Sultan, to overthrow the Sultan's old enemy, Russia. And the grounds of his belief that the Sultan morally supported him, were, that he had been presented with a cloak, alleged to have been worn by the Sultan himself. When he was asked why he believed his cloak came from the Commander of the Faithful, he smiled indulgently, but with absolute conviction, and answered, that everyone knew that only the Sultan wears cloaks with pockets.

But side by side with this vein of child-like simplicity, was a current of deep strategic foresight, and that martial spirit which has hovered over the prophet's banner since the days of the first conquest of Islam. Finely and daringly conceived, the attack broke down from the tactical weakness of the rebel army, at the supreme moment ; a weakness which nothing but long years of steady discipline could have overcome. The leader felt compelled to hold his band together to the very last, knowing that this was the only way to keep them under control. But this too great concentration was the cause of their ruin.

Russians who are familiar with Central Asia, say that their
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fellow-countrymen had come to look rather with contempt on the Sarts, the Persian element of the conquered peoples, as a weak and cowardly race, into whose thin blood they had suffused such fear of the Russian name, that they would remain abject slaves for ages. "If it came to the ears of the Russians that fanatical and disaffected speeches were spreading through the bazars, they generally answered : "It is the dying whisper of the past ; a voice crying in the wilderness, which will have no result." This is exactly the spirit of security which pervaded the minds of the English in India on the eve of the great Mutiny of 1857.

Another element which seconded Ishan's scheme of sudden surprise, was the real and simple-hearted confidence which Russians, not of the military party, and therefore not touched with their almost insolent assurance of superiority, always exhibit towards the strangers and native races with which they come into contact. No people in the world possesses in so great a degree the power of sincerely fraternising with other races, and especially with Asiatics, who have so much of the same feeling of fatalism and unworldliness which distinguishes the Russians. As a race, the Russians are not self-conscious ; not full of that spirit of militant and assertive individualism which we are so accustomed to in the nations of German and Scandinavian stock, to which we largely belong. The Russian is not impressed with his personal superiority, or fretfully anxious to assert it ; and therefore he gets on easily with the more reticent, or more sensitive nations of the East, whom the Teuton browbeats, and drives into sullen mutiny.

This genuine good-heartedness of the Russian population adds to the tragedy of the whole episode ; for we cannot but feel a strong sympathy with the religious zeal and idealism which stirred the Mussulman rebels. Both parties were filled with feelings which we can sincerely admire, as indeed is always the case in all noble strife ; but they hopelessly misunderstood each other, and this misunderstanding is a seemingly impassible gulf. It can be bridged only by a gradual transformation of both Russian and Mussulman, by their ceasing to be what they now are ; or by the elimination of one party to the contest.

The idea that the Sarts are a cowardly race, is characterised by many among the Russians themselves as an ungenerous falsehood. Both in the old native annals of Andijan, and in the more recent conflicts between Russia and the Khans, many of the warriors always acquitted themselves with signal valour. They know how to die, as do all Mussulmans. And this is especially visible now, when the time has come to inflict on them the punishment which their unsuccessful act of rebellion

has drawn down on their heads. They move all beholders to admiration by the way they meet death. Not a nerve in their faces quivers ; they do not betray dissatisfaction, much less despair, even by a single gesture. The parties of rebels are brought to the gallows, and their fetters and chains are removed. The executioners lead the first of them under the noose, and the others take their places of their own accord. They notice that the hands of the first are bound behind their backs ; and they themselves cross their hands behind them, ready to be tied. What more perfect courage than this could be shown by any race, by the followers of any religion ?

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

ART VIII.—THE TAO-TEH-KING OF LAO TZE.

Lao Tze's Tao-teh-King, Chinese-English, with Introduction, Transliteration and Notes. By Dr. Paul Carus: Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1898.

THERE is, perhaps, no other human document of like authority that transports the Western reader into so unfamiliar an atmosphere as the Canon on Reason and Virtue of Lao-Tze, or the "Old Philosopher," as the author of the Tao-teh-King is called by the Chinese. Yet it is less upon the ideas expressed in it, than upon the manner of their expression, that this sense of strangeness depends. In the conception which is the foundation of Lao Tze's philosophy—that of the Tao, or Eternal Reason, or Norm; immutable, all-pervading, incorporeal, imperceptible by sense; the root from which everything proceeds and to which every thing returns—we have the analogue, if not the counterpart, of the Brahman of the Hindu, the Idea of the Platonist, the Pure Form of Kant. His ethical ideal of non-action, or quietude, by which he appears to mean submission to the Tao-ordained natural order of the universe, and subjugation of desire, is, again, closely related to the Nirvana of Buddhism; while the doctrine of Return to the Root, as set forth in the 16th Chapter of the Tao-teh-King, recalls the speculation of the Vedanta. Lao-Tze, however, preceded Buddha by a hundred years, and there is no valid reason for thinking either that he inspired the great Indian sage, or that he derived his idea from the Brahmins.

It is highly probable, indeed, that the Hindu Brahman, the Tao of Lao Tze, or his teachers, whoever they may have been, and the Logos of the Neo-Platonists and the Fourth Gospel, were but so many variants of a conception which was widely diffused in Asia from a period more remote than any record.

We shall find, when we come to examine the Canon of Lao Tze in some detail, that his theory of the origin and nature of the concrete universe differs in important respects from that either of the Vedantist or of the author of the Fourth Gospel. A word, however, before we go any further about the "Old Philosopher" himself.

He was born, then, in Ch'u Ihren, a village in the County of Li, in the State of Cho, or in what is now the Province of Honan, in China, and he was born in the third year of the reign of the Emperor Ting-Wang, of the Cho dynasty. Almost all that is authentically known of his life is contained in a brief memoir embodied by Sze Ma Oh'ien in his Shi Ki,

or Historical Records, which were composed in the early part of the first Century before Christ. After mentioning his birth-place, family, name and titles, Sze Ma Ch'ien goes on to say that he was in charge of the secret archives in Cho, as State Historian. Thither Confucius went to him, to consult him as to the rules of propriety, and there is some satisfaction in knowing that that arch-precisian received a severe rebuke for his pains. "When," we are told, "Confucius, speaking of propriety, praised reverence for the sages of antiquity, Lao Tze said: 'The men of whom you speak, Sir, have, if you please, mouldered, along with their bones. Their words alone still remain. If a noble man finds his hour, he rises; but, if he does not find his hour, he drifts, like a roving plant, and wanders about. I observe that the wise merchant hides his treasure deeply as if he were poor. The noble man of perfect virtue assumes an attitude as though he were stupid. Let go, Sir, your proud airs, your many wishes, your affectation and exaggerated schemes; all this, Sir, is of no use to you. That is what I have to say to you; and that is all.'"

The rebuke is Johnsonian alike in its brutal frankness and in its point. Confucius was dumb-founded, as he may well have been, and left without more ado. Returning to his expectant disciples, he said: "I know that the birds can fly. I know that the fishes can swim. I know that the wild animals can run. For those which run, one could make nooses. For those which swim, one could make nets. For those which fly, one could make arrows. As to the dragon, there is no knowing how he bestrides the wind and the clouds when he rises heavenwards. To-day I saw Lao Tze. Is he, haply, like the dragon?"

Sze Ma Ch'ien adds that Lao Tze practised reason and virtue, and that his doctrine inculcates self-concealment and namelessness. He lived for the greater part of his life in Cho; but when he foresaw the decay of that place, he departed and went to the frontier (apparently the Western frontier). When he was about to leave, the Custom-house officer, Yin-Hi, said: "Sir, since it pleases you to retire, I request you for my sake to write a book;" and, in spite of his desire for namelessness, he consented. The book he wrote was the famous Tao-teh-King, in which are discussed "the concepts of reason and virtue," and which is comprised in something over five thousand words. "Then," says Sze-Ma-Ch'ien, "he departed; and no one knows where he died."

The most comprehensive statement of the doctrine of the Tao, as held by Lao Tze, is to be found in the first Chapter of the Tao-teh-King, entitled Realisation, or Embodiment, of the

* In this, and other instances, we have followed with but slight modification, the rendering of Dr. Paul Carus in his work on the Tao-teh-King.

Tao, or Eternal Reason. "The Reason that can be reasoned," says the writer, "is not the Eternal Reason. The name that can be named is not the Eternal Name. The unnameable is of heaven and earth the beginning. The nameable becomes of the ten thousand things the mother. . . . These two things are the same in source, but different in name. Their sameness is called a mystery. Indeed, it is the mystery of mysteries. Of all spirituality it is the door."

With this may be read Chapter 4 :—"Reason is empty ; but its use is inexhaustible. In its profundity, verily, it resembleth the father of the ten thousand things. . . . Oh, how calm it seems to remain. I know not whose son it is. Before the Lord, Reason takes precedence."

Again, in Chapter 14, we are told : "We look at Reason and do not see it ; its name is colourless " (*i. e.*, it is devoid of colour). "We listen to Reason and do not hear it ; its name is soundless (*i. e.*, it is devoid of sound). We grope for Reason and do not grasp it ; its name is incorporeal (*i. e.*, it is devoid of substance). "These three things cannot be further analysed. Thus they are combined and conceived as a unity which on its surface is not clear, but in its depth not obscure. For ever and aye Reason remains unnameable, and again and again it returns home to non-existence. This is called the form of the formless, the image of the imageless. This is called transcendently abstruse."

In Chapter 25 the Tao is identified with Being that is all containing and precedes the existence of heaven and earth. "How, calm it is ! How incorporeal ! Alone it stands and changes not. *Everywhere it goes without check, and on that account becomes the world's mother.*"

Elsewhere Lao Tze says that Reason, so long as it remains absolute, is unnameable ; *but as soon as it creates order* it becomes nameable.

About this rendering, however, as about the rendering of much else in the Tao-teh-King, there is considerable divergence of opinion. The literal meaning, Dr. Carus observes, is : "In the beginning, when arranging, (there is) the having name ;" and the most reasonable interpretation of this would seem to be that the beginning of order is the naming (or discrimination) of individual things. But Dr. Carus thinks there is no doubt that *Tao* must be supplied as the subject of the sentence.

"The Tao in itself," he says, "is unnameable; but it becomes nameable, that is to say determinable as the immanent principle of order in concrete existences, *i. e.*, the Tao is definite as soon as it is practically applied, either in the creation of the world, where it appears at Cosmic order, or anywhere in logic

arithmetic, mathematics, or any possible system of pure reason."

Most important of all, perhaps, in this connexion, is Chapter 42, in which Lao Tze says: "Reason begets unity; unity begets duality; duality begets trinity, and trinity begets the ten thousand things. The ten thousand things are sustained by *Yin* (the negative principle); they are encompassed by *Yang* (the positive principle), and the immaterial *Ch'i* (the breath of life) renders them harmonious." As to this Dr. Carus remarks: "The trinity of which Lao Tze speaks is the *Yin*, the *Yang*, and the *Ch'i*, viz., the negative principle, the positive principle, and the breath of life, or the spirit. In their unity they are the Tao. The resemblance which this trinity bears to the trinity doctrines in general is no evidence that Taoism has been derived from Brahmanism. Nor is it a triple personality. Lao Tze's trinity doctrine is quite abstract and philosophical, it may be based upon older teachings, or it may be his own interpretation of the traditional views of the *Yang* and *Yin*, in combination with the idea of the *Ch'i*, all three of which are contained in the *Tao*, as the all comprising rationality of existence, the divine *Logos*, the highest unifier, the principle of oneness for all thoughts and things."

It seems to us, however, distinctly to imply the conception of polarity, combined with energy, or motion, as the origin of "the ten thousand things" and their interaction; and, remembering that the condition under which movement necessarily implies polarity, is a universal plenum, this brings us very near to the conception of an all pervading ether, which, indeed, as we know from Chwang Tze, was part of the Taoist theory of the universe.

That Lao Tze should present us with an intelligible explanation of so essentially transcendental a problem as how, out of the One Impersonal, arises the myriad personal; out of the timeless, succession; out of the spaceless, direction, was not to be expected. Nevertheless, amid much that is obscure, there are certain points in these statements of inevitable paradox which stand out with unmistakeable clearness.

In the first place, while the eternal, impersonal, absolute Reason, which comprehends all things, and which is unnameable, is declared to be the root out of which the concrete universe (the ten thousand things) arises, we are told that it does not immediately create the concrete. It is the personal, the limited, the nameable reason that becomes "the mother of the ten thousand things." These two things, the unnameable and the nameable, are, however, declared to be essentially the same, and their sameness, we are told, is the mystery of mysteries. We are further told that it is in virtue of its power

of going everywhere unhindered that it becomes the mother of all things, *i.e.*, that it originates the concrete world, and that it is when it creates order that it becomes the nameable.

Whether the nameable is regarded by Lao Tze as identical with the Lord, spoken of by him in Chapter 4, of which the absolute Reason takes precedence, is uncertain.

On this point, Dr. Carus says, in a note: "The term *Ti*, or frequently *Shang Ti*, meaning 'Lord,' or 'The Highest Lord,' is commonly used in Chinese in the same sense as the English term Lord in the Bible. It means God and implies always the personality of God. The context, however, justifies neither the conclusion that Lao Tze regarded the Tao as a personal Deity, nor that he thought of the Tao and God as two distinct entities. He may and probably did introduce the word *ti* (God), as commonly used and understood by the people, neither affirming nor denying his existence, simply stating that Tao, or Reason, or the Logos (*vis.*, the prototype of human reason, those inalienable conditions of all the relations of any possible reality, which logicians and mathematicians formulate in rules that are possessed of an intrinsic necessity and universality) is truly and unequivocally eternal; it is absolutely eternal, while the Lord, supposing him to be a personal being, can only be regarded as relatively eternal. The Tao is prior even to God."

The probability would seem to be that the *Ti*, or God, spoken of as posterior to the unnameable Reason which is before all things and the root of all things, is to be identified with the nameable, which is the mother of the ten thousand things, *i.e.*, the concrete world, and that it is in view of this fact, coupled with the identity in origin of the nameable with the unnameable, that the Taoists constantly personify the Tao and use the term as a synonym of God. Indeed, as Dr. Carus reminds us, Lao Tze himself, in places, speaks of the Tao as the world-mother and the mother of the ten thousand things, which, except on the supposition that he is referring to the nameable Tao only, would be inconsistent with the statement in Chapter 4, already quoted.

"The Tao," says Dr. Carus, "is Kant's 'purely formal.' Thus it is called *ta chwang*, the great form, and *ta hsiang*, the great image. Other expressions of a similar significance are *liao*, vacancy, or a condition of not being occupied, and *chi*, noiselessness, or a void of activity. It is the absolute whose essence is not concrete being, but abstract law. To characterise the former, the absence of all the concrete reality, it is called *wu*, or the non-existent; to characterise the latter, the abstractness of this highest of all generalities, it is called *ch'ung*, hollowness, or *hsü*, emptiness, or the void. As the ultimate

ground of existence it is called *hsüen*, abyss, an expression which reminds one of the neo-Platonic *buthos* and the *urgrund* of the German mystics."

As regards the question of the nature of the concrete world, it is to be observed that there is nothing in the Tao-teh-King that corresponds to the Vedantic doctrine of *Maya*. Lao Tze appears throughout to assume the reality of the ten thousand things. It is true, he insists repeatedly and emphatically on the return, not only of every individual existence, but of the concrete world collectively, to its root, that is to nothingness, to formlessness. Thus not only does he say: "All the ten thousand things arise, and I see them return. Now they bloom in bloom, but each one homeward returneth to its root," referring to physical death, or disintegration, but he says of the unnameable Reason, "again and again it returns home to non-existence," that is it ceases to be manifested through the nameable. Indeed, one of the names which he gives to the Tao is, '*fan*,' the Returning. But there is nothing to indicate that he regards the world of sense as other than real while it endures. Indeed, he affirms explicitly that, while existence comes from non-existence and returns to it, "heaven and earth and the ten thousand things come from existence."

It is on its ethical side, however, that the Canon of Lao Tze will probably possess most interest for the general reader. The key-note of his teaching is submission to the eternal Reason, or what, literally interpreted, is non-action. Dr. Carus rightly insists that this principle is not to be understood as inactivity in the ordinary sense, and he would translate the expression as "non-assertion." It seems clear, however, that, while Lao Tze certainly inculcates non-assertion of self, the principle means much more than this as ordinarily understood. It is correctly, if not quite adequately, described by Dr. Carus when he says: "Lao Tze demands the surrender of personal ambition and all selfish strivings. *His aim is not to fashion, not to make, not to push or force things, but to let them develop according to their own nature.*"

In order to understand the rationale of this doctrine of quietude, it is necessary to consider Lao Tze's views of the relation between the eternal and absolute Reason and reason as it is individualised in man and other living beings. The former, it is to be remembered, though the source of all transformations, does not act. It is law, not action; immutable; impassible. The individualised reason, on the other hand, impels every living being to seek its own good; and the more it does this, the more it departs from the pattern of the eternal Reason.

To Lao Tze, indeed, all such action is interference with the natural course of things. Lao Tze's whole philosophy, says Dr. Carus, "can be condensed in these words: 'Men, as a rule, attempt for personal ends to change the Tao that is eternal; they endeavour to create or make a Tao of their own. But when they make they mar; all they should do is to let the eternal Tao have its way, and otherwise be heedless of consequences, for then all will be well.' " It is apparent from numerous passages in the *Tao-teh-King* that, in embracing this ideal of right conduct, Lao Tze is influenced by a profound conviction, not merely that the existence of evil depends on the operations of the individualised Tao, but that the sum total of evil is directly proportional to the extent and intensity of those operations.

"When in the world all understand beauty to be beauty," he says in Chapter 2, "then only ugliness appears. When all understand goodness to be goodness, then only badness appears." And then, after quoting, by way of illustration, a passage in which the mutual dependence of such opposites as existence and non-existence, long and short, above and below, before and after, is insisted on, he goes on to say: "Therefore the holy man abides by non-assertion in his affairs and conveys by silence his instruction."

Still more explicitly, in Chapters 18 and 19, we are told: "When the great Reason is obliterated, we have benevolence and justice. Prudence and circumspection appear and we have much hypocrisy. When family relations no longer harmonise, we have filial piety and paternal love. When the country and the clans decay through disorder, we have loyalty and allegiance.

"Abandon your saintliness; put away your prudence; and the people will gain a hundred-fold. Abandon your benevolence; put away your justice; and the people will return to filial devotion and paternal love. Abandon your scheming; put away your gains; and thieves and robbers will no longer exist."

In other words, it is only relatively to the individualised Tao that good and evil exist. Relatively to the absolute Tao, whatever happens, happens equally according to law, however it affects this or that individual consciousness. No, for Lao Tze, is this truth a mere truism. His ideal of supreme blessedness is that state of rest to which the great Tao ever returns; his ideal of blessedness for the individual is in following, not the promptings of what is human in him, but what is eternal; in approaching as nearly as possible to the likeness of the great Tao. "All the ten thousand things," he says, "arise, and I see them return. Now they bloom in bloom, but each

one homeward returneth to its root. Returning to the root means rest. It signifies the return according to destiny. Return according to destiny means the eternal. Knowing the eternal means enlightenment. Not knowing the eternal causes passions to rise ; and that is evil "

Again : " To know the harmonious is called the eternal. To know the eternal is called enlightenment."

The simplest wants ; the simplest ethical standards ; the simplest and fewest laws, such is Lao Tze's ideal of the right individual, social and civic life. The more man desires, the further he departs from the great Tao ; out of the multitude of ethical distinctions comes misconduct ; out of the multitude of laws come offences.

" The more restrictions and prohibition are in the Empire," he says in Chapter 57, " the poorer grow the people, the more weapons the people have, the more troubled is the State. The more there is cunning and skill, the more startling events will happen. The more mandates and laws are enacted, the more there will be thieves and robbers. Therefore the holy man says : ' I practise non-assertion, and the people of themselves reform. I love quietude, and the people of themselves become righteous. I use no diplomacy, and the people of themselves become rich. I have no desire, and the people of themselves remain simple.' "

He extends the same principle to the relations of States towards one another. " A great State, one that lowly flows, becomes the Empire's union, and the Empire's wife. The wife always through quietude conquers her husband, and by quietude renders herself lowly. Thus a great State through lowliness towards small States will conquer the small States, and small States through lowliness towards great States will conquer great States."

Lao Tze was probably only too well aware that, for the mass of men, observance of the letter of his precepts would, in so artificial a society as that of China, even in the sixth Century, B. C., have been impracticable. On the other hand, he frankly tells us that he regards such a state of society as a misfortune. " Induce people," he says in Chapter 80, " to return to (the old custom) of knotted cords, and to use them (in the place of writing), to delight in their food, to be proud of their clothes, to be content with their homes, and to rejoice in their customs. Then in a neighbouring state within sight, the voices of the cocks and dogs would be within hearing, yet the people might grow old and die before they visited one another."

One cannot help feeling that a certain vein of exaggeration runs through the ethical counsels of the Tao-teh-King ; and

this is not improbably attributable to its being to a great extent intended as a counterblast to the teachings of Confucius, who seems to have been the *bête noire* of the doughty "old philosopher." The result is a tendency towards a paradoxical mode of expression which must not be taken too literally. When, for instance, Lao Tze says that when family relations no longer harmonise, we have filial piety and maternal love, he is not to be understood as meaning that family dissensions are the cause of filial piety and maternal love ; but that it is the prevalence of such dissensions alone that leads to emphasis being laid on the duty, or merit, of conduct which ought to be the spontaneous outcome of natural feeling. No doubt, too, Lao Tze felt that to make a virtue of the observance of natural obligations of this kind was to incur the risk of demoralising those to whom the possibility of their violation would otherwise never have suggested itself.

ART. IX.—WHEN TIRUMALA THE GREAT RULED.

THE eye of the traveller is at once taken by the noble proportions of an effigy seen in the Vasanta Mantapam, at Madura. The figure is that of 'Tirumala' the great Nayakkan; and under his personal superintendence, it is said, it was sculptured. In appearance it is that of a large and corpulent man who strikes one as being by no means unmindful of the pleasures of the table. His proportions notwithstanding, Tirumala was one of the most active and energetic of rulers. He rose before dawn, and for some hours after employed his time, if he had no pressing affairs of State to attend to, in looking to the erection of some great State building, or in looking on while some work of art was being executed by his sculptors or artists. A skilled artist was his special delight, and nothing pleased him more than to honour such a one by a compliment or by an offer of betel-nut from his own royal hand. He, as often as not, crossed over to the Tannakan, either to watch a match between a tiger and a buffalo, or to see a couple of athletes wrestle; or, perchance, he might ride away to the open plains north of Madura to hunt the antelope with the trained cheetah. He returned to his palace when the morning grew warm, and, after performing the ordinary Hindu ablutions, took the principal meal of the day, after which he enjoyed the long siesta during the mid-day heat. In the afternoon he granted audiences, dealt with petitions orally and decided important suits in the Hall of Justice. These last were decided as far as possible in accordance with the well-known customs of the several castes to which the litigants belonged, the King being assisted in arriving at a decision by learned Brahman assessors. Usually the suits which the King sat to decide upon had reference to precedence of rank, or the right to worship in a particular place at a particular time and in a particular manner; or to set up an idol in some so-called suitable place; or the right to ride in a palanquin or claim some privilege highly prized, but detrimental to the social status of individuals belonging to other castes. Two cases in point may be cited as examples. When Tirumala himself was completing the Vasanta Mantapam, about which he took so much pains, all those of the Vaishnava sect opposed the setting up therein, by the Saivites, of a column on which was to be placed an image of the Ekapadamurti. On another occasion a dispute arose between the Dedan, or Tamil, weavers and another caste as to which of the castes was entitled to precedence at public entertainments

to receive betel-nut. Suits such as these occupied the King's attention for some little time, he either deciding them himself or referring them to a couple of arbitrators for settlement. He next ordinarily passed his time in propounding difficult ethical and metaphysical questions to learned Brahmans who argued them out in his presence; or he would listen to the relation of fables or facetious tales; or rhymers who improvised poems, strolling bards, or minstrels, were bidden to recite, play or sing before him. Moreover, there were encouraged to take up their abode near the King's palace those who could please by adroitness, whether mental or physical. These were ever ready, at a moment's notice, to perform before the King and his courtiers, or the ladies of the King's harem. After twilight, torches were lit and the ceremony of the torch-salutation was gone through. Then began the real business of the day. Visitors of rank were received in State; and consultations on high matters of state were discussed with ministers, while tom-toms beat and pipes played noisily and the interminable nightly nautch moved slowly on. The King retired late at night.

Many of our readers, perhaps, imagine that the then kingdom of Madura comprised merely the present administrative District of Madura in the Madras Presidency. Such was far from the case. When the great Tirumala ruled, he held sway over the Tinnevely country, over a good portion of Travancore, over the present administrative district of Madura, over about a third of the Tanjore district and the whole of the Trichinopoly district, and over the Coimbatore and Salem districts. In these lands Poligars held territories as military fiefs. The Sethupathi of Ramnad paid homage but no tribute; and the King of Travancore paid tribute only when he was compelled to do so. To protect the Kingdom from outside invasion, forts were erected by the Nayakkan in certain centres, many of which are perhaps familiar to the Indian traveller. They were:—Dindigul, Dharapuram, Coimbatore, Tannenja Nayakkan, Sattiamangalam, Audiyâr, Erode, Kangeiyam, Vijayamangalam, Karar, Nâmâkal, Sendamangalam, Salem, Melûr, Sankeigiri, Samapalli, Aravakurichi, Mugatûr, Sakka-giri, Mamatti and Sekanagiri.

Despotism of the purest kind was the form of Tirumala's Government. Absolute though he was, he was checked not only by fear of insurrection on the part of the people, but also by dread of rebellion by his feudal lords and the powerful officers of the State, all of whom had a share in some way in the administration of the affairs of the country. His fear in these respects was as lively as it was ever present. Seldom, indeed, did the great Tirumala ever venture to outrage the

principles of justice and morality, such ideas of them at least as his subjects had inherited from countless generations of ancestors. There was a well-defined public opinion which he durst not attempt to insult, for it was unsafe to do so.

To assist him in the administration of the Kingdom, Tirumala had five Ministers. The chief of these was the *Delavoy*. In him were united the offices of Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. His powers were large. The King hardly ever decided upon declaring war or making peace without his advice. No new tax was imposed, no new law made, no great public work undertaken without his being consulted. Of official precedents and knowledge he was the great repository and he was directly responsible for all blunders. In his wisdom and honesty the King placed the greatest confidence; and as Commander-in-Chief the King relied on him for the conquest of his enemies, whether domestic or foreign.

The collection of the revenues and the entire administration of the country were entrusted to the *Pudani*, who was the Minister of Finance.

The drafting of correspondence, preparation of grants and orders and keeping of notes of all transactions of high import belonged to the portfolio of the *Rajasam*, who was the King's confidential secretary. It was considered that his position was as exalted as his duties were important.

An office that was thought to be not only vastly important, but also most honourable, was that of the *Kanakkan*, or accountant general. On him fell the responsibility regarding the correctness of all accounts touching the expenditure and receipt of revenue. There was a common saying of the times that he "must keep his account as true as the sun; or even if the sun were to rise in the west, his account must not vary."

Lastly there was the Ambassador, or *Sthamapati*, who represented his royal master in foreign courts. His qualifications were fluency of speech, unconsciousness of the truth, and a thorough acquaintance with the politics, customs, etiquette and peculiarities of the several countries his King might happen, in the course of events, to deal with. Moreover, it was necessary that he should be able to observe acutely and deduce correctly.

Besides these officers of high state, Tirumala the Great found it necessary to appoint Chiefs of influence and opulence to administer, as Governors, two of his most important provinces. One was the Administrator of the Tinnevely country, and the next in importance the Governor of the rich province of Sattiyamangalam.

The revenue administration in vogue in the time of the

great Tirumala is worthy of examination. Just as the Collectories of the Madras Presidency in the present time are formed, so consisted the Kingdom in his days. There was an aggregate of villages, or *municipia*, whose boundaries were unalterable and whose population was a distinct community, hereditary headmen regulating its affairs. Thus in each *municipium* there were a Magistrate, *Kanakkans* or revenue collectors, *tahsils*, or policemen, and other functionaries. So its affairs were managed, the King's Government noticing it but little save in time of invasion.

In size and importance villages, of course, varied, and their denominations were in accordance with the number of the houses and inhabitants, and the caste and position of the latter. Thus, an *ur* was a village occupied by Telugus or Kanarese ; a *patti* or *Kurichi* was a small village whose inhabitants were Kullars ; a fortified village bore the name of *Kottai* ; while a *Mangalam* was a village inhabited by Brahmans and containing rich rice lands ; ordinary Tamil villages being designated as *gramas* or *kudis*.

To control the headmen of *municipia* there were administrative officers vested with extensive powers. Each such officer was placed in charge of a territorial division, which was made up of a group or groups of villages arranged according to circumstances for the facilitation of revenue collections. As in the case of villages, so was it in regard to territorial divisions, so far as their denominations went. Thus, in the Maravar country a territorial division was designated a *mahanam*. The Kullars called theirs a *nadu*. The district round about Madura was so rich that in early times it was known as the "excellent *Nadu* of Madura." The largest divisions in the country were termed *simeis*. In the Maravar and Kullar tracts the village officers who collected revenue were called *ambalakans*, while in ordinary Tamil districts they were styled *maniyakarans*. They collected the taxes due to the King, remitting these dues through their accountants, the *Kanakkapilleis*, to the officers in charge of *mahanams*, *nadus* and *simeis*. These last accounted for their receipts to the *Prudani*, or Minister of Finance.

The royal revenues were chiefly derived from the land, and were for the most part payable in kind. The King was the sole landlord of all lands save those granted in perpetuity to Poligars and other nobles, to Brahmans, temples and religious institutions. The produce of the lands of each village was divided between the ryots who cultivated them and the King, the proportion being exactly equal. Whether the ryot actually got his share is doubtful. It depended entirely on the rapacity of the King's superior collectors and

the adroitness of the petty local officials in regard to their power of deceiving the collectors. There is a theory often put forward that in the good old days of purely Hindu Government the cultivator of the soil ordinarily enjoyed from three-fourths to nine-tenths of the produce he raised. But it is only a theory, altogether unsupported by facts. The letters of the Jesuit Fathers, the most authentic records of the times, are far from supporting this untenable theory.

The King's next source of revenue was tribute. This source was, however, a variable quantity. It was constantly withheld wholly or in part, when force had to be employed to collect it. There were several very curious petty imposts on land, one of the most arbitrary being the *Er-vinci*, or *plough-tax*. The necessity for the imposition of the *ferry-boat* tax seems to be intelligible enough, for bridges were unknown in those days and mountain torrents were numerous. This tax was assessed on the cultivated lands of each village in order to provide funds for the maintenance of royal ferry-boats whereby travellers could cross rivers, when swollen with rains, in safety and without charge.

Government undertook the task of providing for the protection of crops grown. So a watching tax, the *Kavali-vari* was imposed for the remuneration of Government watchers.

On high days and holidays the gigantic cars of the gods had to be dragged along in procession. Accordingly each village was bound to provide a certain number of men for the work, this service being designated and taxed as *ter-uliyan* or *car-service*. Besides these imposts, these were taxes that affected the interests of more than one village. The weaver's loom paid its tax, and so did every indigo vat, every retail shop, every oil-mill, and every house where lived an artificer. The collector of wild honey had to pay so much *per annum*; so had the maker and seller of ghee; likewise every possessor of a pair of bullocks that drew a conveyance. The very stones in the rivers utilized by dhobies for beating clothes paid something by way of tax; and grain and other commodities brought through the gates of towns had to pay octroi duties.

The great pearl-fishery carried on yearly along the whole coast from Cape Comorin to Paumben was a most productive source of revenue, and the amount the King got by the monopoly of the conch-shell fishery was by no means to be despised. All along the coast conch-shells were to be found in abundance. They were of large size and of a brilliant white colour; and were ordinarily exported to Bengal, Burmah and the adjacent countries, where they were highly prized as materials for bracelets and other ornamental articles. There was an ancient legend

that attributed to certain conch-shells magical virtues. These shells, known as *salagramas*, were very seldom found, and had their volutes running from left to right, instead of from right to left as is usually the case. They always commanded fabulous prices.

We have now, we think, enumerated the several known sources from which the Great Tirumala obtained revenue. And now we propose calculating what his revenue would be like (say) in the middle of the present century, basing our calculations on the market value of money as prevailing in the beginning of the eighteenth century (Tirumala's time). At the time we indicate, we know from the reports of the Jesuit Fathers that the Nayakkan of Madura had to pay as tribute to the Emperor of Vijayanagar the respectable sum of £400,000. This amount, we take it, was calculated on a third of the King's revenue, for in the same manner was calculated for tribute the Poligars paid the King. We, therefore, believe that Tirumala's gross revenue must have amounted to about £1,200,000. We gather from a Jesuit letter of 1713 that, in 1713, for a *fanam* "eight *markáls*, or large measures, of excellent husked rice" could be purchased and would keep a man well fed for over a fortnight. The Maravar *markál* is supposed to contain six measures, each of about two pounds weight, and the *fanam* is equivalent to about $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ of English money. So, for about $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ one could purchase about 96 pounds of "excellent husked rice." But we know that in the middle of the present century, only 20 pounds of good rice could be bought for a rupee. Thus, at the commencement of the Eighteenth Century forty odd pounds could be bought for a penny, while in the middle of the present century you could get no more than five-sixths of a pound for a penny. Therefore we see that the value of money had risen, in the middle of the present century, forty-fold. So that Tirumala's gross revenue of £1,200,000 would be equivalent to a revenue of about £50,000,000. We cannot suppose that he actually had this vast sum to disburse annually, for various causes would affect it, such as unfavorable seasons, late payment, or evasion of payment of tribute; invasions, epidemics and famines; or failures of the fisheries. All these unfavourable factors notwithstanding, it must be conceded that Tirumala's income was extraordinarily large; and no rulers that succeeded them ever understood the difficult art of extracting money from their subjects better than the Nayakkans did.

ART. X.—SCRIBES AND PHARISEES.

IN these days "Literature" means Fiction; and not Fiction of a very artistic sort either. To contemporaries of Miss Austen and Sir Walter Scott—nay, of Thackeray and Miss Evans—Fiction was a serious pursuit, requiring education and trained faculties. Now the outfit is of simpler nature, involving only some power of observation and mimicry, with a ready invention not restrained by considerations of probability, or of moral obligation. Whether as short stories or as serials, the products of such qualities crowd the monthly magazines or arrogate to themselves the name of "Book" and cover the counters.

Sometimes the characters bear the names and attributes of real persons; not long since, I came across my father-in-law, in one of the popular novels of the day; though, had not name and office been given, I should certainly not have recognised him. But in most cases a disguise is affected: the character is a photograph; but composite, with inconsistent attributes. As for the incidents, not only are they of the wildest improbability, but they are sometimes of a nature more really "unfit for publication" than the most unshrinking newspaper reports. The everlasting affairs of the chaste youth and coy maiden, which we were invited to follow by the early novelists, may have ceased to charm; but the problems and the experiments on the Decalogue that have taken the place of the former innocent intrigue, form a less wholesome condiment to the far-fetched impossibilities of incident and adventure. The writers who aimed at instructing and improving our minds, are dead or silent, and a Byzantine decay surrounds our dying century with phosphoric glitter.

In such a state of things, it seems audacious to seek public indulgence for any attempts at the presentation of truth; and an excuse at least appears urgently necessary if one would be acquitted of the impertinence imputable to an unwarranted intrusion. Will the benevolent reader extend his kindness to one who offers the results of a long and wide experience in phrases few and brief; who, if he sometimes has a tendency to hold your button, soon looses his hold?

A commendable attempt to answer this question has been made by Mr. Mark Thornhill, a retired Indian Civilian, already known for his adventures in the Mutiny recorded by his own skilful hand. His new work is a praiseworthy account of the recreations of an official in a country, where the ordinary European denizen finds only boredom; and Mr. Thornhill is

to be felicitated on having discovered a remedy against ennui which must have whiled away many a hot and helpless hour.* A contemporary criticism that pronounces him the Gilbert White of India, really does injustice to an unaffected and intelligent observer; indeed, the author is not even on a par with the late Richard Jefferies, having neither the gift of style nor the merit of accuracy. He does not even show, either by his transliteration or by his interpretation, that he knows the meaning of the Indian names and locutions that he has occasion to introduce; and his historical narratives are not of much more authenticity. Such a well-worn incident as the expedition of Warren Hastings to Benares is given with many serious inaccuracies; and the death of Sir Rollo Gillespie, at the siege of Nālapāni in 1814, is incorrectly told. In both these cases the writer has been misled by over-confidence in his own memory; but when he undertook to correct the accepted records, he should, at least, have refreshed his recollection by reference to the best sources. Nevertheless, when all is said, and allowance made for his own modest disclaimer of scientific knowledge, Mr. Thornhill has produced a book of more information, more permanent value, than all the novels of Anglo-India.

The fact is that Idealism, to be useful, ought to be the work of genius, while any honest observer endowed with ordinary pen-craft, can—if he will—give a useful record of phenomena.

In spite of all that we can say, however, it seems likely that no record of phenomena—even if scientific and accurate—will take the place of fiction in popular regard. Mrs. Steel and Mr. Kipling will be more acceptable exponents of India than Mr. Thornhill, or even Sir William Hunter. Catalogues, we shall be reminded, are not "literature," any more than an Atlas is a work of art, and the reason why Fiction holds the field is not so entirely discreditable to our modern civilisation. The fundamental facts of all animated nature may be the production and the preservation of existence; and even human interests are based on these essentials. "Ye ken weel eneuch," Rob Roy said, "that women and gear are at the bottom of all the mischief o' this world;" and mischief, in some form or other, plays a main part in human life.

Yet man may, perhaps, be something more than a mere animal; whether rightly or wrongly, he considers himself an exile from Eden and cultivates the nostalgia of the Infinite. To him, therefore, appears an ideal beyond the essential instincts; and he goes to any one who can minister to his transcendental cravings. How far the excessive photography

* *Haunts and hobbies of an Indian Official.* London, 1899.

of details which is our present fashion will go to fulfil the mission here suggested is "another story;" perhaps there may be signs that the apotheosis of the piston-rod is not, and never can be, food for the soul.

I may be begging the question : but let us assume that the word "soul" means something, though we know not what. Primitive man, we are told, believed in a semi-material essence, or kernel, of which we became aware—in ourselves and others—by occasional (and for the most part unpleasant) experiences. The soul got at us in dreams ; escaped out of the open window when we died ; hovered about the grave where we were buried ; and was as full of caprice and malice as its owner had ever been in life. People have, for the present, agreed to drop such doctrines in conversation, if not always in their instinctive feelings ; but we retain the sense of something absolute, independent of the common phenomena, yet indicated by them. Let us, then, understand that "soul" stands for that part of the human constitution that cannot be satisfied with the objects of the senses ; that sees (or fancies) an element in man not shared by other animals ; that is conscious of the duties of sympathy and of social obligation. Literature that takes no account of these attributes will not have permanent success.

Fiction, or Romance, derives its attractions in whole from the two primal passions ; appeals to our interest by representing the fortunes of desire, the troubles of love and the pursuit of gain. The persons engaged in these adventures excite our hopes and fears : and our sympathy is exhausted upon imaginary beings. What, in the meantime, is happening in the sphere which -- if the precepts and practice of the greatest men and the noblest ages be true—is the sphere of the highest Art ? Where is room left for the lessons of wisdom, the love of truth and beauty, the culture of the spirit, the duty of man to man ?

Let us by all means clear our minds of Cant : I am most anxious to do so. But bigoted orthodoxy—what is called earnest faith—is not the same thing as the passion of which I would have literature take heed. He who aims at the Moon may hit the tree-top : it is in pursuing the Ideal—however unattainable—that man must achieve his best. He cannot reach that summit : if he did, the atmosphere there would be too rare and cold for him to breathe : he needs the hopes and fears of Reality, the tainted air of towns, the charities of the hearth with all their petty elements of worry and care. But he should lift his eyes unto the Hills.

As an unequal but sometimes sincere writer of the middle nineteenth century once pointed out, the two attitudes are not incompatible :—

" A man's best things are nearest him,
 Lie close about his feet ;
 It is the distant and the dim
 We are so fain to greet ;
 For flowers that grow around, beneath,
 We struggle and aspire—
 Our hearts must die unless they breathe
 The air of fresh desire."

That was the late Lord Houghton's way of stating a conviction akin to that of his friend Wordsworth when he wrote of the skylark as—

" Type of the wise who soar, but never roam,
 True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home."

Our views of the nature of Heaven, and even of the way to get there, may vary from age to age and from country to country. But it will always remain an attribute of the wise that they will cherish the sense of a bright world sending its beams through the clouds that gather about our daily life, in which, as Shelley beautifully says, the film of familiarity obscures for us the wonder of our being.

Let none fear that Religion will die. Religion—the instinct of the Absolute something that can neither be proved nor understood—is the essential, indispensable ground-work of Art, both plastic and literary.

As to the spirit in which it ought to be treated, almost enough has perhaps been said, when we have deprecated dogmatism. Men have gone on too long confusing opinion with faith, and thinking that unity implied uniformity. It is not so difficult for all the corps in an army to march to a common objective, even if the soldiers do not comprehend all the design of their General; but no one would expect all to wear the same facings or carry the same colours, or complain because the Sappers did not work field-pieces, or the cavalry form square. Yet a common purpose ought to animate every member of the force, more intelligently among the officers, most so among the Staff.

There is less difference between complete freedom of opinion and complete compliance with conventional religion than a superficial observation might imagine; and there appears, every now and then, amid the prosaic aspects of daily life, a glimpse of fundamental agreement. The believer betrays a hint of doubting, while many a doubter is found more or less willing to bow down in the House of Rimmon. The explanation may be found in the principle put forth in various forms by the ancient Hindu sages: by Plato; and, in later days, by Kant and Hegel, Hamilton and Herbert Spencer. If that which is abso-

lute and certain, is beyond the reach of human faculty, then our knowledge must always be conditional and relative : the actual truth being first modified by refraction in each individual temperament, and then further altered by common convention and actual consultation in every particular place and time.

If this be a universal law it must apply to dogma no less than to what we treat as fact. The transcendent ideas at the expression of which Theology has always aimed are therefore unlikely to be conceived or expressed alike in all conditions of Society : knowledge of them, like all other knowledge, must be relative, and the human mind is not only incapable of giving it indisputable statement, but, by its very nature, inadequate to its full apprehension. If the relations of various items of the Solar system are never understood or expressed alike in various lands and ages, how much less the relations of Man to his Maker or the constitution and destinies of the Soul !

It may well be, then, that no School or Church is either wholly infallible or wholly wrong, supposing that all honestly argue and expound what they apprehend, according to the light and ability that may be in each. And, should any individual, even, feel called to an independent analysis, he ought to consider whether its expression will be beneficial, or whether the trouble, risk, and scandal incidental to a declared isolation are too penal to be incurred in a cause whose very premiss implies enquiry and indulgence. It seems, then, that we have here a prospect of compromise ; a sort of *Eirenikon* between two apparently hostile forces ; provided that each be directed in a perfectly honest and undogmatic spirit. The Churchman may without shame acknowledge that he cannot by understanding find out God ; and that such knowledge being too excellent for him he cannot attain unto it. The Agnostic, for his part ought to have no hesitation in seeing that he is precluded from positive negation by the nature of his position. Conscious of the doubtfulness of doubt and the certainty of error, he may well adopt an urbane and modest compliance with the current observances of his neighbours : so we may imagine Cicero throwing a pinch of incense on the altar of Jove.

Some of our British "Broad Church" have felt this : and it is a needless ignoring of charity to tax them with being insincere or mercenary. How much, or how little, of the theology of his time Sydney Smith—for instance—may have really assimilated, it may not be possible to determine ; but we ought not to question his honesty any more than we can deny his intelligence and mental strength. Perhaps he, too, felt that the then received dogmatic system was of human origin and no more than symbolic, a kind of theologic algebra—the attempt of fine minds in hours of aspiration, to translate

the divine oracles into the language of mundane life ; though with an unknown quantity. In this sense it may be dimly conjectured that the conventional image of, "The Father," as conceived by medieval painters, expresses the Providence that animates the universe and makes for righteousness. So, too, the Redeemer of the Creeds may stand for a type of the blessings that wait on obedience, and of the victory of suffering. In no other way does it seem easy to account for Chillingworth and Hales, or the later conformity of such clergymen as Jowett and Arthur Stanley. Belief is one of those matters as to which earnestness is not the chief consideration.*

Even the difficult question of determinism is much helped by this clue. Pope adored a Deity who,

" Fixing Nature fast in fate,
Left free the human will."

The *thought* of the author was not always original : but in his power of enunciation he has, amongst English poets, no superior : the "Universal prayer" is a treatise in a nutshell. If our faculties are only equal to phenomena, we cannot lay down the law for the absolute, which must be a law to itself. Thus, while the events of the world and its material facts be bound in a chain of necessity, it may be fairly assumed that in the spiritual sphere—where there is neither space nor time—Will must be unconditioned and therefore free. The freedom extends only to the choice between good and evil ; and it is a purely *moral* factor.†

As to the efficacy of prayer, our principle of Relativity is equally useful. One may be tempted to think that asking for Rain or Fair Weather is like an attempt to propitiate the Law of gravitation. Nevertheless, when the Soul is sad, to cast one's care upon God, to accept humbly the fiat of the great Disposer, to cultivate a cheerful, unegotistic temper, is a duty that is also a pleasure, nowise impaired by giving it the familiar old name of prayer.

H. G. K.

* Matthew Arnold's objection to the Gospel according to Carlyle may be remembered here.

† See Wallace's *Kant* p. 213.

ART. XI.—POLITICAL HISTORY OF MUSCAT.

IN view of recent events at Muscat, a brief survey of the Political history of that place may not be uninteresting.

British dealings with Muscat began in 1798, when a species of Treaty [Agreement, strictly speaking] was negotiated with the Sultan of Muscat on behalf of the East India Company by its Native Agent at Bushire. In the Deed of Agreement, which was executed on the 12th October 1798, the Sultan of Muscat declared "my heart has become disposed to an increase of friendship with that State (England)." Article III of the Agreement runs thus:—"Whereas frequent applications have been made, and are still making, by the French and Dutch people for a Factory, *i.e.*, to seat themselves in either at Muscat or Goombroom, or at the other ports of this Sircar, it is, therefore, written that, whilst warfare shall continue between the English Company and them, never shall, from respect to the Company's friendship, be given to them throughout all my territories a place to fix or seat themselves in, nor shall they get even ground to stand upon within this State."

According to Article IV the Sultan undertook to dismiss from his service a Frenchman who was at the time in command of his ships. By Article V "in the event of any French vessel coming to water at Muscat, she shall not be allowed to enter the cove into which the English vessels are admitted, but remain without; and in case of hostilities ensuing here between the French and English ships, the force of this State by land and by sea, and my people, shall take part in hostility with the English, but on the high seas I am not to interfere." Article VI provides for aid to be rendered to ship-wrecked British vessels; and the seventh and last article permits the British to erect a fortified Factory in the neighbourhood of Muscat, and to maintain "forty or fifty English gentlemen residing there, with seven or eight hundred sepoys."

The Ruler of Muscat, who signed this Deed, was Saiyad Sultan bin Ahmad, who belonged to the dynasty of Al Bu Saids, at present in power. The founder of this dynasty was a certain Ahmad bin Said, the Arab Governor of Sohar, a sea-coast town about 153 miles north-west of Muscat. He was elected Imam of Muscat in 1741 on account of the services he had rendered in expelling the Persians who, during Nadir Shah's reign, overran Oman, and subjugated the Arabs, who

had established their dominion on the Arabian and African coasts after the expulsion of the Portuguese in the middle of the 17th Century. These latter, it may be mentioned, settled at Muscat about the commencement of the previous century. Ahmad bin Said died in 1775, when his second son, Said, succeeded him; but, as he was not a strong Ruler, his fifth brother, Saiyad Sultan bin Ahmed usurped the throne in 1785. It was during the reign of the latter that the Treaty of 1798, above alluded to, was concluded; and two years later [26th April 1800] Sir John Malcolm, on his first mission to Persia, visited Muscat and concluded a second Treaty with Saiyad Sultan bin Ahmad, according to which it was agreed "that an English gentleman of respectability on the part of the Honourable Company, shall always reside at the port of Muscat, and be an Agent through whom all intercourse between the States shall be conducted, in order that the actions of each Government may be fairly and justly stated, and that no opportunity may be offered to designing men, who are ever eager to promote dissensions, and that the friendship of the two States may remain unshook till the end of time, and till the sun and moon have finished their revolving career."

Four years after the conclusion of this Treaty (*viz.*, 14th November 1804) Saiyad Sultan bin Ahmad was killed in a sea-fight with some hostile tribes. Several of his brothers, and especially Saiyad Kais of Sohar, disputed the succession of his two young sons, who, however, sought the protection of their cousin Saiyad Badr bin Saif. The latter, with the help of the Wahabis, overcame all resistance, and in a manner established an administration under his guidance. The Wahabis, however, gained considerable ascendancy in Oman, till they were eventually expelled by the Turks. In 1807 Saiyad Said, the second son of Saiyad Sultan bin Ahmad, succeeded to supreme power, and ruled for well-nigh half a century. He cultivated friendly relations with the British, by whom he was supported in no small degree. The Wahabis were very troublesome throughout his reign; and in 1809 the British Government helped him with an armed force against Wahabi pirates. In 1819 another expedition had to be despatched against these filibusters; and there were further Wahabi disturbances in 1832, 1845 and 1852, all of which had to be overcome by armed force.

In 1822 a Treaty for the suppression of Slave Trade was concluded with Saiyad Said. The terms of this Treaty were arranged in the form of a number of requisitions on the part of the British Government, and of affirmative answers to them from the Sultan of Muscat. The requisitions were made on behalf of the East India Company by Captain Moresby,

Commander of the ship *Meani*. The first requisition ran thus :—"That you (the Imam) instruct all the officers in your dominions to prevent the subjects from selling slaves to Christians of all nations." The second requisition required : "That you do issue order to all your officers, who are on your part throughout your dominions, as well as in Zanzibar and in other places, to the effect that if they discover persons on board any Arab vessel buying slaves for the purpose of taking them to Christian countries, they (the officers) should seize such vessel with all she may contain, and should send to you the Nakhoda (*i.e.*, the Commander) and the crew, in order that you may punish them." Various conditions for surveillance and for giving effect to this Treaty were laid down, and the right of vessels suspected of carrying slaves was conceded to British war-vessels within certain limits. With regard to these limits a great deal of further negotiation took place and they were subsequently modified by Treaty.

In 1839 a Treaty of Commerce was concluded with Saiyad Said. The text of this Treaty consisted of seventeen Articles ; and according to the first of these British subjects were to "have full liberty to enter, reside in, trade with, and pass with, their merchandise through all parts of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat, and shall in those dominions enjoy all the privileges and advantages, with respect to commerce or otherwise, which are or may be accorded therein to the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation." Similar privileges were conceded to the subjects of the Sultan of Muscat with regard to British territory. By Article III "The two high contracting parties acknowledge reciprocally to each other the right of appointing Consuls to reside in each other's dominions wherever the interests of commerce may require the presence of such officers, and such Consuls shall, at all times, be placed in the country in which they reside on the footing of the Consuls of the most favoured nations." By Article IX it was prescribed that "no duty exceeding 5 per cent. shall be levied at the place of entry in the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat on any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the dominions of Her Britannic Majesty imported by British vessels, &c. * * *

* * * The remaining articles of the Treaty prescribe the conditions under which it was to be worked ; while Article XIV stipulated that relief should be granted to distressed British vessels along the coast of the Sultan's dominions ; and similar relief was to be granted to ships belonging to Muscat subjects which were in distress within British waters. This Treaty of commerce, moreover, confirmed the previous Anti-slave Trade Treaty.

In 1845 another Treaty was concluded, according to which the Sultan of Muscat put a stop to the export of slaves from his African dominions and their import into his Asiatic dominions.

Sultan Saiyad Said also concluded Treaties of Commerce with the United States of America in 1833 and with France in 1844. The terms of these Treaties were substantially the same as those of the Treaty of Commerce concluded with the British Government in 1839, and the right was conceded both to the United States and to France of appointing Consular officers within the Sultan of Muscat's dominions, and such Officials were to be treated on the same footing as the Consuls of the most favoured nations. The United States availed themselves of this right in 1880 and appointed a Consul, while France in the following year appointed a Consular Agent.

During the latter part of Saiyad Said's reign a great deal of confusion ensued at Muscat. He had made Zanzibar his Head-quarters since 1840, and his prolonged absence naturally gave occasion to disorders. He died in 1856, and had sometime previously expressed the wish that his son, Saiyad Thowaynee, should succeed to his Muscat dominions and his other son, Saiyad Majid, to his Zanzibar territories. Saiyad Thowaynee, however, claimed suzerainty over Zanzibar; and a quarrel ensued. The matter was referred to the arbitration of Lord Canning, Governor-General of India, and in 1861 he gave his award; the terms of which it will be preferable to quote verbatim from Lord Canning's letter to Saiyad Thowaynee, Sultan of Muscat, dated 2nd April 1861, Fort William, Calcutta :—

“Beloved and esteemed Friend! I address Your Highness on the subject of the unhappy differences which have arisen between yourself and Your Highness' brother, the ruler of Zanzibar, and for the settlement of which Your Highness has engaged to accept the arbitration of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Having regard to the friendly relations which have always existed between the Government of Her Majesty the Queen and the Government of Oman and Zanzibar, and desiring to prevent war between kinsmen, I accepted the charge of arbitration between you, and in order to obtain the fullest knowledge of all the points in dispute, I directed the Government of Bombay to send an officer to Muscat and Zanzibar to make the necessary enquiries. Brigadier Coghlan was selected for this purpose, an officer in whose judgment intelligence and impartiality the Government of India reposes the utmost confidence.

Brigadier Coghlan has submitted a full and clear report of all the questions at issue between Your Highness and your brother.

I have given my most careful attention to each of these questions.

The terms of my decision are as follows :—

1st.—That His Highness Saiyed Majid be declared ruler of Zanzibar and the African dominions of His late Highness Saiyad Said.

2nd.—That the ruler of Zanzibar pay annually to the ruler of Muscat a subsidy of 40,000 crowns.

3rd.—That His Highness Saiyad Majid pay to His Highness Saiyad Jhowaynee the arrears of subsidy for two years ; or 80,000 crowns.

I am satisfied that these terms are just and honourable to both of you, and as you have deliberately and solemnly accepted my arbitration, I expect that you will cheerfully and faithfully abide by them, and that they will be carried out without unnecessary delay.

The annual payment of 40,000 crowns is not to be understood as a recognition of the dependence of Zanzibar upon Muscat, neither is it to be considered as merely personal between Your Highness and your Brother, Saiyad Majid. It is to extend to your respective successors, and is to be held to be a final and permanent arrangement, compensating the ruler of Muscat for the abandonment of all claims upon Zanzibar, and adjusting the inequality between the two inheritances derived from your father, His Highness Saiyad Said, the venerated friend of the British Government, which two inheritances are henceforward distinct and separate.

I am your Highness's
Sincere friend and well-wisher,
(Signed) CANNING."

This award was readily accepted and Saiyad Thowaynee, in reply to Lord Canning, remarked "what Your Excellency has stated is most satisfactory to us, more especially as regards your award betwixt us and our brother Majid. We heartily accept the same, and are at a loss to express our regret for having occasioned you so much trouble, and our appreciation of the kindness which has been manifested towards us in this matter. * * * * *

"What your exalted Excellency may require in any form from your attached friend, a hint alone will suffice for its accomplishment, and we shall feel honoured in executing it."

The great political event of Saiyad Thowaynee's reign was the conclusion in 1862 of a Treaty between England and

France, according to which both parties declared that they would respect the independence of Muscat and Zanzibar. The terms of this Treaty are as follows —

“Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of the French, taking into consideration the importance of maintaining the independence of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, have thought it right to engage reciprocally to respect the independence of these Sovereigns.

The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of France, and the Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, being furnished with the necessary powers, hereby declare, in consequence that their said Majesties take reciprocally that engagement.

Witness whereof the undersigned have signed the present Declaration and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris. (Signed) COWLEY.

The 10th March 1862. („) DE THOUVENAL.”

It is on this Treaty and on the Treaty of Commerce of 1844 that France now maintains that she possesses more or less identical rights with great Britain at Muscat.

In 1864 Saiyad Thowaynee entered into an agreement with the British Government for the extension of Telegraphs in his Muscat dominions, and in the following year agreed to further similar extensions into Mekran, &c. It is, perhaps, needless to state that Saiyad Thowaynee's reign was much perturbed by internal troubles, and in 1866 he was assassinated at Sohar, while operating against the Wahabis. Suspicion strongly pointed to his son Saiyad Salim as the murderer, and the British Government declared that it was compelled to suspend friendly relations with him in his capacity as the Ruler of Muscat. A panic ensued, and trade was paralysed at Muscat; but, as the people of the locality accepted Saiyad Salim as their Ruler, the British Government informed the native merchants, who were its subjects, that they might safely resume trade with that port. A Native Agent was now appointed; and in September 1866 Saiyad Salim was recognised by the British Government. In the following year the appointments of a British Political Agent was revived. Saiyad Salim's *regime*, however, was shortlived; troubles broke out, and in 1868 he was driven from power by his brother-in-law, Azam bin Kais, who was the Chief of Rostak. Further disorders ensued, and finally in 1871 Saiyad Turki, who was a brother of the assassinated Saiyad Said, and consequently uncle of Saiyad Salim,

succeeded in acquiring the throne of Muscat ; and in June 1871 he was formally recognised by the British Government.

Troubles of various sorts again broke out, and Saiyad Salim proved very refractory, till he was eventually arrested by H. M. S. *Daphne*, and was interned in the Hyderabad Fort (Sind) ; where he died in 1876.

Difficulties now arose about the Zanzibar subsidy, and the Ruler, Saiyad Majid, refused to pay it on the ground that Saiyad Turki belonged to another branch of the family than the one to which the subsidy was awarded. The British Government, however, disallowed this objection, and guaranteed the payment of the subsidy through the Political Agent. The Zanzibar Ruler had also objected to pay the subsidy to the previous Sultan, Saiyad Salim, on the ground of his supposed assassination of his father, but here also the objection was disallowed.

In 1886, Saiyad Turki was created an Honorary Grand Commander of the Star of India (G. C. S. I.); and the British Government declared that they would support him in case of attacks being made on Muscat. This declaration had the effect of considerably strengthening his authority. On 4th June, 1884, Saiyad Turki died ; leaving three sons, the second of whom, Saiyad Faisal, the present Sultan, succeeded him ; and in 1890 the British Government recognised the latter as Ruler of Muscat.

In the following year (1891) a Treaty of Commerce was concluded with Saiyad Faisal, superseding the commercial Treaty of 1839. In the new Treaty the stipulations of the old one were substantially retained ; but the old Treaty was considerably amplified. Subjects of Indian National States were for the purposes of the new Treaty included under the designation of British subjects. Moreover, it was stipulated that the latter were to enjoy ex-territoriality, being subject to special Consular jurisdiction. Complete religious toleration was also secured for British subjects in Muscat, with the right to erect places of worship ; and it was agreed that the Treaty should, after the lapse of twelve years from the date of conclusion, be subject to revision on either party giving twelve months' notice.

The events which have transpired at Muscat, subsequent to the conclusion of this Treaty, are matters of current history, which must be quite familiar to most readers

ART. XII.—THE ASTRONOMY OF THE HINDUS.

Hindu Astronomy. By W. Brennand. With thirteen Illustrations and numerous Diagrams. London: Published by Chas. Straker & Sons, Ltd., 1896.

Astronomy of the Hindus. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. I, 1844.

Oriental Astronomy. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XIII, 1850.

AMONG subjects connected with the ancient civilisation of the people of India, there is, perhaps, none that has been more closely investigated, or has given rise to a greater amount of controversy, than that of Hindu Astronomy. It was dealt with at considerable length in a very able paper in the second number of the *Calcutta Review*, fifty-six years ago, and again in the twenty-fifth number, in connexion with the publication of the Rev. H. R. Hoisington's Translation of certain Tamil treatises, one of them of the Thirteenth Century, and the other of modern date. The first of these papers, however, was concerned mainly with the much debated question of the antiquity of the celebrated Tirvalore Tables, or rather of the observations on which they are based, and was of a somewhat polemical character; while the second was chiefly devoted to an examination of the methods followed in the calculation of eclipses of the sun and moon and certain other astronomical events, and is too purely technical to be of much interest to the general reader.

Mr. Brennand's work is of a more general character, and possesses the merit of bringing into a focus the most important of the facts connected with the subject, and dealing with the questions they raise from an independent standpoint. In this article we do not propose to follow him further than can conveniently be done without entering into technicalities which only the mathematical reader would be likely to understand.

We may appropriately set out, however, by recalling the main points of the controversy regarding the Tirvalore Tables to which we have just referred, and stating the conclusion to which the facts are now generally admitted to point.

The Tables in question, then, were communicated by the Brahmins of Tirvalore to Le Gentil, a French astronomer who came to India for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus in 1769, and were published by him in the *Memoirs of the Academy* of 1772.

The Tables start from midnight of the 17th February, 3102 B. C., coinciding with the time assigned by the Hindus to the commencement of the present era, or Kali Yug, and

they indicate the occurrence at that time of a conjunction of the planets. The question which arose and which formed the subject of hot debate for many years was whether the Tables were based on contemporary observation, or whether they were constructed by calculating backwards from data furnished by observation of the actual positions of the sun, moon and planets at a much later date. The former theory was espoused by the unfortunate M. Bailly, who was the first to discuss the Tables in detail in his *Traité de l'Astronomie Indienne*, and at first adopted by Professor Playfair, who read a paper on M. Bailly's investigations before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1790, in which, in introducing the subject, he said: "The fact is that, notwithstanding the most profound respect for the learning and abilities of the author of '*L'Astronomie Indienne*,' I entered on the study of the work not without a portion of the scepticism which whatever is new and extraordinary ought to excite, and set about verifying the calculations and examining the reasons in it, with the most scrupulous attention. The result was an entire conviction of the accuracy of the one, and of the solidity of the other."

The conclusions of Bailly and Playfair were, however, contested with great learning and force by Mr. Bentley, in a paper on the Antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta, and the formation of the Astronomical Cycles therein contained, which was laid before the Asiatic Society and published in Vol. VI of the Asiatic Researches. Bentley's views were supported by the French Astronomer and Mathematician de Lambre, who went into the discussion at length in his "*Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*," published in 1817. The celebrated La Place, as appears from the remarks on the subject in his "*Système du Monde*," arrived at the same conclusion, independently, it would seem, of Bentley. Finally Professor Playfair, in a paper in the *Edinburgh Review* published in 1817, after the appearance of de Lambre's work, practically recanted his former opinion.

La Place's pronouncement, though stated in very general terms, may advantageously be quoted here:

"The origin of astronomy in Persia and in India, as among all other nations, is lost in the obscurity of the first period of their history. The Indian tables indicate an astronomy in a state of considerable advancement, but every thing leads us to believe that they are not of high antiquity. And here it is with pain that I differ from the opinion of an illustrious and unfortunate friend, whose death, the subject of endless grief and regret, is a fearful instance of the inconstancy of popular favor.* After having rendered his life honourable by his labours,

* Bailly was one of the most zealous promoters of the French revolution. He was chosen president of the *Tiers état* and of the National Assembly, and was appointed Mayor of Paris. In the discharge of the duties of this office he was obliged to

useful to science and the human race, as well as by his virtues and a noble character, he fell a victim to the most bloody tyranny, opposing the calmness and dignity of integrity to the outrages of a people who had idolized him. The Indian tables have two principal epochs, which go back, the one to the year 3102 before our era, and the other to 1419 (of our era). These epochs are connected together by the motions of the sun, moon and planets in such a way, that, setting out from the positions which the tables assign to these bodies at the second epoch, and calculating back to the first by means of the tables, we find the general conjunction which they suppose at this epoch. The celebrated philosopher of whom I have just spoken, Bailly, has sought to establish in his *Treatise on the Indian Astronomy*, that this first epoch was founded on observations. Notwithstanding his proofs, set forth with that clearness which he knew how to spread over the most abstruse subjects, I regard it as very probable that the epoch was imagined in order to give a common origin in the zodiac to the motions of the heavenly bodies. Our latest astronomical tables, brought to considerable perfection by the comparison of theory with a vast number of most accurate observations, do not allow us to admit the conjunction supposed in the Indian tables. Indeed, they shew us in this respect differences far greater than any errors of which they may be susceptible. In truth, some elements of the Indian Astronomy could only have the amount which they assign to them at an enormously long period before our era: for example, in order to find their equation of the sun's centre we must go back to 6000 years before that era. But independently of the errors of their determinations, it should be observed that they have considered the inequalities (irregularities in the motions) of the sun and moon only in relation to eclipses, in which the annual equation of the moon is added to the equation of the sun's centre, and increases it by a quantity nearly equal to the difference of its true value. Several elements, such as the equations of the centres of Jupiter and Mars, are very different in the Indian tables from what they ought to have been at the commencement of their epoch. The *ensemble* of the tables, and especially the impossibility of the general conjunction which they suppose, prove that they have been constructed, or at least connected, in modern times. This conclusion is further borne out by the mean motions which they assign to the moon as referred to her perigee, her nodes and the sun, which, being more rapid than as given by Ptolemy, prove that the tables containing them are subsequent to that astronomer; for we have seen that these motions are subject to an acceleration from age to age."

The theory that the Tirvalore Tables were the outcome of contemporary, or quasi contemporary, observation is assailable by more lines of argument than one. As will have been already gathered, the main argument against their having been based on the results of contemporary, or quasi contemporary, observation depends on the fact that, while they assume a general conjunction of the planets in February 3102, calculations based on the results of modern scientific investigation

employ forcible measures to repress the mad violence of the men by whose acclamations he was raised to it. He was, consequently, denounced as an enemy to the republic, and condemned to die the death of a traitor. His brutal murderers studiously protracted and increased his sufferings, till he was released from all earthly suffering by the guillotine. Writers of all parties seem to give Bailly the character of being an amiable man, and a man of much integrity.—ED. C. R.

show that no such conjunction could have taken place at or near that time. Jupiter and Mercury, indeed, were then in the same degree of the Ecliptic, but Mars was 8° and Saturn 17° . distant, while Venus was in quite a different part of the Heavens. M. Bailly's suggestion that a taste for the marvellous led the authors of the Tables to record a general conjunction in spite of these discrepancies is clearly inadmissible and inconsistent with the general exactitude of Hindu Astronomical observation, so far as exactitude was possible with the appliances at their disposal.

The matter of the conjunction of the planets is, however, far from being the only one in respect of which the Tables are in error to an extent irreconcilable with the theory of their being based on contemporary observation. The longitude they assign to the sun, for instance, is in excess of its true longitude at the time by more than 3° . The obliquity assigned to the Ecliptic is greater, by $8' 47''$, than it should have been, and the length of the tropical year is given as $1' 5\frac{1}{2}''$ in excess of the true length.

On the other hand, though there is an error of $53'$ in the position assigned to the equinoctial point, this is smaller by nearly 3° than the error that would have resulted from calculating back from the date when the point of origin for longitudes on the Hindu Ecliptic was fixed, *viz.*, the latter end of the sixth century of our era, and this, taken by itself, would, no doubt, make in favour of the antiquity of the Tables. But on this point the writer of the article in Vol. I of the *Calcutta Review* pertinently observes that "the very same principle that would lead us to overlook a slight error in the midst of much important truth, and would not permit us, were such the state of the case, to decide against the reality of the epoch, seems to require us in the opposite case to look upon a single truth, in the midst of much error, as only a somewhat remarkable coincidence."

The suggestion of the same writer as to the explanation of the coincidence, if somewhat speculative, is ingenious. He says :

The Hindu rate of precession, as we have repeatedly stated, is erroneous. The error is not very great, yet it is so considerable, that its accumulation during a considerable number of years of continuous observation would inevitably betray its existence. Now, suppose, that such a course of observation were conducted three or four centuries, say for example the first four centuries from the Christian era. Suppose that at the beginning of this period rude tables existed, calculated back to the period of the Kali-yug on the supposition of an erroneous precession, and forward to the year 499 A. D. so as to give the longitude of the first point of the moveable zodiac, or the beginning of the constellation Aries, to be nothing at this latter epoch. The observations that we have supposed would sufficiently shew the erroneousness

of the rate of precession formerly in use, and a simple operation would shew what was the correct position of the equinoctial point at the Kali yug; another equally simple operation would shew what rate of precession would reconcile the erroneous determination of the equinox for the year 499, with the true one now ascertained for the year—3102. The distance of the equinoctial points for these two periods being 54° and the elapsed time being 3600 years, the rate required would be at once found to be $54''$. The position of the equinox for the remote period being thus rectified, the erroneous determination of the comparatively modern period, and also the erroneous rate of precession by means of which the rectification was effected, have been unfortunately retained; and accordingly the tables, as they now exist, make the vernal equinox coincide with the first point of the constellation Aries in the year 3600 of the Kali-yug, or 499 of the Christian era, whereas they were at that period about $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ apart. This is no doubt only a supposition, and our scientific readers will, of course, value it according to their own judgments; but, in estimating it, let it be remembered that it satisfactorily accounts for the error in the rate of precession, which otherwise it were scarcely possible to account for. Observations at considerably distant periods are needful to determine the precession with even an approach to accuracy; but we cannot conceive that a recorded observation at the period of the Kali-yug, of half the accuracy that Bailly assigns to those that he supposes to have been then made and recorded, compared with a moderately accurate one some centuries after, should not have given it with more accuracy than as we find it in the Hindu system. When even Hipparchus, by his own observation and such traditional fragments as he could collect from the rude observations of his predecessors, was able to ascertain it with such accuracy that we make use of his rate even now, with only the small correction of La Grange and La Place, we cannot conceive that the many astronomers who, we know, lived among the Hindus from the Christian era down to the fifteenth century, could have concurred in admitting an error which in 600 years would amount to $34'$ in the position of every one of the heavenly bodies. We, therefore, can think no supposition more natural, than that this error was introduced to neutralize a previous error, and not discarded when the end for which it was introduced was accomplished.

The true rate of precession, it may be noted, is slightly over $50''$, or about $4''$ less than the rate accepted by the ancient Hindus.

We think it will be generally admitted that, altogether, the evidence that the Tirvalore Tables were calculated back from the data furnished by observations of a much later date is overwhelming.

At the same time the question hardly possesses the importance which the writer of the article already more than once referred to attaches to it. It was never claimed, even by M. Bailly, that the Tirvalore Tables were a record of observations made by the Hindus in the year 3102 B. C., but that they were derived by the Hindus from an extraneous source, to wit from a great people of Northern Asia of whom they were an offshoot. If, as may be considered to be proved beyond reasonable doubt, the Tables were constructed by Hindus at a much later period by a process of calculating back from contemporary or

recent observations, the fact would, no doubt, create a strong presumption that, whatever the accomplishments of their ancestry in this field may have been, they themselves had preserved no records of observations dating back to the remote period to which the Tables extended. On the other hand, there is abundant evidence that, at least as far back as the middle of the 14th Century B. C., the Hindus had attained to a knowledge of astronomy, as far as concerned the motions of the sun, moon and planets relatively to the earth and one another, as well as to the fixed stars, which could have been acquired only as the result of long-continued careful observation and acute calculation. Upon the state of astronomical science among their ancestry, whether in Northern Asia, or elsewhere, at the commencement of the Kali-Yug, no light is, of course, thrown by the Tables. But in the light of existing knowledge of the history of civilisation, there would be nothing very startling in the discovery, either in Egypt, or in Mesopotamia, or in North-Western Asia, of proof that, as far back as 3102 B. C., it had reached a stage at which the construction of Tables such as those of Tirvalore from actual observation would have been quite possible.

From the point of view of the present day, indeed, both the warmth which the old Reviewer imports into the discussion and the satisfaction he derives from the demolition of the Tables as evidence of the antiquity of Hindu astronomy, are almost amusing, as well as instructive. "Thus, then," he exclaims, "the antiquity of the Hindu astronomy is virtually abandoned by its most skilful, and withal most ingenuous, advocate. And with it fall the arguments that were once attempted to be based upon it to the prejudice of the authenticity of the chronology and history of the sacred writings. It is a most striking fact that thus have perished all the arguments that have been so zealously deduced from every source against the truth of these wondrous and blessed records."

It is not too much to say that the proofs of the high antiquity of human civilisation that have been brought to light since these words were written are so overwhelming that it would not add sensibly to their cumulative force if the Tirvalore Tables were re-habilitated to-morrow.

In connexion with the question of the origin of their astronomical system, it is to be observed that, from the earliest period, the Hindus, in common with all the ancient nations, including the Greeks and Egyptians, divided the Ecliptic into twelve parts, or signs of the Zodiac, corresponding with the twelve solar months; secondly, that in common with the other Asiatic nations, they further divided the Ecliptic into twenty-eight lunar mansions, or asterisms, whereas such a division appears to have had no place in the astronomy of the Greeks,

and, though it was known to the Egyptians at a comparatively late date, was not used by them—these asterisms, it may be added, were equal among the Hindus, but very unequal among the Chinese—; thirdly, that, in the course of time, they substituted, for the original division into twenty-eight lunar asterisms of $12\frac{1}{2}$ degrees each; a division into twenty-seven lunar asterisms of $13^{\circ} 20'$ each; fourthly, that they eventually fixed, once for all, the point of origin for their computations on the Ecliptic, a feature which, as Mr. Brennand remarks, constitutes one of the fundamental differences between their system and that of European nations, who measure their celestial longitudes by arcs of the Ecliptic whose origin is the equinoctial point at the time of the observation.

These facts would seem to indicate a common primary origin for all the astronomic systems of ancient nations; and subsequent differentiations, first of the Asiatic, including the Hindu, from the western systems, and finally of the Hindu system from the other Asiatic systems; the latter differentiation reaching its completion in the permanent fixation of the first point of the Ecliptic just referred to.

Several other features were common to the various Asiatic systems. They had, for example the same days of the week, presided over by the sun, the moon and the five planets. Except in the case of the Chinese, the figures representing the signs of the Zodiac were, for the most part, the same. They recognised in common a cycle of sixty years, known in India as the cycle of Vrihaspati, or Jupiter. Mr. Brennand thus summarises the facts pointing to the conclusion of a common origin for the astronomy of the Eastern nations: "(1) They had a like religious belief; (2) A like number of days of the week, with like names; (3) Similar divisions of the Ecliptic; (4) The same signs of the Zodiac; and (5) Similar months of the year. Also (6) A like number of Lunar Constellations; (7) A like use of the Celestial Sphere; (8) A like use of the Gnomon; (9) A like fantastical nomenclature of Constellations; (10) Like ideas concerning mythology; and (11) Similar Cycles of sixty years; and no doubt other similarities might be traced.

"Whatever Controversies have arisen with regard to the details of differences or similarities between the systems of astronomy obtaining in various Countries; whatever, also, may be the true facts as to the order in which each nation may have acquired its system, there is, at any rate, enough in those similarities to circumstantially establish, as a truth, the conjecture that the foundation of Prehistoric astronomy is to be found among those peoples of Central Asia who are generally referred to as the Aryan race."

Mr. Brennand suggests, no doubt rightly, that the reason for the reduction of the number of the Lunar Asterisms from twenty-eight to twenty-seven was the fact that, as the actual time of the mean sidereal revolution is 27³/₃₂₁₆ days, 27 is the nearest integer suitable for the division of the Ecliptic. Moreover, he observes, it was a more convenient number, than 28, for calculation, in reducing observations to a system.

For each of their Asterisms the Hindus selected a particular fixed star, either in the Ecliptic or in its neighbourhood, and generally the most conspicuous star in the Asterism within these limits, which they called its *Yoga-tara*, the arc of longitude between this star and the initial point of the Asterism on the Ecliptic being called the *bhoga* of the Asterism, while the cluster of stars to which it belonged was called the *Nacshatra*.

The main object of Hindu Astronomical observations being the determination of times and seasons; of critical periods, according to their lights, in the history of the universe, or in the fortunes of mankind, which they believed to be profoundly influenced by the relative positions of the sun, moon and planets; by the conjunctions of the planets with the fixed stars, or occultations of the stars and planets by the moon; and by eclipses, they naturally confined their attention mainly to the stars immediately to the North or South of the Ecliptic which lay in the moon's path and were thus liable to be occultated by it, or to be in conjunction with it or the planets. Their system was thus rendered to a great extent independent of the use of any but the simplest instruments.

"At certain times of the year," remarks Mr. Brennand, "the beautiful clear Indian sky, visible all round from the housetops, as a great hemisphere, is peculiarly favourable for astronomical observations; and the ancient astronomer, seated on his *chunam* terrace in the pleasant cool evenings, had little need of astronomical instruments, while patiently watching the moon and the planets in their course through the Zodiacal stars.

"The well-known *Yoga-taras* among the fixed stars, and which the planets pass on their way form so many immovable points, and, like milestones on a road, furnish him with his means of observation. The relative times of passing of such points suggested methods of calculation somewhat similar to those employed by ourselves in solving simple questions, such, for instance, as the determination of the time when two hands of a clock in conjunction will be together again after any number of revolutions of either of them, or

when we seek for the synodic periods of the planets, the times of new and full moon, and other problems of a like nature, data for the solution of which were well known in India many centuries before they were known in Europe; such problems formed the constant subject matter of the algebra of the Hindus, as contained in their astronomical works of the first centuries of the Christian Era."

In connexion with the controversy regarding the origin of the tables of Tirvalore, we observed that, though it may be regarded as practically certain that the commencement of the Kali-Yuga in 3102 B. C. was determined by a process of backward calculation, clear evidence exists that astronomical observations were made and recorded by the Hindus at a very remote period. The earliest observation of which it can be said with any confidence that we have a record seems to have been made in or about 1590 B. C., when the so-called "line of the Rishis" coincided with the passing of the Solstitial Colure through the first point of the constellation of Magha.

The next period which is known to have served as a sort of landmark to the earlier Hindu astronomers, and which there is good reason to believe was determined by actual observation, was that in which the Southern Solstice was at a point of $3^{\circ} 20'$ in Dhanishta, the Vernal Equinox corresponding with the first point of Krittika, which is calculated by Bentley to have been about 1426 B. C.

The most important of all the dates in the history of Hindu astronomy, *viz.*, that when the point of origin for longitudes on the Ecliptic was permanently fixed at the first point of Aswini, corresponding to a point of the Ecliptic $10'$ East of the star Revati, or γ Piscium, was, however, of much later date. The exact period has been somewhat variously calculated by different authorities, according to the value assigned by them to the annual precession of the Equinoctial point, Colebrooke making it about 579 A. D., Bentley about 538 A. D., and Burgess about 570 A. D. The latter date, which appears to have been calculated with a mean annual rate of precession of $50''$, is probably a close approximation to the truth.

Unbounded ridicule has been cast upon the prodigious periods assigned by the Hindus to the Kalpa, or day of Brahma, and its sub-divisions. To each Kalpa, at the end of which the whole universe was believed to have been destroyed, they assigned 4,320,000,000 solar years. The Maha-Yuga, or great age, which was reckoned as a thousandth part of a Kalpa, consequently consisted of 4,320,000 years; and this, again, was subdivided into four epochs—the Krita Yuga, to which

1,728,000 solar years were assigned; the Trita Yuga, of 1,296,000 solar years; the Dwapara Yuga of 864,000 years, and the Kali Yuga, of 432,000 years. At the beginning of each of these epochs there was believed to have been a general conjunction of the moveable celestial bodies, marking a critical period in the history of the universe.

Seventy-one Maha Yugas, aggregating 306,720,000 solar years, constituted a Manuwantara, and successive Manu-wantas were believed to have been marked by alternate creations and destructions of particular worlds.

While the association of these special periods with particular crises in the universal process was, of course, a pure figment of the imagination, the mere magnitude of the figures, at all events, for the last Maha Yuga, is more nearly in accord with what the results of modern scientific investigation show to have been the probable course of events on our Globe than the crude cosmogony of the Book of Genesis; while it is reasonable to suppose, if, indeed, it does not necessarily follow, that the evolution of the stellar universe has occupied a period of which the age of our earth represents no more than an insignificant fraction.

Mr. Brennand, however, puts forward an ingenious and plausible theory of the true meaning and purpose of these enormous figures, *viz.*, that the number of 4,320,000 assigned to the years of the Maha Yuga, and that of 4,320,000,000 assigned to the years of the Kalpa, were really adopted as means of facilitating astronomical calculations in the absence of a decimal system, and are susceptible of rational explanation.

"The use," he says, "of the great numbers (4,320,000 years, or 1,577,917,828 days), representing the years and days in a Maha Yuga, and the corresponding number of revolutions described by each of the planets in that time, might be exemplified in a variety of cases; but one or two examples will be sufficient here. They will illustrate the ease with which such calculations are made. Other examples as proposed in some of the Siddhantas have been already given.

Using the subjoined table, formed from the words by which they are expressed in the Surya Siddhanta:—

			Number of revolutions in a Great Yuga.
The Sun	...	...	4,320,000
Mercury	...	...	17,937,060
Venus	...	...	7,022,376
Mars	...	...	2,296,832
Jupiter	...	...	364,220
Saturn	...	...	146,568
The Moon	...	...	57,753,336
and ...			53,433,336 Synodic revolutions.

The Moon's Apogee	...	488,203
„ Node	...	232,238

				Number of days in a Great Yuga
Sidereal days	...	...	...	1,582,237,828
Solar days	...	...	...	1,577,917,828
Lunar days	...	...	...	1,603,000,080

Let it be required to determine the number of revolutions, and parts of a revolution, made by the moon in a year.

In the column of the table *Surya Siddhanta*, the number of revolutions of the moon in a Maha Yuga is given, 57,753,336; dividing this number by 4,320,000, the years in a Maha Yuga, and in the successive divisors, omitting the factors 12, 30, 60, we have

$$\begin{array}{r}
 4,320,000)57,753,336(13 \text{ revolutions,} \\
 \underline{56,160,000} \\
 360,000)1,593,386(4 \text{ signs,} \\
 \underline{1,440,000} \\
 12,000)153,336(12^{\circ}, \\
 \underline{144,000} \\
 200)9,336(46', \\
 \underline{9,200} \\
 136 \\
 \hline
 200 = \frac{17'}{25}.
 \end{array}$$

That is to say, this makes 13 revolutions 4 signs $12^{\circ} 46\frac{17}{25}'$ in one year.

As a second example, let it be required to find the length of the sidereal year, from the days in a Maha Yuga. Reversing the process, and dividing the days by the apparent revolutions of the sun, and omitting in succeeding divisors the factors 24, 60 and 60 we have

$$\begin{array}{r}
 4,320,000)1,577,917,800(365 \text{ days,} \\
 \underline{1,576,800,000} \\
 180,000)1,117,800(6 \text{ hours,} \\
 \underline{1,080,000} \\
 3,000)37,800(12 \text{ minutes,} \\
 \underline{36,000} \\
 50)1,800(36 \text{ seconds,} \\
 \underline{1,800}
 \end{array}$$

The sidereal year = 365 days 6 hours 12 minutes and 36 seconds.

A still more elaborate explanation is given of the form— $(14 \times 714 + 4) 432,000$ —in which the Kalpa was constructed.

Regarding the causes of the motions and apparent motions of the heavenly bodies, the Ancient Hindus entertained the most extravagant notions. The received view was that, in common with the fixed stars, the sun, moon and planets were daily carried Westward by a great wind, or æther, called Pravaha, and that the apparent Easterly motion of the planets in their orbits was due to the retarding influence of the stars; while the “irregular motions were produced by invisible Deities at the apogees and the nodes of the different orbits, those at the apogees attracting them unequally by means of reins of winds, thus guiding them in their course, whilst the others, situated at the nodes, deflected to the North or South of the Ecliptic.”

Absurd as all this may seem, it is to be observed that a somewhat similar notion, that of vortices, prevailed in Europe down to comparatively recent times.

The theory common to the Hindus and the Chinese, that eclipses of the sun and moon were caused by attempts of mighty dragons or other monsters to devour those luminaries which is still accepted implicitly by the multitude, is well known. The later Hindu astronomers, however, had truer notions of the nature of these phenomena, as may be gathered from the following passages from the Siddhanta Siromani of Bhaskara, quoted by Mr. Brennard:—

“The moon, moving like a cloud in a lower sphere, overtakes the sun, hence it arises that the Western side of the sun's disc is first obscured, and that the Eastern side is the last part relieved from the moon's dark body; and to some places the sun is eclipsed, and to others he is not eclipsed.”—(Siddhanta Siromani, ch. viii., par. 1.)

“At the change of the moon, it often happens that an observer placed at the centre of the earth, would find the sun, when far from the Zenith, obscured by the intervening body of the moon; whilst another observer on the surface of the earth will not, at the same time, find him to be so obscured, as the moon will appear to him to be depressed from the line of vision extending from his eye to the sun. Hence arises the necessity for the correction of parallax in celestial longitudes, and parallax in latitude in Solar eclipses, in consequence of the difference of the distances of the sun and moon. (id., par. 2).

“When the sun and moon are in opposition, the earth's shadow envelopes the moon in darkness. As the moon is actually enveloped in darkness, its eclipse is equally seen by

every one on the earth's surface, and as the earth's shadow and the moon which enters it are at the same distance from the earth, there is, therefore, no call for the correction of the parallax in a Lunar eclipse. (id., par. 3).

"As the moon moving eastward enters the dark shadow of the earth, therefore its Eastern side is first of all involved in obscurity, and its Western is the last portion of its disc which emerges from darkness, as it advances in its course. (id., par. 4).

"As the sun is a body of vast size, and the earth insignificantly small in comparison, the shadow made by the sun from the earth is, therefore, of a conical form, terminating in a sharp point. It extends to a distance considerably beyond that of the moon's orbit. (id., par. 5).

"The length of the earth's shadow and its breadth at the part traversed by the moon may be easily found by proportion. (id., par. 6)."

Indeed Bhaskara seems to have had more than a glimmering of gravitation, though there is nothing to show that he recognised the universality of gravity, or understood its laws.

"If," he says, "the earth were supported by any material substance or living creature, then that would require a second supporter, and for that second a third would be required. Here we have the absurdity of an interminable series. If the last of the series be supposed to remain firm by its own inherent power, then why may not the same power be supposed to exist in the first, that is, the earth? * * *

The earth attracts any unsupported heavy thing towards it. The thing appears to be falling, but it is in a state of being drawn to the earth. The ethereal expanse being equally outspread all around, where can the earth fall?"

Bhaskara, however, like certain modern theologians who while unable to dispute the truths of science, shrink from admitting their incompatibility with the letter of Scriptures, was at considerable pains to show how such rationalistic views might be reconciled with the Shastras.

ART. XIII.—THE CASE OF THE MUNDAS.

THE recent outbreak among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur adds one more to the many recorded examples of the political danger that, in the absence of suitable precautions, is apt to arise out of the contact of the aboriginal races of India with the Aryan landlord as he exists under the ægis of British law.

The Mundas are one of the two non-Aryan tribes, described in common as Kols, that have settled from a remote period in the uplands of Chota Nagpur, the other being the Uraons. Unlike the Uraons, who are Dravidians, they are said to be of Kolarian origin, and, though resembling the Uraons in religion and social customs, do not intermarry with them. In his speech in introducing the abortive Commutation Bill in the Bengal Council, three years ago, Mr. Grimley gave the following account of the first settlement and early agrarian condition of these primitive people.

“From the traditions handed down,” he said, “it appears that some eight or ten centuries ago, being driven out of Bihar, they sought refuge in the central table-land of Chota Nagpur, then known as the ‘Jharkhand’ or forest tract, which was well adapted for defence, the approaches to it being precipitous paths, narrow defiles, or the beds of rivers that have their source on the plateaux. This central portion is chiefly what is now known as the district of Lohardaga and parts of Hazaribagh, and is Chota Nagpur Proper, as distinct from the rest of the Division.

“When the Mundas first found an asylum there, it was covered with beautiful *sal* forests, but in process of time they cleared the jungle and securely established themselves as the first settlers, and under a system of village communes lived in a state of primitive contentment and simplicity, without being subject to any Raja or landlord of any description, and mostly freed from the unpleasant obligation of paying rents. Each village was presided over by a headman, or Munda, and a collection of 12 villages, called a *parha*, by a Manki, who was chosen from among the village Mundas. These Chiefs had no superior proprietary rights in the soil to the rest of the villagers; but in common with other persons in authority, to whom the administration of the village affairs was entrusted, received service lands as remuneration. These colonists, when they first came, seem to have acted on Manu’s principle: ‘the cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood or who cleared and tilled it,’ and therefore they all

claimed equal rights in the soil, but made provision for the support of the heads of the villages and the Manki. The service lands allotted to the Munda and Manki were called Mundai and Mardana, respectively. These Mankis or Parha Chiefs in course of time developed into titular Rajas. Owing to causes which I shall explain on another occasion, this system has been broken up in many parts of the province ; but in the Kolhan of Singhbhum and certain five parganas of the Lohardaga district, the village commune still obtains in a modified form.

At some period in their history the Kols came under subjection to the Nagbansi family, the Raja of Chota Nagpur, whom they agreed to serve and support. It is not quite clear how the Nagbansi family came on the scene, and it is too long a story to examine closely the different theories that have been set up to account for this. According to one tradition the progenitor of the race was sprung from the union of a snake with the daughter of a Benares Brahmin, and was selected by the people to become their Raja because of his supernatural or miraculous origin. Another theory is that he was a superior Manki who, by his intelligence, tact and prowess, had raised himself above the rest, and that when the Kols, like the children of Israel, desired a King to rule over them, the lot fell upon the chief of the Nagbansi family. Whichever of these theories may be correct, it is clear that they accepted him as their Raja, and gave him lands from every village for his maintenance. The people in each village were divided into two classes—the more privileged called ‘*Bhuinhars*,’ breakers of the soil, held their lands rent-free and had to render honorary service, such as attendance at darbars and marriages, and like Norval, following to the field their warlike lord. The inferior class supplied food and raiment ; but this obligation was eventually commuted to a money payment, and the cultivated lands they held were termed *rajas* or rent-paying, in contradistinction to the *Bhuinhari* tenures which were held rent-free. The Raja was also allowed to hold in each village a certain amount of land termed ‘*majbihas*,’ or the headman’s share, which was held for his benefit or that of the person who looked after his interest, and the persons who cultivated it received assignments of land in return for their services, called *bethkheta*, which they were allowed to hold rent-free. Thus a system grew up hardly distinguishable from the feudal system in Europe in the middle ages, and under it the raiyats were fairly well content and happy, and in this condition of Arcadian simplicity.”

At a subsequent meeting of the Council, Mr. Grimley went on to describe the changes which subsequently brought about

the state of things that led to the introduction of the Bill. "Gradually," he said, "the Raja's family came under the influence of Brahminism, and, as their power increased, they began to look down on the Kols, to treat them with degradation, to deprive them of their rights, and eventually reduced them almost to a state of serfdom. Their descent may be traced through the following stages: encroachment on their rights by the Raja, who distributed whole parganas and villages among Kunwars, Thakurs, Lallas and other members of his family as maintenance grants; their revolt and final subjugation with loss of lands and diminution of rights through the instrumentality of foreign mercenaries who were retained in the Raja's employ and received jagirs of land in return for their services; the introduction of Brahmins into the country to carry out innovations desired by the Raja, and later on of a lower order of persons, Musalman and Sikh horsedealers, shawl and silk merchants, and other adventurers, to whose influence, owing to pecuniary difficulties, the Nagbansi Chiefs became subservient, and to whom they granted farms of land for goods supplied or loans advanced. The oppression of these middlemen gradually broke down the authority of the village Chiefs in many parts of the country and ended in their disestablishment, and eventually drove the Kols into rebellion in 1831, the upshot of which was unfavourable to them and was accompanied by a great disturbance of peasant proprietary rights. Many of the Kols were compelled to leave their country, but after a time they returned to claim their lands. The jagirdars, however, objected to their re-entry, and disputes and contests were renewed and continued for many years."

A Christian Mission was established in Chota Nagpur in 1845, and the Missionaries belonging to this Mission took the Mundas in hand and their teachings fostered a spirit of independence among them. In this way their crude traditions regarding their rights in olden times, when each person was in a manner the proprietor of the soil which he cultivated revived. The result of the teachings of the Missionaries was a great accession to the ranks of the nominal Christians amongst the Mundas, and these Native Christians, encouraged by the Missionaries, in time began to present petitions to Government complaining of systematical oppression on the part of their landlords.

In these petitions the Mundas alleged that the landlords encroached on their rights by the absorption of their bhuinhari and bethketa lands into rajhas or majhihas land, and they also alleged that their landlords exacted service from the Munda tenants in excess of what they were entitled to. These petitions were considered by Government, and they led

to the passing of the "Chota Nagpur Tenures Act," II (B. C.) of 1869, which was primarily an Act passed for the purpose of ascertaining, regulating, and recording tenures in Chota Nagpur. The Act also provided for the restoration of land of which the landlords might have dispossessed their tenants within 20 years preceding the date of the passing of the Act. Certain Special Commissioners who were appointed under the Act, went to Chota Nagpur to hear the dispute between the landlords and tenants, to ascertain the titles and tenures to the various lands, and to demarcate those lands when the titles and tenures had been so ascertained. When it became known that the Special Commissioners were going to Chota Nagpur, the landlords became more friendly to the tenants, and the tenants were feasted and entertained at the expense of the landlords during the time the Special Commissioners were holding their sittings in Chota Nagpur. It appears that in consequence of the ignorance of the tenants and the liberality with which the landlords and their Agents entertained them, the tenants neglected to look after their interests before the special Commissioners in the most business-like manner. They had no professional man to represent them, and it is to be noticed that in the "Chota Nagpur Tenure's Act," of 1869, it is provided "that no Mukhtar or pleader shall represent them without the consent of the Special Commissioner." It is, therefore, not surprising to find that before the Special Commissioners the landlords got the best of it, and the tenants were left to their right of appeal to the Court of the District against the decision of the Commissioners.

According to the Act any one being dissatisfied with the decision of the Special Commissioners was bound to appeal against the decision within three months. Very few of the tenants did appeal to the Commissioner of Ranchi, and the reason the tenants give for not having appealed is that they did not realise that the landlords had got the best of them until it was too late for them to do so. Gradually, however, the Mundas began to realise what had happened before the Special Commissioners, and again they began to agitate with renewed vigor, and monster petitions, signed by as many as 14,000, were sent up to Government. After many years of agitation the numerous memorials sent up to Government were considered, and the matter was laid before the Secretary of State, who, in 1882, issued orders declaring that the results of the proceedings under Act II, of 1869, should be considered as final. The Mundas, however, did not choose to remain quiet, but still went on memorialising; and, being much upset by the decision of the Secretary of State, they wrote to the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi informing him that they intended going to England to lay

their grievances before Her Majesty the Queen, and they requested that officer to issue a parwana to the Queen to supply tents and rasad for their party during their stay in England.

The agitation continued to give much anxiety to the local officials, but was kept in check until the beginning of the cold season of 1889, when the unsettled relations between the Mundas and their landlords became most serious. The military police had now to be called out to keep them in order, and various other repressive measures were resorted to. An enquiry was held into the causes of the agitation, and the conclusion arrived at by Government was that "the spirit of antagonism between the landlords and tenants was so strong and deep rooted, and so generally diffused throughout the district, that there was no prospect of arriving by themselves at any amicable settlement."

Shortly after this disturbance a large number of criminal cases came to be instituted in the Ranchi Courts against the tenants who continued to take an active part in this agitation. The result of these cases was that about forty of the tenants were convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, eight or nine of these tenants dying in prison. The tenants were now convinced that the Zemindars and Ranchi Officials had combined against them to put them all in prison, and in this way put down their agitation. The Sirdars of the Mundas then came to Calcutta to engage a barrister to defend them against this alleged combination, and they selected Mr Jacob of the Calcutta Bar. One of the first cases in which Mr. Jacob defended the Mundas was a case of theft instituted by a Zemindar against four of the ringleaders of the agitation. The Magistrate who tried the case was a native with first-class powers. The Government pleader, with several other pleaders, conducted the prosecution, whilst Mr. Jacob appeared for the accused. The excitement in Court was intense, it being well known in the district what depended on the result of this case. A large number of witnesses were called for the prosecution by the Government pleader, but under Mr. Jacob's cross examination they all broke down, and the result was that the four accused were acquitted. A few days after the acquittal of the accused, the European Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi, on the application of the Government pleader, issued a rule against them to show cause why they should not be put on their trial a second time for the same offence. When the rule came on for hearing, Mr. Jacob was engaged to show cause before the Deputy Commissioner. Great excitement again prevailed in Court, and Counsel had to appeal to the Deputy Commissioner on more than one occasion to keep his Court in order. Mr. Jacob after address-

ing the Deputy Commissioner for a short time suddenly stopped and said: "Sir, I decline to address you further to-day, as my instinct tells me you have made up your mind to try these unfortunate men again, but before I leave your Court I would ask you to remember my words:—If you do pass an order to try these accused again, you yourself will have to show cause before another tribunal with the same amount of success as I am now showing cause before you." After this, Mr. Jacob left the Court, and an order was passed to try the accused a second time.

Within a short time the European Deputy Commissioner had to show cause before the High Court, with the result that his order was set aside and these accused were not tried again. Many other cases were instituted against the Mundas, when the same Counsel was engaged; but no one was convicted, so these prosecutions at last came to an end.

A Missionary and some of the Mundas now asked Mr. Jacob to investigate the whole matter of this agitation, which had been going on for upwards of thirty years, and to advise them generally with regard to the agitation. Large sums of money had been collected during the thirty years from the tenants to enable them to carry on the agitation; and in the course of Mr. Jacob's investigation of the matter of the agitation he discovered that some Babus in Calcutta were intimately connected with the movement, and had been so connected during the last thirty years or thereabouts. These Babus were not in any way connected with the district of Chota Nagpur, and, as far as Mr. Jacob could discover had never been to Ranchi, and were apparently unknown to the Ranchi Officials. It was evident that they had acquired very great influence over the Mundas, and Mr. Jacob naturally became suspicious about their connection with the agitation. After much difficulty and opposition he succeeded in getting possession of the books and papers, &c., connected with it. He brought the books, papers, &c., to Calcutta and placed them in the hands of some solicitors, and he also brought some of the Mundas with him. After enquiries and translations had been made it was discovered that during the last thirty years more than Rs. 2,00,000 had been sent up to Calcutta to these Babus for the purpose of carrying on the agitation. Enquiries were made as to how this money had been spent, and it was evident that only very small sums of money had been paid away in connection with the agitation. Mr. Jacob, when he obtained conclusive evidence of this, put the whole matter before the Bengal Government, and he had very little difficulty in satisfying the Hon'ble C. W. Bolton, Chief Secretary, that the Calcutta Babus were the men who ought to be in prison and not the unfortunate Mundas.

The Government now agreed to find money to prosecute these Babus, and the papers, books, &c., were placed in the hands of the Legal Remembrancer. After consultations between the Legal Remembrancer and Mr. Jacob, the Legal Remembrancer was satisfied that there had been a gigantic swindle on these unfortunate people, but he advised the Bengal Government not to take up the prosecution, as it would fail on a technical point in consequence of a decision of his Lordship, Mr. Justice Hill, reported in the 24 I. L. R. (Cal.) 193, and, besides, the case would have been too expensive and complicated, as the accounts extended over so long a period. Mr. Jacob concurred in the advice of the Legal Remembrancer, and the prosecution was not instituted, but the Government took strict measures to prevent the Mundas being further fleeced by the Calcutta Babus.

Mr. Jacob considers that this fraud is indirectly the cause of the present disturbances in Chota Nagpur, as the agitation has had a most demoralising effect on the Mundas, and very many of them in consequence of it have been dispossessed of their lands, and a large number have emigrated to Assam and other places of India.

In the Hon'ble Mr. Grimley's speech made on the introduction of the "Chota Nagpur Commutation Act" 1897, that gentleman refers to the "extravagant claims and extraordinary statements made by the Mundas. He accuses them of asserting the existence of a decree which had been granted by the Home Government, but suppressed by the authorities in India, to the effect that they were the maliks of the soil, and in no way bound to pay rent through any intervenor, but direct to Government. It is, no doubt, a fact that these statements have been made in the District, and Mr. Jacob considers that the Ranchi Officials should be held responsible for them, as they have allowed the Calcutta Babus to get such power and influence over the Mundas' tenants during the last 30 years. These Babus were exceedingly clever men, and they knew how to excite the Mundas for their own gain. How were the Mundas to know whether these statements were true or not? It is certain that the Mundas believed these statements, and it is known for what purpose they were originally made, and it is surprising that the Ranchi Officials never found out how they originated. If any man with ordinary ability had years ago devoted a little time to get at the bottom of this agitation, things certainly would not be in the awful state they are in at present in Chota Nagpur.

In the year 1897 the Hon'ble Mr. Grimley introduced a Bill (the Chota Nagpur Commutation Act) in the Bengal Legislative Council with the object of putting down the Munda agitation by redressing their grievances. Mr. Jacob

was again engaged by the Munda tenants to look after their interests when the Bill came before the Council; but the suggestions submitted by the tenants' solicitors were ignored. The Act, having been passed under these circumstances, of course, gave anything but satisfaction to the tenants, and Mr. Jacob was obliged to advise them to ignore it, as it was not an act under which their grievances could be redressed. A large number of cases were subsequently filed under the Chota Nagpur Commutation Act with the avowed object of proving that it was perfectly useless and unworkable. Before these cases came on for hearing, fortunately, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Hon'ble C. W. Bolton went to Ranchi, and Mr. Jacob, with the Sirdar of the Mundas, appeared before Mr. Bolton (representing the Government), the Commissioner, the Judicial Commissioner and the Deputy-Commissioner, and placed before them the grievances of the Mundas, and they then promised that the law should be altered, and Mr. Jacob, on behalf of the tenants, agreed to hold over the cases under the Chota Nagpur Commutation Act.

We understand that a Chota Nagpur Tenancy Bill is shortly to be introduced into the Bengal Legislative Council with the object of redressing the Munda grievances.

When Mr. Jacob decided to file a large number of cases under the Act of 1897, for the purpose of convincing the authorities that it was useless for the purpose of redressing the grievances of the Mundas, he had occasion to examine a very large number of the tenants, and in this way he obtained a large amount of information which has never been questioned.

Among the matters regarding which legislation is most imperatively necessary are the determination of fair rates of rent, it being notorious that the rates for the same quantity and quality of land at present vary in different Zemindaries to an enormous extent; the making it compulsory on the part of the Zemindars to give receipts for rent to their tenants; the prohibition of enhancements except on adequate grounds and after reasonable intervals; the prohibition of compulsory services except in the case of Bhuinharee tenants under Act II of 1869; the prevention of encroachments by the Zemindars on Bhuinharee lands, or lands reclaimed by the tenants; the demarcation of Bhuinharee lands, and the abolition of the Ticcadari system.

It is to be hoped that, when the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act comes before the Council, these grievances will be duly considered.

ART. XIV.—THE CHERUMARS OF MALABAR.

A SHORT account of the Cherumars—the predial slaves of Malabar—may not be uninteresting to the readers of the *Calcutta Review*.

There are 258,402 Cherumars according to the Census of 1891, and there are as many as 39 sub-divisions among them. The most important sub-divisions are:—

Kanakkan	...	...	73,000
Pulacheruman	...	...	38,000
Eralan	...	...	23,000
Kûdan	...	...	14,000
and Rolan	...	...	12,000

Kanakkan and Pulacheruman are found in all the Southern Taluks of the District, Kûdan almost wholly in the Walluvanâd Taluk, Rolan in the Ernâd and Walluvanâd Taluks, and Eralan in the Palghât and Walluvanâd Taluks. There are no true sub-divisions among the Cherumars of North Malabar.

The word “Cherumar,” or “Cherumakkal,” is derived from the Malayalam word, “Cheru”—which means small, and “Mâr” or “Makkal,” which signifies a collection of people. The Cherumars are short in stature and swarthy in complexion, and are considered to be the aborigines of Malabar.

The question of the slave trade and slavery attracted the early attention of the Honourable East India Company. By the Treaty of Seringapatam, Malabar was ceded by Tippu Sultan of Mysore to the English, and British rule commenced in the District in the year 1792. In that year the Company issued a proclamation making trading in slaves penal. The dealer in slaves was considered a thief. The punishment for this offence was that the slave was to be forfeited and the person offering him for sale was to be fined five times his value. The purchaser was also similarly punished. At this time much trade by sea was going on with the French Settlement at Mahé and the Dutch Settlement at Cochin, and it was the practice of bands of robbers to carry off by force numbers of these slaves, and sell them on the coast to the Agents of the vessels engaged in the trade in the above Settlements. The Proclamation above referred to had for its object chiefly the prevention of this nefarious traffic.

The subject of “agrestic slavery” attracted the attention of Mr. Warden, the Principal Collector of Malabar, in 1819, and he addressed a strong letter to the Government regarding it. The Government consequently issued orders that the practice of selling slaves for arrears of Revenue, should be immediately dis-

continued. In the year 1836 the Government ordered the remission in the Collector's accounts of Rs. 927-13-0, which was the "annual revenue" from slaves on Government lands in Malabar, and it was at the same time pleased to accede to the recommendation in favour of emancipating the slaves on the Government lands in Malabar. The Court of Directors, on hearing what had been done by it, "entirely approved" of the measures adopted, and at the same time desired the Government to consider the advisability of extending the concession to the slaves of private owners. In 1839 orders were issued "to watch the subject of the improvement of the Cherumar with that interest which it evidently merits, and leave no available means untried for effecting that object." Ultimately the Government of India passed Act V of 1843, abolishing Slavery in Malabar. Its provisions were widely published throughout the district by Mr. Conolly, the Collector, and he explained to the Cherumars that it was their interest as well as their duty to remain with their masters if treated kindly. He proclaimed that "the Government will not order a slave who is in the employ of an individual, to forsake him and go to the service of another claimant, nor will the Government interfere with the slave's inclination as to where he wishes to work." And, "again, any person claiming a slave as Jenmi, Kanom, or Panayom, the right of such claim or claims will not be investigated into at any of the public offices or Courts." The final blow at slavery, however, was dealt by Section 370 and 371, &c., of the Indian Penal Code, which came into force on the 1st January 1862.

The Cherumars nevertheless have not even yet realized that the British Government have done so much to emancipate them, and a great authority on Malabar matter has said "that there is reason to think that they are still even now, with their full consent, bought and sold, and hired out, although, of course, the transaction must be kept secret for fear of the penalties of Sections 370 and 371 of the Indian Penal Code," and that "the slaves as a caste will never understand what real freedom means, until measures are adopted to give them indefeasible rights in the small orchards, occupied by them as house sites."

Let us see what is the present position of the Cherumars after a century of British rule.

Very low, indeed, is the social position of these miserable beings, when compared with that of the other low caste people, of Malabar. When a Cherumar meets a person of superior caste, he must stand at a distance of 30 feet. If he comes within this prohibited distance, his approach is said to cause pollution, which is removed only by bathing in the cold water. A

Cherumar cannot approach a Brahmin village, or temple, or tank. If he does so, purification becomes necessary. Even while using the public road, if he sees his lord and master, he has to leave the ordinary way and walk, it may be, in the mud, to avoid exciting his displeasure by accidentally polluting him. To avoid polluting the passer by, he repeats the unpleasant sound, "O, oh, O—" His position is intolerable in the Native States of Cochin and Travancore, where Brahmin influence is in the ascendant; while in the Brahmin-ridden Palghât Taluk the Cherumars cannot, even to this day, enter the bazaar.

The caste is very poorly clad. The Cherumar wears the "Mundu" cloth, usually $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, wrapped round his loins, and a very small rag round the head. The Cherumi is provided with one long piece of thick cloth, which she wraps round her waist and which does not even reach the knees. She does not cover her chest. The Cherumi invariably wears round her neck and hanging over the breasts many strings of beads and pebbles of different colours. Bangles made of pewter form her favourite arm ornament. Rings made of brass are worn on the fingers and in the ears. During the rainy season the Cherumars in the field wear a few green leaves, especially those of the plantain tree, tied round their waists; and a small cone-shaped cap, made of a plantain leaf, is worn on the head. This practice among the females has fallen into disuse in Malabar, though it is to some extent still found in the Native States. The majority of Cherumars are short, but strong and healthy, and their faces present an appearance of simplicity and innocence. There is a proverb, in Malabar, that a Cheruman never becomes grey; and, as a matter of fact, very few grey-headed men are found among them.

The Cherumars purchase their wives, and the bridegroom's sister is the chief performer in the wedding ceremony. It is she who pays the girl's price and carries off the bride. The consent of the parents is required, and is signified by an interchange of visits between the parents of the bride and bride-groom. During these visits rice water (conjee) is sipped. Before tasting the conjee they drop a fanam (local coin) into the vessel containing it, as a token of assent to the marriage. When the wedding party sets out, a large congregation of Cherumars follow, and at intervals indulge in stick play, the women singing in chorus to encourage them, "Let us see, let us see, the stick play (vadi tallu), oh! Cherumar." The men and women mingle indiscriminately in the dance during the wedding ceremony. On the return to the bridegroom's hut, the bride is expected to weep

loudly and deplore her fate. On entering the bridegroom's hut, the bride must tread on a pestle placed across the threshold.

Polyandry and polygamy are unknown among the Cherumars. Moral offences are very uncommon among them. Divorce is effected very easily; all that is required being that half of the bride's purchase money should be returned.

After giving birth to a child the females are regarded as impure for 28 days, and in the extreme North Malabar for 42 days. During this period no males may take meals from the hut; but a separate shed is generally built for the confinement. The child is brought to the master of the mother, and he gives it a name; a practice that is, of course, a relic of the days of slavery.

On the death of a person in a Cherumar's family, pollution is observed for 8 days in North Malabar, and 14 days in the South. As the Cherumars are so poor that they cannot afford to be idle for fourteen days together, they resort to an artifice. They mix cowdung and paddy and make it into a ball and place this ball in an earthen pot, the mouth of which is carefully closed with clay. The pot is then laid in a corner of the hut, and as long as it remains unopened, they are free from pollution and can mix among their fellows. On a convenient day they open the pot and are instantly seized with pollution, which continues for 40 days. Otherwise 14 days' consecutive pollution is all that is required, on the 41st or 15th day, as the case may be, rice is thrown to the ancestors and a feast follows.

In North Malabar succession is in the female line, as among the Nairs, while in the South succession is from father to son.

Malabar is essentially an agricultural District, and the Cherumar is the bulwark of agriculture. Agricultural operations begin in the months of April and May. It is the Cherumar that should plough the land, sow the seed, transplant the seedlings, regulate the flow of water in the fields, uproot the weeds, and see that the crops are not destroyed by animals or stolen. When the crops ripen he has to keep watch at night. The sentry house consists of a small oval-shaped, portable roof, constructed of palmyra and cocoanut leaves, supported by four posts, across which are tied bamboos which form the watchman's bed. Wives sometimes accompany their husbands in their watches.

When the harvest season approaches the Cherumar's hands are full. He has to cut the crops, carry them to the (Kalam) barn, separate the corn from the stalk, and winnow it. The second crop operations immediately follow, and the Cherumar has to go through all these processes again. It is in the sum-

mer season that his work is light, when he is set to prepare vegetable gardens, or some odd job is found for him by his master. The old, infirm and the children look after their master's cattle.

And what do you think these poor people get as wages for the day? Hardly 6 nalis, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ edangalis (measures) of paddy, costing half an anna, or sometimes three quarters of an anna. Taking this with him, the Cheruman enters his hut, and reserves a portion of it for the purchase of the most essential things, such as salt, chillies, toddy, tobacco and dried fish. The other portion is reserved for food. The Cherumar removes the husk and his wife cooks the meals. The little ones are fed from the meals thus prepared—the Cherumi eating only what remains after reserving some for her husband's morning meal. The Cherumars are very partial to crabs and fish, which they get in abundance from the fields, during the cultivation season.

No recess is allowed to the Cherumars, except on national holidays and celebrated temple festivals observed in honour of the goddess Bhagavati, or Kali, when they are quite free to indulge in drink. On these days their hire is given in advance. With this they get intoxicated and go to the Pooraparamba, or Temple premises, where the festival is celebrated, in batches of four, each one tying his hands to another's neck and reciting every two seconds the peculiar sound :

“ Lallê Lallê Lallê ho,
Lalle Lalle Lalle ho.”

The wage (valli) of 6 nalis of paddy which they get is the customary wage paid to them for centuries. Although the prices of all articles have now risen, there is no rise in the Cherumars' pay. The Cheruman in fact spends the greater part of his wages on toddy. It is a very common sight in Malabar to see a group of Cherumars, including women and children, sitting in front of a toddy shop and sipping the toddy in cocoanut shells, the Cheruman transferring the unfinished portion of the toddy to his wife, and the latter to the children. A Cheruman, however, rarely gets intoxicated or commits crime.

On the European plantations in the Wynad they are in great request, and many Cherumars are to be seen travelling now-a-days without fear in the railway carriages on their way to the plantations. A few also go to work in the gold mines of Mysore.

The home of a Cheruman is called a Châla—meaning an abject hut. All that is to be found in the hut is a few pots, a pestle and a wooden mortar. The surplus grain is stored in a

wooden pot buried in the earth, with the mouth closed by a board.

The Cheruman is a tenant-at-will. He has no right in the soil. His services are not utilised in any of the industries. The Local and Municipal Department appears to have opened one or two Primary Schools for the education of his children. Although most of them are still in their primitive state, yet it is not an uncommon thing to see Cherumar converts to Islamism taking a prominent part in the Moplah outbreaks in Malabar.

The British Government will be doing a wise act if they recognise the Cheruman's right in the soil in the Malabar Land Bill, now on the Legislative anvil. Otherwise the chances are that, in course of time, the Cherumars will swell the ranks of Moplah fanatics.

S. APPADORAI IYER.

THE QUARTER.

THE military situation in South Africa has undergone a welcome change since the date of our last Summary ; and there is strong reason to hope that the tide of war has turned strongly in our favour.

When we wrote at the end of December, the defeat sustained by General Buller at Colenso had indefinitely postponed the defeat of Ladysmith ; and, though there were indications that he was about to make a fresh advance, the fate of the beleaguered garrison was felt to be trembling in the balance. The case of Kimberley was hardly more hopeful. The disaster to Lord Methuen's force at Magersfontein, followed by its retirement upon Modder River station, had brought the campaign in that direction to a dead lock, and there seemed to be no immediate prospect of any further advance there ; while in the north-east corner of Cape Colony our forces were barely able to hold their own.

The beginning of the New Year brought no improvement in the state of affairs. Towards the end of January General Buller again crossed the Tugela River in force, and expectations were raised by his somewhat magniloquent announcement that there was to be no turning back. On the 23rd, General Warren occupied Spionkop, which was declared to be the key of the enemy's position. By evening of the following day, however, the hill was found to be too much exposed to the enemy's artillery fire to be tenable without disproportionate sacrifice, and, after the force had suffered heavy loss, it was abandoned and the whole force withdrawn to the south side of the river.

This fresh reverse was succeeded by some days of inactivity. But on the 5th February a third attempt was made to penetrate the investing lines, and Vaal Krantz, a spur of the Brakfontein Range, was carried at the point of the bayonet. The hill was held for two days under a heavy fire from Spionkop and Dornkloof ; but on the 7th General Buller came to the conclusion that no advance in that direction was possible without needless sacrifice of life, and, for the third time a general retirement to the southern bank was ordered.

In the meanwhile there had been no distinct improvement in our position either on the Modder River or in the Colesberg and Stormberg districts. In the former the Highland Brigade, under General Hector Macdonald, seized a position at Koo-doesberg, commanding the drift on the Kiet river there, the

ostensible object of the movement being to intercept the enemy, who were threatening the railway line in the direction of Belmont. The force, however, was suddenly recalled after the position had been held for several days. In the Colesberg district General French continued to display considerable activity, keeping the enemy fully occupied ; Coleskop hill and several other important positions in the neighbourhood were captured, and the general expectation was that a serious attempt was about to be made to recover Colesberg and seize Norvals Pont, preparatory to an advance in that direction by General Roberts in force.

Suddenly, however, General French and his cavalry were withdrawn from the neighbourhood, and all our advanced positions abandoned. The enemy, who appear to have been completely deceived, taking advantage of the weakness thus displayed, attacked Rensburg with a strong force, and the place was abandoned after severe fighting.

In the meantime, on the 11th February, General Hannay, with a brigade of mounted infantry, marched from the Orange River to Ramah ; and, on the following day, General French, with the Cavalry division, seized Dekil's drift on the Riet river, and, the main body of Lord Roberts' force, comprising the 6th and 7th Divisions, with the Highland Brigade, crossed and encamped on the East bank.

This done, the Cavalry under General French made a further advance ; forced the passage of the Modder River at Klip Drift, twenty-five miles distant, and occupied the hills to the North, capturing three of the enemy's laagers, and the 6th Division were immediately afterwards pushed forward in support.

On the 16th it was announced that General French had reached Kimberley on the previous day, dispersing the enemy from Alexandersfontein to Olifantsfontein ; while, on the same day, Lord Roberts occupied Jacobsdal, the opposition encountered in these several operations being insignificant and the loss on our side slight.

The fact was that Cronje, on learning of Lord Roberts' advance, promptly evacuated his entrenched position, at Magersfontien and directed all his efforts to making good his retreat on Bloenfontein. How he contrived to evade our forces and cross the Modder is a tale which still remains to be told. Apparently it was not till the 16th February that it was ascertained that he had escaped, and General Kenny Kelly's brigade was at once despatched in pursuit. On the 17th it was announced that he had captured seventy-eight of the enemy's wagons and was shelling their laager. Subsequently he was re-inforced by the Highland Brigade, the Boers

all this time keeping up a running fight and endeavouring to gain time by occupying successive kopje's on either side of the route.

At last General Cronje found himself fairly cornered in a bend of the Modder River and was compelled to resort to the desperate expedient of entrenching himself in its bed, where he was ultimately surrounded. An attempt made to carry his laager by assault failed ; and it was not till he had been subjected to a terrific cannonade for upwards of a week that he surrendered unconditionally, with his entire force, of some 4,000, on the 27th February, the anniversary of Majuba Hill.

One result of Lord Roberts' advance was the withdrawal of a large portion of the Orange Free State troops from the country south of Ladysmith. Taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded him, General Buller, on the 17th February, attacked the enemy's positions on the south side of the Tugela, where they had established themselves in force to the east of Colenso, and occupied and entrenched Hussar Hill. By the 19th he had driven the enemy from all their positions to the south of the river, including Hlangwane Hill, and General Hart was enabled to occupy Colenso, which had thus been rendered untenable. On the 21st the 5th Division crossed the Tugela, driving back the enemy's rearguard. By nightfall of the 23rd our left wing had arrived within a few yards of the enemy's first trenches at Groobler's Kloof. On the following day General Hart's brigade attacked Pieter's Hill, but was repulsed, the Inniskillings suffering heavily. The hill was, however, carried by General Barton's brigade on the 27th, and at the same time the 4th and 7th brigades under Sir Charles Warren carried the main Boer position, the enemy scattering in all directions.

No clear account of the subsequent operations has yet reached us ; but apparently little or no further opposition was encountered. On the night of the 28th Lord Dundonald, finding the ridge between him and Ladysmith unoccupied, rode into the town with a small force of cavalry and mounted infantry ; and in a despatch dated 2nd March, General Buller reported the whole of the Ladysmith district clear of the enemy, except the top of Van Reenen's Pass.

After the surrender of General Cronje, Lord Roberts advanced to Osfontein ; and a day or two later it was reported that General Joubert was assembling a large force, including the bulk of the troops from Ladysmith, at Abraham's Kraal, some thirty-five miles from Bloenfontein, to oppose him. This report, however, appears to have been untrue, the latest news being that, on the 7th instant, Lord Roberts attacked and completely routed the enemy, who occupied a position four miles

to the North and eleven miles to the South of the Modder River, and that the enemy were in full retreat northward and eastward, closely pursued by our cavalry, horse artillery and mounted infantry.

In the meantime, the Boers have evacuated or been driven out of, most of their positions in the north-east of Cape Colony, including Colesberg, Stormberg and Dordrecht, which was taken in gallant style by the Colonials under Colonel Brabant.

At the re-opening of Parliament, on the 30th January, Her Majesty, in the speech from the Throne, said with reference to the war: "In resisting an invasion of the Colonies, my people have responded to my appeal with devotion and enthusiasm, and the heroism of my soldiers, sailors, and marines has been equal to the noblest British traditions. I am deeply grieved at the sacrifice of so many valuable lives, and have witnessed with pride and the heartiest gratification the patriotic eagerness and spontaneous loyalty wherewith my subjects, in all parts of my dominions, have come forward to share in the common imperial defence. I am confident that I shall not look to them vainly when I exhort them to sustain and renew their exertions, until the struggle for maintenance of the Empire and the assertion of supremacy in South Africa, is victoriously concluded."

After referring to the federation of Australia as advantageous to the Empire, Her Majesty continued "The brilliant courage and soldier-like qualities of the Colonial forces have earned high admiration, and I am much gratified at the proofs of loyalty to myself, and devotion to the Empire, afforded by the numerous offers from Indian Native Rulers to place troops and resources at my disposal."

In conclusion, Her Majesty added "that the operations in South Africa demanded a large increase in military expenditure. The experience of a great war necessarily afforded lessons of the greatest importance to the military administration. Her Majesty was convinced that Parliament would shrink from no outlay to place the defensive preparations on a level with the responsibilities of so great an Empire, nor relax their solicitude for the efficiency of the Navy and Coast defences, when several other nations were perfecting their naval preparations."

In the debate which followed, the Opposition leaders, while criticising the unpreparedness of the Government, admitted the necessity of prosecuting the war for the vindication of the integrity of Her Majesty's dominions. An amendment moved by Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, regretting the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment, displayed by the Government in South African affairs since 1895 and in the

preparations for the war, was rejected by 352 votes to 139, and a further amendment by Mr. Redmond, to end the war and recognise the independence of the two South African Republics, by 229 votes to 39.

Supplementary Army estimates subsequently introduced, amounting to 13 millions, and providing for 120,000 more men, were voted by 239 to 34. In the House of Lords, Lord Rosebery condemned the proposals as inadequate, while Lord Lansdowne maintained that the only alternative was some form of conscription.

In the Budget, introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 5th instant, the war expenditure of the year was put down at sixty millions. To cover this, the Government proposed to increase the income-tax by four pence in the pound, the duty on beer by one shilling per barrel, that on spirits by six pence a gallon, that on tobacco by four pence a pound, that on cigars by six pence, and that on tea by two pence a pound; besides extending the stamp duties on stock transactions, and suspending the sinking fund and certain annuities, the remaining £35,000,000 being raised by issue of bonds or stock terminable in ten years. The Resolutions relating to the new duties and the loan were passed by overwhelming majorities.

In the House of Lords on the 12th February, Lord Lansdowne stated that it was proposed to add to the army fifteen battalions, forty-three batteries, and seven cavalry regiments, the result of the changes contemplated being to add 30,000 men to the Regular Army and 50,000 to the auxiliary forces.

The public mind has been considerably disturbed by the announcement that the Russian Bank, which means practically the Russian Government, has advanced the Persian Government 22½ million roubles wherewith to discharge all its foreign obligations, on condition of its undertaking to incur no fresh foreign loan, and by the despatch of Russian re-inforcements to Askabad and Kushk on the Herat frontier. With reference to the latter movement, however, the Russian Government is understood to have disavowed all aggressive intentions.

There have been persistent rumours during the Quarter of the conclusion of a secret treaty between Germany and Great Britain regarding a partition of the Portuguese territories in East Africa between the two countries in certain eventualities.

A convention has been entered into between Great Britain and the United States, by which Great Britain withdraws all objections to the construction of the Nicaraguan Canal, the United States, on its part, undertaking to maintain the

neutrality of the Canal and keep it open to the commerce of the world.

Great Britain is also reported to have withdrawn her opposition to the extension of the French Settlement in Shanghai.

The Emperor of Russia has issued a Rescript to Count Muravieff in the course of which he insists on the acquisition of an ice-free port in the Far East as absolutely necessary in the interests of Russia as a great Maritime Power. The Rescript is otherwise highly pacific in its tone.

A fresh intrigue in Peking has resulted in the recognition by the Emperor of Prince Pu Chun, a youth of 14 years of age, as heir to the throne ; and it has since been reported that the Emperor has been dethroned, though this is denied. At the same time an Imperial edict has been issued ordering a return to the learning of Confucius and the rejection of modern depraved ideas.

An Indian Famine Relief Fund has been opened in London and other places in the United Kingdom, to which large sums have already been subscribed.

As far as India is concerned the period under review has been politically uneventful. In other respects the record is one of deepening gloom. The almost complete failure of the winter rains has intensified the distress that prevails in Central and Western India and parts of Madras and the Punjab, and the numbers in receipt of relief have risen to more than four millions and a half and may be expected to increase still further as the dry season advances.

The plague shows no signs of abating. In Bombay the mortality is almost as high as it has been at any period since the commencement of the visitation ; in Mysore and Sind there has been a serious recrudescence of the disease, which is also spreading steadily in Behar, and in Calcutta, where all attempt to control it seems to have been abandoned by the authorities as hopeless, it has at last assumed an epidemic form, and the number of cases already exceeds a hundred a day.

Alarmed by the rapid increase in the numbers on the Famine Relief Works, the Government of India recently issued a Circular to the Local Governments urging the necessity of greater stringency in the application of the tests prescribed by the Code. Certain expressions in this document were regarded as indicating a disposition on the part of the Government to question the practicability, on financial grounds, of adhering to the main principles of its Famine policy, but a statement subsequently made by the Viceroy in Council on the subject constitutes a complete assurance that this is not the case.

"Some attention," said His Excellency, "has been called

to the fact that the Government of India has recently issued a circular letter to the Local Governments calling their attention to the exceptional circumstances of the present situation, and suggesting a greater stringency in the tests to be henceforward applied. I have seen this circular described in the native press, of which I may say in passing that I am a not inattentive student, as disastrous and inhuman. Such a criticism can surely not be based upon any knowledge of the facts. I accept on behalf of the Government of India the full responsibility for that letter. It expressed the deliberate opinions of my colleagues and myself. I am the last person in the world to prefer the mere interests of economy to those of humanity, and I acknowledge to the utmost the obligation of Government to spend its last rupee in the saving of human life and in the mitigation of extreme human suffering. But the Government of India must necessarily take a broader outlook, while it manifestly profits by a wider knowledge, than its critics. We are acquainted by the reports that we receive from our officers with what is passing, not in one district alone, but in all parts of the country. We are the custodians of the interests of the tax-payers of India. We have to look to what may happen in future famines—and recent experience does not encourage us to regard famine as the rare and isolated phenomenon which it has hitherto been held to be. Above all, it is our duty jealously to watch and to conserve the character of the people. In my judgment any Government which imperilled the financial position of India in the interests of a prodigal philanthropy would be open to serious criticism. But any Government, which, by indiscriminate alms-giving, weakened the fibre and demoralised the self-reliance of the population, would be guilty of a public crime."

After advertng to facts which seemed to show that the old reluctance of the people to have recourse to relief works was breaking down, His Excellency went on to say: "From all these considerations it must, I think, be obvious not merely that the present famine is abnormal in character, but that the need for close supervision and control on the part of Government is exceptionally great. I am not one of those who regard Famine Relief as an exact science. Reports of Commissions and Codes have a great value, in so far as they are the results of previous experience. But they are not immaculate. Neither are they laws of the Medes and Persians. Poor Law Administration in every country in the world, in England itself, is still in an experimental stage: no country and no Government has hit the ideal mean between philanthropy and justice, between necessary relief and pauperisation. I contend that in India we are still engaged in the same

process of working out our own salvation, and that each fresh crisis must be met by its own rules. Let those rules be based upon previous experience, and let them not err—if they do err at all—on the side of severity. But never let them ignore the obligatory relations upon which society is based—the duty of the landlord to the tenant, of the tenant to the labourer, of the community to its items, of the father to his family, of a man to himself. If for all these relations, at any period of emergency you hastily substitute the duty of the State to its subjects, you extinguish all sense of personal responsibility, and you destroy the economic basis of agrarian society.”

Of the measures that have occupied the attention of the Viceroy's Council during the winter session, the two most important—the Assam Emigration and Mines Regulation Bills—have been held over for future consideration, and the former will not be taken up again till next cold weather. A proviso has been added by the Select Committee to Section 2 of the Press Messages Bill, to the effect that nothing in the section shall be deemed to prohibit the publication of any protected message at any place after the expiration of 18 hours from the time of its having been first published at or within a distance of 10 miles from that place.” Owing, however, to the almost unanimous opposition of the Anglo-Indian Press to this proposal, the consideration of the Bill has been postponed to the 16th instant.

An important statement has been made in the Council by Mr. Dawkins regarding the proposed amalgamation of the Presidency Banks, which, together with an increase of their capital, he represented to be necessary conditions of the relaxation of the existing rules prohibiting borrowing in London and the financing of railways and Municipal and District Board works. Mr. Dawkins further stated that, given these conditions, the Government would be willing to transfer the management of the Note issue to the Bank, the terms of the transfer being that Government should retain the profit on the present issue, but should indemnify the Bank for the cost of management.

A munificent offer made by Lieutenant-Colonel Lumsden, of the Assam Valley Light Horse, to raise a body of Mounted Volunteers in India for service in South Africa, and to contribute Rs. 50,000 towards the cost of its equipment, having been accepted by the Government, the call for recruits has been eagerly responded to from all parts of India, Behar and the Assam Valley, in particular, furnishing strong contingents. The corps, numbering 245, exclusive of farrier and transport establishment, sailed from Calcutta in two detachments at the latter end of February and the beginning of March, a large

sum of money having been subscribed by the public towards the expenses of the corps, and many valuable gifts made by them to it.

A serious outrage has been committed on the Northern Shan Frontier by the Was, a body of whom, acting probably under an apprehension that their rights were in jeopardy, have attacked and killed Surgeon Major Kiddle and Mr. A. B. Sutherland, attached to the British Chinese Boundary Commission. A body of troops has since been moved up to protect the Mission, and the demarcation of the frontier is going on.

His Excellency the Viceroy left Goalundo on the 3rd instant on a tour in Assam and arrived at Dibrugarh on the 6th idem. His Excellency is expected to return to Calcutta early next week.

The obituary for the Quarter includes the names of the Duke of Westminster ; the Duke of Teck ; Lord Ludlow ; Sir W. W. Hunter, K. C. S. I., C. I. E. ; Sir James Paget ; Mr. John Ruskin ; Mr. R. D. Blackmore ; Mr. Grant Allan ; Sir Gregory Charles Paul, K. C. I. E. ; Revd. Arthur Robbins ; Major General W. K. Fooks ; General H. Hopkinson ; Surgeon General John Ogilvy ; Major General Sir F. R. Pollock, K. C. S. I. ; Major General Hutchinson, C. B., C. S. I. ; Mr. Henry Coxwell ; Professor D. E. Hughes ; Mr. C. P. Carmichael, C. S. I. ; Major General G. G. Cunliffe ; Mr. H. D. Traill and Sir W. Geddes.

March 10th, 1900.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW."

DEAR SIR,

In your issue of January last, an article was published on *The Land Laws of Bengal*. The writer, who adopted the signature of *Ich Dien*, in his treatment of the subject, passed some remarks on Canal Irrigation in general, of which he appeared to have formed a somewhat unfavourable opinion. "It is said," he remarked, "that irrigation does temporary and precarious benefit, at the cost of the permanent sterilising of the soil." And he then adds, "I shall close this subject with the following gloomy picture of the effect of irrigation in Upper India." On this, is introduced a passage from a report written by me, a short time before the breaking out of the Mutiny of 1857.

But a misapprehension has taken place with regard to this quotation, which I ask your courtesy to allow me to rectify. I was not describing the effects of irrigation in general, but only certain results I had witnessed, arising from the use of the Jumna Canal, in parts of the district of Kurnal. My knowledge and experience were not sufficient to have rendered my opinion, on the large question of irrigation, of any value. It was not asked and was not offered. I only put down what I had either seen myself, or had heard from the farmers, on the spot.

The Jumna Canal in Kurnal, and its branches in the neighbouring districts, formed an old undertaking of the Moghul Government. After long years' disuse they were re-opened by the British. The arrival of the water was welcomed by the cultivators, and for a time great prosperity prevailed. Unwonted gains created, it is said, extravagance: there was extant a rumour of silver necklets provided for the bullocks. And when the Settlement commenced, Mr. George Edmondstone found sugar-cane and other valuable crops growing on land which had previously produced only coarse grains, and he assessed at high rates.

In the course of time, however, defects disclosed themselves, which were due to faulty engineering on the part of our predecessors. Under certain circumstances, the water percolated from the canal under neighbouring lands, and, when drawn up by the sun, brought with it noxious salts, exhibiting

their presence by a white efflorescence called *reh*. Where this process occurred, vegetation was entirely destroyed ; and the unhealthy marsh produced fever ;—a severe type of spleen disease,—and in some cases, weak intellect and impotence, amongst those who had to live there.

If I described the unhappy scene witnessed, with some warmth, I was moved to do so by sympathy with the industrious, patient and enduring race who form the body of the cultivators in those parts. Their cause was espoused by some of the local officers,—especially by one,—but the determination of the peasantry to pay their dues to the Government, if possible,—led the Revenue Board, perhaps excusably, to suppose that the time had not arrived for interference and inquiry. At length, one morning, a large village gave up the struggle, and emigrated into the native State of Jheend. Not a soul was left amidst the silent, dismantled houses (for the wood-work was carried away), except the watchman, who remained to complain that his wages had not been paid.

Then an alarm naturally arose, and it was decided by the authorities that some one should be sent to make a special investigation into the state of affairs. That task was entrusted to me, and hence the report quoted, but unintentionally misapplied, by your contributor.

Faithfully yours,

J. W. SHERER.

5, Russell Street, Bath.

February 8th, 1900.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Glimpses of Old Bombay and Western India. By JAMES DOUGLAS, J. P., *Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London.*

DESPITE a certain meagreness of detail and a somewhat disjointed system of arrangement, Mr. Douglas has succeeded in his object of collecting a mass of interesting facts which cannot fail to prove useful as well as entertaining to students of the history of our early days in India. We are not sure that the retrospect afforded by the book will tend to make the present generation more contented with the conditions of their exile. It is probable that many comparisons will be made between the past and the present which will not all be in favour of the latter. If we have now the increased facilities for going Home afforded by the Suez Canal; the nearer touch with England gained by the electric telegraph; the improved sanitary conditions and the hundred and one other benefits conferred by science, we have, on the other hand, the unrest and the increased competition incident to these improvements to put in the scale against them. We have undoubtedly lost much that compensated in the old days for the discomforts of residence in India. The pagoda tree has withered almost to the ground, and the hard worked exile has to accept a 1*s.* 4*d.* rupee, instead of the 2*s.* 8*d.* one which rewarded his labours in 1816. Freights in those days were considered low at £8 and £6 per ton, and "what" asks the writer "would have been thought of 15*s.* per ton?" Among other things the Anglo-Indian seems to have lost the serene equanimity which then allowed him to bear a considerable fall in the rupee without so much as a grumble.

The English Government were in great want of the sinews of war in India, for I think I am within the bounds of truth when I say that the army of the Dekhan, with its subsidiary forces, numbered 100,000 men. Those men required to be clothed and fed, and the money somehow had to be found. Given time, the resources of England are always equal to any emergency, and bullion came out, and exchange dropped and dropped until, in 1824, it reached 1*s.* 8*d.* In 1816 it had been 2*s.* 8*d.* When the rupee reached its lowest depth of degradation I cannot find a single groan. There were certainly no petitions, no meetings, no letters in the newspapers or journals. The situation was accepted, and men made the best of it.

In the matter of amusements Bombay, in the first years of the century, appears to have been very little behind Calcutta in the present year of grace, either as to amateur theatricals, sumptuous dinners, or balls.

And they had their amusements. The Bombay Theatre, on the margin of the Green (not far from the *Times of India* office, 1892), dated from 1770 and was the oldest in India, so we are told. The players were amateurs, and the purpose was charity as well as amusement. Gaiety culminated in 1804, with Arthur Wellesley after his splendid victories. General Bellasis gave a dinner to him in the Theatre, and Colonel Lechmere and the officers of the Fencibles a magnificent fête in the same place. Dinner at seven. Illuminations all over the Green, far and wide. The Governor gave a grand ball at Parell when that sheet of water, to which succeeding generations of wearied dancers have repaired to recruit their exhausted energies, became a fairy scene of gorgeous fireworks, which blazed away, far into the night and early morning, over the faces of fair women and brave men.

Here is an amusement that has not been seen in our day in Bombay. The date is January, 1800, when a great number of gentlemen and some ladies attended on a Saturday at the Riding School, to witness the baiting of a horse, a wild boar, and some buffaloes by a leopard. The first object of attack was a dummy man, which leopardus tore to pieces in a twinkling. He then essayed the wild hog, for which he soon showed a Muslim aversion. and "backed," with his tail between his legs, which did not suit the spectators, who goaded him into fury by squibs and crackers until the brute, becoming exasperated by its tormentors, suddenly, by one tremendous leap, alighted on the edge of a high bamboo palisade which divided the spectators from the arena. You may well believe that, as he hung in mid-air, there was a great consternation. The account says that "each waived all ceremony in the order of his going, to establish his own right of precedence." The riding-master, who happened to have loaded pistol in his hand, was equal to the occasion, and shot the leopard dead on his perch, his body falling with a thud into the enclosure, while the crowd flew helter-skelter.

We have certainly, however, made great strides in religious and philanthropic enterprise since Dr. Cobbe, in 1715, preached the sermon which resulted in the building of the first Church in Bombay.

On June 19th, 1715, Cobbe, preached a sermon in furtherance of building a Church in Bombay, which fired the zeal of the community. After the sermon he waited on Governor Aslabie, and here is Dr. Cobbe's own account of the interview :—

"Well, Doctor, you have been very zealous for the Church this morning."

"Please, your Honour, there was occasion enough for it, and I hope without offence."

"Well, then, if we must have a Church, we will have a Church. Do you see and get a book made, and see what everyone will contribute towards it, and I will give first."

The Governor subscribed Rs. 1,000, leaving a blank for the Company's subscription, which was afterwards filled in with Rs. 10,000. The Church was erected and opened in 1718. Very little change was made in its internal economy, and the pews and seats remained unaltered for a hundred years. In 1818, exactly a century after the Church had been opened for the first time, the pews were altered, and new chairs set down. Being entirely re-seated, the interior presented quite a different aspect, was much more comfortable for the worshippers, and more seemly for a house of God, inasmuch as some invidious distinctions between the well-to-do and common people had been abolished. On Christmas day, 1818, it was re-opened with considerable *éclat*, when Archdeacon Barnes preached a splendid sermon. It was announced that Divine service would be held at 10 A.M. and 4 P.M. every Sunday.

The most important changes that have taken place in Bombay during the last fifty years are briefly summed up by the writer, who says :—

Fifty years ago Bombay was a very different place from what we see to-day. With some exceptions it was a city unpaved, unlighted, undrained,

unventilated. There was no gas, no tramways, no hotels worthy of the name. Hospitality then did duty for hotels. No water from Vehar—only wells. We had only monthly mails, the Tanna Railway was still unopened. A steamer was a rare sight, and Bombay Harbour from Malabar Hill appeared a forest of masts. Fifty years ago Government had just swooped down on the Bunder gang and sentenced them to transportation. They had worked at their nefarious business for twenty-five years, at a profit of £60,000 annually. Malabar Hill had only half a dozen bungalows on it, and when the "Wilderness" was offered for sale some of the best buyers were frightened away from purchasing it, so much was it in the region of nocturnal robber kolis and dacoits. Fifty years ago old Napier, with his hooked nose, was making Sind. Manockjee Cursetjee had returned from Europe. Our Governor, Sir George Arthur, had excused himself from attending parties of the natives. Dr. Wilson was at home with Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee, who is still doing good work among us. David McCulloch was chairman of the Commercial Bank, and William Graham, the philanthropist, was here, his long hair still unwhitened by the snows of years. George Buist edited the *Bombay Times*. Fifty years ago—let us be particular—so late as from 1826 to 1830, the shroffs of this Presidency had their caravans looted and sixty-four persons escorting them killed by Thugs. With returning commercial prosperity, the old Bank of Bombay and the old Oriental Bank were pluming their wings for that flight of credit which suffered no diminution for twenty years, and which in its day was second only to that of the East India Company. It was said that John Stuart, manager of the old Bank of Bombay, discounted bills to the value of £30,000,000 sterling with a loss of only £2,000. Fifty years ago Rudyard Kipling was as yet unborn, but Farrar (Dean of Canterbury) had left the parent nest in the Marine Lines, as Monier Williams had done some years before, the birthplace of these three men, each eminent in his own vocation, having been, we believe, in this city. We had Russian scares fifty years ago. I read in a newspaper of July 9th, 1828: "The Russians are not come yet. It will be time enough to board up your ghee jars and bury your gold mohurs when the croak of the frog ceases to charm away the night and the neighing of the Cossack's horse is heard at your door." And fifty years ago it was gravely propounded that the mangroves round our shores ought to be cultivated, as their existence constituted a standing menace to the boats of a hostile force in any attempt to effect a landing. Fifty years ago Matheran was an untrodden wilderness except by the denizens of the jungle. Colaba, Sion, Bankote and Mahabeshwur were the only seaside or hill stations available. Fifty years ago there were many white jackets at dinner parties, and the hubbub-bubble was not absent after dinner.

Whether the net result of all these changes is gain or loss, must be left to individual judgment and opinion, but to many of us it will doubtless appear that much has gone which we could ill-afford to lose.

The advantages of living in those old times were that you were not worried by competition, and the telegraphic system, which has made all the world your next door neighbours. Men had more time to think. The factors were fewer in estimating probabilities, and speculation, if it dared a longer period, was not so much disturbed by unforeseen contingencies. There were no Council Bills. Men stayed longer in the country, and there was more time to create fast friendships.

The time men lived in the country enabled them to learn the languages better, become familiar with the ways of the natives, not being blind to the excellences of the native character. Sir James Rivett Carnac, the Governor at durbars, and John Fleming at meetings, delivered all their speeches in Hindustani, while Dr. Wilson conned over the Old Testament with David Sassoon in the same language, eked out by snatches of Arabic and Hebrew. All this created a fountain of sociability and well-doing towards Europeans. Witness the delicate and munificent instances of benefactions recorded by Mountstuart Elphinstone in his *History of India*; and in later days we find

Cowasjee Jehangier Readymoney dividing Rs. 15,000 among the assistants of a European house, while Premchund Roychund gives a donation of Rs. 50,000 to an Italian Opera Company. We must not forget the late benefaction of Sir William Mackinnon, £10,000 to the employes of Messrs. Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co., in Bombay and Calcutta, which surpasses, I imagine, any similar bequest ever made in the East.

It would not be fair to Mr. Douglas to quote further from his book, but we would recommend all who are interested in Bombay to read it for themselves. A chapter dealing with the Black Death which ravaged Bombay in 1348 and which was presumably the same disease which we have among us to-day, is especially interesting at the present moment.

Donna Teresa. BY FRANCIS MARY PEARD. Macmillan & Co., London.

TO readers who like a wholesome, well-told story which makes no special call on their imagination or their credulity, *Donna Teresa* may be recommended as pleasant and harmless reading. The heroine, a well meaning, impulsive young widow, who likes occasionally to play Providence to others, is an attractive, if a not very perspicacious person, and the reader is not surprised when her well-laid schemes sometimes "gang agley." Her sister appears to us a trifle overdrawn as to ignorance and inanity, and comes too near being a down-right simpleton to be an interesting personality, and her tragic end seems ill-suited and unnecessary to so insignificant a character. Most readers will be so indifferent to her fate that what would otherwise be a strong situation is thrown away on her. Miss Peard's style is evenly good throughout, without being in any way distinguished; and the Italian setting of her tale gives her abundant opportunity for descriptive writing of a picturesque kind of which she avails herself with success.

The Upanishads : Chha'ndogya, Part Second. Fourth Volume.
Translated by GANGA'NATH JHA, M. A., F. T. S. Published
by V. C. SESHACHARRI, B.A., B.L., M. R. A. S. Madras :
G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers, Esplanade, 1899.

THIS is much the most important of the translations of the Upanishads so far published by Mr. Seshacharri. The portion of the Chha'ndogya dealt with is that from the fifth to the eighth Adhyaya inclusive. The principal subject of Adhyaya VI is the all-important one of the essential identity of the Self. "It has been declared above," says Sri Sankara in his Commentary on the opening of the 1st Section, "that all this is *Brahman*, rising in It, dissolving in It, and living in It; and now it has to be shown how the universe is born from It

how it is dissolved into It, and how it lives in It. And again, it has also been declared that when a single knowing (conscious) person has eaten, the whole world is satisfied ; and this could be possible, if the self in all creatures were one, and not, if this self were diverse ; and this sixth Adhyaya is begun with a view to show that the self in all is one."

The second section is occupied with a refutation of the Nihilist doctrine that Being was preceded by non-Being.

The Seventh Adhyaya deals with the modifications of the Self.

The following extract from Section XII of the Eighth Adhayaya, with Commentary, will give a good idea of Sri Sankara's method and of the way in which the translator has done his work :

'*Indra!* mortal is the body, held by Death. It is the abode of that Immortal incorporeal Self. The corporeal one is held by pleasure and pain. For the corporeal Being, there is no freedom from pleasure and pain. But the Being without the body is not touched by pleasure and pain.'

(1)

Com.—'This body is mortal'—*i.e.*, capable of death. You think that the Self, that I have described as located in the eye, and as being of the nature of serene bliss, is beyond destruction. Just listen to the reason for this: This body, that you see, is mortal—perishable. It is always held by Death. If it were said that it dies only at certain times, then the fear of Death would not be so great, as it is when it is said that the body is always *held* by Death,—which particular way of saying serves to remove all attachment to the body. Hence, it is said '*It is held by Death.*' Being free from all attachment to the body, the ego returns to its own pristine purity. The 'body' spoken of here is meant to be taken together with the organs of sense, the mind, &c., &c. ; and this body belongs to the Immortal serene Being which is comprehended as located in three places, and which itself is free from death and other such like properties as pertain to the body, the mind and sense-organs. Though the mere mention of 'Immortal' implies the *absence of body*, yet the separate mention of 'incorporeal' is meant to show 'that it is not partite and corporeal' like Air. The body is the substratum of the experiences of the Self ; or, it may be said to be the substratum of the Self itself, the Thinker, in the order of—Fire, Water, Food, &c. And since the body occupied by the Self is always held by Death, and affected by pleasure and pain, as being brought about by means of virtue and vice,—therefore the corporeal Self, occupying it, comes to be affected by these. The fact of the Self being corporeal consists in its mistaken identification of itself with the body ; hence 'the corporeal Self is held by pleasure and pain.' It is a well-known fact that for the Being that is corporeal, there is no freedom from—or removal of—the series of pleasures and pains, as brought about by connection with, or separation

from, the external objects of sense,—the Self, all the time, thinking of such connection and separation to belong to itself. When, however, the Being is free from the body—i.e., when its false notion of identity with the body is set aside by a proper recognition of its own true incorporeal character—, pleasure and pain do not touch it. The root 'to touch' is to be taken with each member of the compound; 'Pleasure does not touch' and 'Pain does not touch' being the two sentences contained in the one; just as in the passage 'one should not converse with the *mlechchha*, impure and unrighteous people.' Pleasure and pain are the effects of virtue and vice; freedom from body is the real nature of the Self; and as such, there being no possibility of virtue and vice, very much less is the chance for any effects of these; hence, 'Pleasure and pain do not touch it.' 'If even pleasure do not touch the incorporeal Self, then it comes to what *Indra* had said—that 'in that case, it reaches utter annihilation.' This does not affect the case; because what is denied here is the existence of such Pleasure and Pain as are brought about by virtue and vice—'Pleasure and Pain do not touch the incorporeal Self.' Because the word 'touch' is always found to be used in connection with such things as are liable to appear and disappear; e.g., the cold touch, the warm touch, &c.; while the warmth and brightness, which are inherent in the Fire (and as such appearing and disappearing), are not referred to by 'touch.' Similarly, the Pleasure, in the shape of Bliss, which naturally belongs to the Self,—like the warmth and brightness of the Sun—is not what is denied here (by the denial of touch); because, of such *Srutis* as 'Brāhman is Consciousness, 'Bliss,' Bliss is *Brahman*' and so forth; and in this work too it has been said 'the highest is Bliss.' The highest and pleasure being one and the same,—there being no difference between the two, inasmuch as both are equally uncognisable or cognisable only in their natural forms,—this cannot be what is desired by *Indra*; because, he has already said that 'then It does not know itself, as *this is I*, nor does It know these beings; 'it has reached utter annihilation, and I see no good in this;' 'which shows that that which *Indra* wishes to know is that which knows itself and also the living beings, which is conscious of no pain, and which obtains all worlds and all desires by means of knowledge.' It is true that such is what is desired by *Indra*, who thinks that 'these beings are separate from myself, all worlds and desires are other than myself, I being the master of all these;' but this is not what will do him any good; what is good for *Indra* is to be explained by *Prajāpati*. What *Prajāpati* means to explain is that what is good for *Indra* is the realization of the Self, as being incorporeal, like the *Akṣa*, and which is the Self of all worlds and all desires, and not as something other than his own Self, like the obtaining of the kingdom by the king. Such being the case, when the Self is one, what could know what as '*this is I*' or that 'these are the living beings?' But, in accordance with this theory all the *Sruti* passages,—which declare the equipment of the ego with 'women, conveyances,'

and the fact of his being 'desirous of the world of the Fathers, &c' and lastly the fact of its being 'one' &c, &c,—would not be explicable. Not so; because there is no contradiction in the fact of the Self of all obtaining all the results; just like the fact of all such substances as the jar, &c., belonging to clay. 'If it be urged that 'if it be the Self of all, then it would be connected with pain also,'—we deny this; because, pain too being the Self, there is no contradiction in this. As a matter of fact, however, all pain is imposed upon the Self by the assumption of Ignorance, just as the imposition of the character of the serpent on the rope. And inasmuch as the Ignorance, the cause of pain, is destroyed by means of the cognition of the true nature of Self, there is not the slightest chance of any pain affecting the Self. On the other hand, such desires as are due to the volition of pure *sattva*, and are resident in the mind alone, with regard to all objects, have a connection with the body of the Lord. And the theory of the Vedānta is that it is the Supreme One, which becomes the enjoyer, through the limitations; and consequently, all usages based upon Ignorance refer to the Supreme Self alone, and to nothing else. 'By speaking of the person that is seen in the eye' what was meant by *Prajāpati* was the shadow-Self, and it was something else that was spoken of in connection with dreams and deep sleep; and none of these three mean the Supreme Self as characterised by freedom from evil, &c,'—such is the view held by some people who explain, in the following manner, the purpose of the instruction of the Self in the shapes of the shadow, &c.: 'these are explained in the beginning, with a view to avoid the confusion in the mind of the listener who is addicted to external objects of sense, by the hearing of an extremely subtle object, in the shape of the Supreme Self, which is highly incomprehensible. Just as, on the second day of the month one who wishes to show the thin crescent of the moon to some one, begins with pointing to the branch of the tree in front of the moon: 'just look here, there is the moon, then he points to another higher object, such as the top of the hill, and going on in this manner, he points out the moon; and then the other person sees the moon. In the same manner, it was not the Supreme Self, that was meant by *Prajāpati* to be expressed by the three expressions. 'the person in the eye, &c.;' in the fourth expression, the listener is carried beyond the mortal body, to incorporeality, the form of pure light; in which one becomes the best of men, playing and enjoying the company of women, &c. Well, certainly this explanation is very pleasing to the ear; but such cannot be the meaning of the Text. 'Why?' Because if such were the meaning, then,—after having begun with the 'person that is seen in the eye,' whereby the disciples comprehended the Self to be the shadow, *Prajāpati* thought this to be a miscomprehension on their part, and then with a view to remove this, he brought forward the sample of the 'cup of water' and questioned

them as to what they saw there, &c., &c., and then lastly explained to them the instance of the 'adornment,' &c.,—all this would become meaningless, if *Prajapati* had wished only to explain the nature of the Self as being that of the shadow—'the person seen in the eye.' And further, when he himself would have declared a fact, a reason would have to be given, as to why he wished to set aside that declaration; and it would be necessary for himself to bring forward reasons for the removal of the conceptions of the Self, as the Self in dream and in deep sleep. But no such reasons are given; thence, we conclude that *Prajapati* did not mean to teach them the form of the Self to be the shadow in the eye. *Secondly*, if the declaration were in the form that 'it is the seer that is seen in the eye,' then the said interpretation would have been right, because having mentioned 'this itself,' what *Prajapati* declares is the seer. If it be urged that 'it is not the seer that has been mentioned in connection with the dream,'—we deny this; because the sentences that follow are qualified by 'as it were;' 'it sheds tears as it were,' and 'is conscious of pain, as it were;' and it can be none other than the seer that moves about, in a dream, attended upon; because, this fact is established by reasoning, in another *Sruti* passage: 'Therein, is the *Purusha* self-luminous.' Though during a dream, the person is conscious, yet that consciousness does not serve as an organ for the perception of the dream experiences: this consciousness being itself only perceptible, as the substratum of the impressions left by the waking state, just like a coloured piece of cloth; and this does not go against the self-luminosity of the seer. *Thirdly*, both during the waking and the dreaming states, one knows the living beings and himself—as 'these are living beings' and 'this is I;' and it is only when there is the chance of a thing, that there can be any denial of it,—such as 'it knows not, &c.' Similarly, it is only for a conscious being, who has a body, that there is no freedom from pleasure and pain due to Ignorance; having said this, it is added that for the same conscious Being, when without a body, just as knowledge appears, the contrast of pleasure and pain is denied,—the denial being only of such pleasure and pain as there was a chance of—by the sentence 'the incorporeal Being, Pleasure and Pain do not touch.' And it is proved in another *Sruti* that 'one and the same Self moves along untouched, in both the waking and the dreaming states, just like a large fish.' It has been said that 'the Serene Being, rising from the body, enters into something else, rejoicing with women, &c.,—and this something else, is apart from the Serene Being spoken of as its substratum, and this is the best *Purusha*.' But this is not true; because, even in the fourth explanation, it is explained as '*This it is*.' If something else were meant, then *Prajapati* could never have expressed it as before, and thus told a lie: and further the charge of falsehood would also apply to the declaration 'That thou art,' which has been addressed to one who has entered into the body, which is a modification of his Self, after such *entrance* has been explained

as belonging to Pure Being, the Creator, who is something other than Fire, Water and Food. For, the proper form of declaration would have been—'In that, wilt thou be rejoicing with women, &c.,—if the best *Purusha* were something other than the serene and blissful Being. And again if the 'Highest' were something other than the human Self, then the instructions could never have concluded with 'all this is the Self alone,' after having taught that 'It is I that am in the Highest.' And also we have another *Sruti* passage declaring—'There is no seer other than this, &c., &c.' Nor could the word 'Self' be used in all *Srutis*, with regard to the Supreme Being, if the counter-Self (ego) of all creatures were not the Supreme Being itself. Therefore it is established that the Self, treated of here, is one only. Nor does worldliness belong to the Self; because, the world is simply imposed upon the Self by Ignorance. Just as the misconceptions of serpent, silver and dirtiness with regard to the rope, the mother-o'-pearl and the sky, cannot be said to belong to these latter. By this has been explained the sentence that 'for the bodied being, there is no freedom from pleasure and pain.' And it has also been established, as mentioned above, that it becomes 'conscious of pain, *as it were*' and not that it *really* becomes conscious of pain. It is only because such is the explanation, that in the case of all the four explanations, *Prajāpati* adds: this is the Self, the Immortal, &c.; even if '*Prajāpati*' be taken as a hidden name of the *Sruti*, then too the declaration could not but be true; and it is not proper to assert this to be false, on the ground of some false reasonings; because there is no authority higher than the *Sruti*. If it be urged that 'it is an unmistakeable fact of perception that the Self is really conscious of pain, &c.,'—we deny this; because such consciousness of pain too may be explained as other sense-cognitions, such as 'I am free from old age, I am old, I am born, I am long-lived, I am fair, dark, dead and so forth.' If it be said that 'all these are true,'—(we reply) the truth is really very hard to comprehend; so much so that even the king of the gods, though instructed, by means of the instance of the cup of water, as to the imperishable character of the Self, yet became confused, and said 'It is really annihilated.' And the greatly intelligent *Virochana* too, the very son of *Prajāpati* himself, understood the body itself to be the Self. And it is in this occasion of *Indra's* fear with regard to the perishability of the Self, that the atheists have been drowned. So too, the *Sāṅkhyas*, even after they have comprehended the seer to be something apart from the body, leave hold of the authority of the scriptures, and so stay behind in the regions of Death as characterised by other theories. So, too, the other philosophers, *Kāṇḍa* and others, have busied themselves with purifying the substance of the Self as endowed with nine different properties of the Self,—just like the washing of the *reddened* cloth by means of different salts. So also the sacrificists—*mīmāṃsakas*—having their minds withdrawn from the worldly objects, though resting upon the authority of the *Veda*, look upon

the Supreme Reality of the unity of Self as *annihilation*, like *Indra*, and so keep moving up and down, by means of a pulley as it were. What then is to be said of other insignificant creatures devoid of wisdom, who, by their very nature, have their minds conquered by the external objects of the world? Therefore the Supreme Reality of the unity of Self can be rightly comprehended only by those *Paramahansa*—Renunciates who have renounced all desire for the external world, who have nothing else to fall back upon, who have accepted the highest state of life who are engaged only with the conception of the Vedanta,—the highly revered ones, following, as they do, the doctrine laid down by *Prajāpati* in the four aforesaid sections, and hence to-day too, it is only such revered ones, and none others, that teach this doctrine.

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July 1900.

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ART. I.—THE GREAT ANARCHY.

*Stories of the Adventurers in Native Service, in India, during
the latter half of the 18th Century.*

(Continued from No. 220—April 1900.)

APPENDIX I.

A FEW details that could not well be fitted into our text may yet deserve record, as illustrative of the private affairs and personal fortune of some of the adventurers of the Anarchy. They are not of any special bearing on the state of India during that wild period; nevertheless those who have followed the main current of our narrative may care to know more about the persons who principally influenced its events.

The author is indebted for access to most of these sources of information to Mr. Stewart Sutherland, grandson of the Colonel Robert Sutherland of whom glimpses have been afforded in dealing with the career of General Perron. With Perron Sutherland was connected by marriage, having espoused the General's niece. Perron and the elder Hessing had found wives in the family of Derridon, still existing as small landed gentry near Agra;* and Mrs. Sutherland was daughter to Hessing and Anne Derridon, his wife, who remained in India when her sister, Madeleine, accompanied Perron to Europe, and became ancestress of several families of distinction in France, as will appear later.

Besides the land still held—or held within the last few years—by the Derridons, there are not many material monuments of the adventurers left in India. Amongst these few may be mentioned the tombs of the elder Hessing and Sutherland; with the Church and Palace built by Begum Sombre at Sardhana.

* When the author was District Judge at Agra—1872-'9—members of this family came as litigants into his Court. They dressed like Europeans, but spoke Hindustani.

Hessing's tomb, in the Padretala (or Catholic Cemetery) of Agra, is a pretentious building of red sandstone, a copy of the famous Taj Mahal on a reduced scale. There is a long historical epitaph in English, giving a summary of the life and adventures of the deceased.

Sutherland's remains lie under a less assuming monument in a garden at Muttra which probably belonged to a residence of his now destroyed. Some small wreck of landed property remains, from the rent of which the maintenance of the tomb and garden is provided, the balance going to good works. This officer was a Scot of good birth, once an Ensign in the Black Watch, who transferred himself to Sindhia's service and was made Brigade Major by General de Boigne and afterwards promoted to command a Brigade. He enjoyed the friendship and confidence of the General, as will be illustrated by some letters to be quoted hereafter. He had also the honour to co-operate with Colonel the Hon. A. Wellesley in 1800; and was in command at Agra when the Fort was surrendered to Lake by the younger Hessing. Sutherland died soon after the peace.

The Church and Palace at Sardhana were built by the Begum, a few years before her death in 1836, the architect being an Italian in her employ, Major Regholini. The house was inherited by the Begum's step-grandson, David Dyce, who took the name of Sombre and married the Hon. M. A. Jervis, daughter of the 3rd Viscount St. Vincent. Mr. Dyce Sombre dying in 1851, his widow married Lord Forester and during her life-time the house and grounds—seventy acres in all—were kept up. They have since been bought by the Vicar Apostolic of Agra, and are to become the site of a training College for young native Missionaries. The Palace is a fine building, standing on a basement eleven feet high. The front portico is approached by a vast flight of steps opening on a wide landing. A hall, 42 feet by 36 feet, leads to the various apartments, the private chambers of the Begum being entered by a winding staircase. Above all these and other bedrooms is the terraced roof so much affected in hot climates. The wings at the back, containing other apartments and offices, enclose a court-yard or small garden; and the front of the house is 160 feet in length. In the principal reception rooms used to hang a number of portraits of the Begum's friends, by Beechey, Melville, and other local artists—Sir David Ochterlony, on his white charger; General Cartwright; Baron Solaroli and Colonel J. R. Troup, husbands of Dyce-Sombre's sisters; Dyce-Sombre himself in a sort of Court-dress, with a Papal decoration. Amongst others was a small portrait-group, stiffly painted, representing the meeting of Lord

Combermere and the Begum after the fall of Bhurtpore (1826). There were also half-lengths of Generals Ventura and Allard, the successors of de Boigne and Perron, by whom the Sikh army was trained to fight the British in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the central hall was an ambitious piece, a life-size portrait of the Begum in advanced life, seated on a sort of throne and smoking her *hookah*. A well-printed head of a debauched looking fellow in Moghul costume represented John, son of the famous George Thomas, who was brought up by the Begum and married to the daughter of an Armenian in her service called Agha Wanus. On issuing from the park-gate one finds the road to the "Camera," or country house occupied by the Begum until the completion of the above-described Palace; and it was here that Bishop Heber was received by her in 1825, as described in his once well-known book.*

The Begum always maintained the position of an independent Princess, and showed hospitality to the military and civil officers of the neighbouring Station of Meerut. There was a dinner-party every evening, at which Regholini, Colonel Dyce the father of her subsequent heir, and the Reverend Father Scotti, the Chaplain, were usually present, along with their Mistress; a band of music was in attendance, and the best wines of France and Spain circulated freely.

Such was the splendid termination of the slave-girl's career—a romance scarcely to be outdone by the most inventive fiction. When she felt the approach of death, she divested herself of all her property, by deed-of-gift in favour of young Dyce, subject to various important charges. The military fiefs were confiscated in consequence of her demise; the brigade being at the same time disbanded. Enough of the private and personal property was left to make a handsome provision of some £20,000 a year for the heir—which, indeed, ultimately proved the poor fellow's ruin. Very substantial benefactions were at the same time made to various religious bodies and undertakings.

The estates attached to the Sardhana fief were originally estimated to yield a revenue of Rx. 60,000 (six lakhs) per annum.† (The Rx., or conventional Indian £, was then worth over 20s.) On the Begum's death all but the Park demesne were brought under the public fisc, which led to a long and costly litigation terminated by an award to the effect that the confiscation was an act of public policy with which the Courts were not at liberty to interfere.

* *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, etc.* 2 vols. 4to. London, 1828.

† Afterwards increased by the Begum's assessments.

It is a side-light on the state of the country in those days to learn that the British officials—as mentioned in the present text—at once reduced the assessments by twenty per cent. As the British of those days professed to take some $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the net produce, we may find some difficulty in estimating what share may have been left to the Sardhana tenants. Cesses, transit-dues, and factory-taxes, to a considerable amount, were at the same time swept away. If this was the condition of a mediatised State, in the heart of the British territory, under a ruler of exceptional intelligence desirous of standing well with the Government (and professing the Christian creed), what must have been the state of less fortunate districts before the introduction of British ideas and standards? Twenty years ago, when the present writer was at Meerut, the land in Sardhana had largely increased its cultivated area, the assessment had fallen to an average of Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ per acre, and wages had increased 150 per cent. over the rate current in the Begum's day. The five sub-divisions are now among the most prosperous rural tracts in Hindustan.

The annexed table will show the pedigree of the late Mr. Dyce-Sombre, who—as will be seen—was not of kin to the Begum—

Walter Reinhardt, *al.* General Sombre ;
m. a Muhamadan lady who survived
 him and died a lunatic.

|
 Aloysius Reinhardt, *al.* Nawab Zafar-
 yab Khan, *m.* daughter of Colonel Lefèvre :

|
 Anne Reinhardt, *al.* Sombre, *m.*
 Mr. George Dyce, Agent to the Sardhana
 Estates.

|
 David Ochterlony Dyce-Sombre, *b.* 1808 ;
 inherited the property, and *d.* with-
 out issue, 1851. *m.* Hon'ble Miss Jervis,
 who *m.* (2nd) the late Cecil, Lord
 Forester.

Of the Church—called “Cathedral,” though when the author knew the place there was no Bishop—there is not much to be said. Besides affording the unwonted spectacle of a large place of Christian worship in a Hindustan village, the building has no special claims to notice. It is, however, of respectable dimensions—170 feet long, with a central dome and two lofty spires at the East End: it was consecrated by the Vicar Apostolic in 1829. The interior is paved with marble and relieved by mouldings in hard stucco. In the back of the

north transept is a group in white marble, by Tadolini of Rome, placed there by the gratitude of poor Dyce-Sombre. Pyramidal in form and exquisitely carved, it represents the deceased Princess seated on a platform surrounded by allegoric figures. Round the base stand life-size statues of civil and military officers; panels on the sides of the pedestal set forth the dates and deeds of the Begum's life, with historical groups in high relief commemorative of the Begum's court and camp.

II.

By the courtesy of the grandson of Colonel R. Sutherland, some interesting letters of General de Boigne have been consulted, which throw a new light upon the General's retirement from the service and return to Europe. The letters are written in a clear, bold hand; the English in perfectly intelligible though somewhat French in idiom. They cover a period of about nine months, *viz.*, from the General's last movement on Lucknow to his embarkation at Calcutta.

The earliest bears date "Lucknow, 2nd April 1896," and begins by expressing anxiety for news, as his correspondent must "be aware how interested I am in the successes and prosperity of our Prince;" Daulat Rao Sindhia, who was then—it may be noted—at peace with all his neighbours. The General then enters into some details about the administration of the Force, and earnestly exhorts Sutherland to "be kind to every one of the officers, attentive to them as far as they deserve it, to give them their due, to promote in rank and pay those who may be entitled to it by their good services and merits, but discharge those from whom no good may be expected—better to have few good than many bad." He deals with the cases of officers who have been giving trouble and threatening to resign; and adds, "detain nobody by force; everyone has a right to be free and look out for himself: in doing so officers shall never be wanting, I hope to be able to provide the brigades with many." But he stops suddenly: "I will not decide nor interfere—I have left the army—on account of bad health, but not to plague myself about the details of the Service. I am, indeed, incapable of attending to any business." The letter ends with complaints of the writer's ill-health and probable intention of proceeding to sea under medical advice, adding an expression of confidence in Sutherland's "sagacity and judgment for all what concerns the good of the Prince and of his service."

From this conclusion, and from the entire omission of the name of Perron as his possible successor, it may perhaps seem to follow that the General regarded Sutherland as the future commander of the Regular Army. Had this happened, the

whole course of subsequent events would have been affected to a degree which can only be conjectured. If Sindhia, under advice from a British officer, had complied with the policy of Lord Mornington, who can say if the authority of our nation would ever have been extended to Hindustan?

For many months General de Boigne lay at Lucknow in constant suffering and danger. Congestion of the liver and fever racked his frame and prevented him from taking an interest in the stirring events of which Lucknow was the scene. Sir John Shore, the British Governor-General, finding it impossible to wean the Nawab, Asaf-ud-daula, from the life of frivolous debauchery under which he was rapidly sinking into the grave, resolved on trying the effect of a personal interview; but the letters contain no mention of his visit. The only concern of the invalid is for his old master and comrades, mixed with a creditable solicitude for the two daughters whom he had, it seems, left at Aligarh. "Protect and defend them," he implores his friend; "and support my interest in everything in which your assistance may be required." A landed estate in what is now the Eta District had been assigned for the support of the girls; but the anxious father intended to return as soon as he was restored to health. If he should have to go to Europe—"which I hope may not be the case—it would not take me more than 18 months; knowing that Europe will (not) nor ever can suit my temper nor constitution . . . Be happy!" he ends, "and believe me for ever, etc."

The next letter is dated the 1st September; the rainy season was ending and the most trying part of the Indian year at hand. But the sick man does not mend: his "illness has been so great for these several months past that I thought it was all over for me . . . inconceivable how severe have been my sufferings . . . God be praised! all is for the best." He writes a long letter: this one has more than 1,000 words, all thoughtful and wise. In spite of the declaration of April that he has left the Army, his plan of a sea-voyage is only to go round from Calcutta to Bombay, there to join "the Prince" at Poona, and return to "Indostan" with the 1st Brigade. "Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to hear of the successes and prosperity of the Brigades raised by me and which give bread to one hundred thousand souls at least." Sutherland is exhorted to conquer his hostility towards the Muhamadan Paymaster, and warned that it is the Hindoos, and not the Prophet's followers, who are the real foes of Europeans in India. Other advice and suggestions follow; but nothing like interference; compliments to Lakwa Dada, the Brahmin Minister soon to fall from power and end

his days in exile : and the long epistle ends with remembrances to the Officers "and all the Men of the Army: it will be agreeable to them to see though yet far from them I have them yet in remembrance."

On the 13th, the General writes again, "having not for these six months past enjoyed a single moment of good health," he has incurred the reproaches of his friends for not answering their letters; but he has now a new and much-esteemed medical adviser, Doctor Ilare, who gives good hope of recovery when the cold season has had its healing effect: "if he can prevent my getting worse before the end of October." He has heard from Lakwa Dada, to whom he begs Sutherland to announce his intention of writing soon. "Tell him all accounts are to be delivered; at my departure it was so ordered in General Orders: so long I am alive I have nothing at all to do with accounts, it is the business of the Mahratta Chief." Once more Sutherland is exhorted to be reconciled to the Moslem Paymaster; "it is better to have him for friend than for enemy; if you know your own interest you will follow my advice." He is sorry to hear that Mr. Dawes has left the service to plant Indigo; this is a falling industry; he gives details, adding that he himself has lost "four lakhs rupees;" but is too ill to care. (Dawes returned to the service, and died fighting in the battle near Poona where Holkar defeated Sindhia, 25th October, 1802). The General ends with saying that he gets the Poona news from the *Bombay Gazette*, and telling his correspondent to "be happy and successful."

On the 7th January 1797 the General writes from Calcutta: before leaving Lucknow he had been mending, but the damp cold of a Bengal winter has brought a relapse: "Few men can have suffered more than I have this year past, particularly since my arrival to Bangala." He has taken his passage "both for Bombay and the Cape of Good Hope... if I am so fortunate to recover my health, I shall proceed immediately to Poona to join the 1st Brigade and meet the Prince; if I remain as I am, I am obliged to go to the Cape; then it will be six or seven months before I can be back to Coel, which God forbid it should be the case!... Let me proceed to Poona or to the Cape, I trust and most warmly recommend you to continue your attachment, as you have done till now, to the Prince, to the good of the service, and indeed to maintain the fame and credit we have obtained at the sacrifice of so much blood and so much fatigue." In all which we may, if we please, observe either an actual commander, fully intending to resume his duties after a brief convalescence, or a man who knows that his health is gone, and who bids

farewell to the scene of his labour, but "casts a longing lingering look behind." Of the reality of the General's breakdown one can hardly doubt; in this very letter he says he would give up all his wealth—considerable as we know it to have been—if he could emerge from a state of suffering to which, as he quaintly says, "death is a thousand times as preferable." He proceeds to give some instructions about the Eta estate—"my Jaghire in the Province of Jalleyssore"—and to commend to Sutherland's protection "my women, my reputation, and all that concerns me: if you have gratitude you will prove it; I will say no more." General Martin will represent him as his General Agent, and will always know his address and forward letters. The letter ends with instructions on behalf of the "weadows of officers;" and the protection of "about nine country-born young men, sons of officers" to whom Ensigns' commissions have been promised "at Rs. 125 per month, and when Perron comes, give him some." By this time the General, perhaps, knew who was to be his successor; but he sends him no greeting.

The last letters of the series are dated on Jan. 15, and written on board ship, to be posted, doubtless, by the Hooghly pilot on leaving at the Sandheads. The General now speaks plainly as to his intention "to go no farther than Bombay, and proceed thence to Poona; in the end to pay my respects to the Prince. . . but if I am doomed to remain in my present state I shall be obliged to proceed to the Cape at the advice of the Doctors and at the solicitations of my friends, . . as for Europe, I don't think of it, but as a last resource, well aware that a single winter (there) would kill me, so much have I been worst since the cold has begun in Bangala." The European winter, as it turned out, was to prove a different thing from a Calcutta cold season; and nearly thirty years of honour and usefulness awaited the veteran in that Europe which he seemed to regard with so much anxiety: "to live a single year in Europe would be my death:" if the Cape does not restore him, yet "God be praised! farther can't at the moment think of any place of safety in Europe, to which adding that it being now 27 years (since) I left for the last time my native place I have not a relation or person of my acquaintance (left there)." He cannot therefore look forward to the influence and power to which he has become accustomed, "with the advantage of being able to do good to numbers of people." Had all this—so contrary to the ultimate result—been only addressed to Sindhia and other natives of India, we might be tempted to regard it as a *placebo* to cover desertion. But it being repeatedly urged so earnestly upon a European comrade, and always in company with marks of unremitting

sympathy with the service, we are surely justified in believing that, to the last, the writer hoped to resume his command in India. But there is equal reason to believe that the General did not leave the Mahrattas with much regret, whatever may have been his feelings towards "the Prince" or his European servants. In this very letter he returns to the subject of the Hindoos and their irreconcilable enmity for Europeans, "Believe me," he says, "and be assured all the Mahratta Chiefs are our mortal enemies, as well as the Pandetts" (the Brahmins), "and it is not one of them that would not see with the greatest pleasure the extinction of the Brigades; to effect that purpose nothing better than by our losing the Provinces." The gallant officer is led by haste into a tangle of words; the meaning is clear enough: the Lakwa Dadas, Ambajis, etc., would gladly see their Master expelled from Hindustan if the event should lead him to dispense with his Regular Force and European officers. Therefore he adds, to Sutherland, a caution that "it behoves you to have a vigilant eye to the entire preservation of both; your own interest and the good of thousands depend on it!" These reflections and instructions are not only of use in showing the opinion entertained by the retiring commander as to the character of his correspondent, but they throw some light on the subsequent policy and conduct of General Perron.

Before concluding this letter of farewell, the writer once more earnestly commends to Sutherland the interests of the Prince and of the service; "to maintain the reputation of the troops under your command requires activity and exactitude in every part . . . as you are wise I flatter myself to find things, on my return, in good order. I shall say no more; write to me every three or four months." In a separate letter of the same date, sent through Col. Martin, the General implores Sutherland to take charge of the Jalesar *jaigir*, remembering that it is not a military fief but a freehold from the late Mahadaji's favour under the seal manual of the Empire (*Al-Tangha*); so that it may be secured against "the rapacity" of Mahrattas and Pandits. The income is to be "the patrimony of my children till they are of age, the maintenance of my two girls . . . their pension being attached and affixed on the said Jaghir."

Whether the young ladies lived to enjoy the provision thus made for them; whether Sutherland looked after their settlement in life; and whether they left any descendants of the great Savoyard General, it is now too late to ascertain. It is only clear that Gen. de Boigne had confidence in Sutherland, who doubtless justified that trust for the rest of his brief career.

Vain conjectures have been already expressed as to the

possible variation in events had Sindhia regarded Sutherland with the eyes of his departed General. He preferred to trust the Frenchman, with the result that we know. Perron intrigued and vacillated, almost to the last; his officers deserted or betrayed him; and he esteemed himself lucky to escape with his goods to the protection of a generous foe. The last of the letters kindly supplied by Mr. Sutherland shows Perron in the act of withdrawing his property from the Fort at Agra under a Pass from Col. R. Ball, commanding for Lake at Sasni. It is addressed to George Hessing, and dated 15th September 1803. The English is irreproachable.

Amongst other letters due to the courtesy of Mr Sutherland not the least interesting are those addressed to his grandfather by the future Duke of Wellington when the latter was conducting operations in the valley of the Kistna in 1800. It was the year after the fall of Tippu Sultan of Mysore; and Arthur Wellesley—as he then was—had taken the field against one of Tippu's former followers—locally known as "Dhundia Waugh"—who had escaped from Seringapatam and attempted to live on the country at the head of a band of freebooters. Wellesley had pushed the robbers across the country into Dharwar, and now found reason to hope that he might bring them to bay. But to do this effectually he required the aid of Sindhia, whose forces were then in the Deccan. The first letter on the subject bears date, "Camp on the right bank of the Malprabha, August 13th, 1800." It begins, in the most direct fashion, by referring to information which must have reached the correspondent from the Court of Poona, and to the success which has hitherto attended the British troops. "This being the case," proceeds the young Brigadier, "and having besides received intelligence from Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer that Dowlut Row Scindiah (*sic*) had informed him that his troops could cooperate with me, I am induced to write to you. Doondiah Waugh is now on the South bank of the (Gulperba?)* river; his object is evidently to cross it and to avoid the troops under my command. It is in your power to prevent this, and thus to render an important service to the Peshwa and his allies. As I understand you are an Englishman I address you in English, and I shall be obliged if you will let me know what steps you intend to take with a view to compliance with the wish which I have an opportunity of mentioning your services to the British Government and to that of Poona."

"I have the honor to be sir, with respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

"To the Officer Commanding
the forces of Dowlut Row Scindiah."

* Perhaps the Ghatprabha, an affluent of the Kistna, which breaks from the mountains near Gokak.

This letter appears to have been a fortnight on the road ; on the 2nd September it must have been received by Sutherland at Poona, for on that date he wrote to the Colonel informing him that he had communicated the contents to his subordinate, Captain Brownrigg, directing him to place himself under Colonel Wellesley's orders on condition of his not taking his detachment beyond the limits of the Mahratta territory. "Give me leave to assure you," added Sutherland, "that though circumstances have placed me under the directions of a native Prince, I still consider myself bound by every principle of honour . . . to watch for every opportunity of rendering service to my fellow-countrymen" . . . These professions were handsomely acknowledged by Wellesley who added that, if the enemy "should return into the Mahratta country their services would certainly be availed of." And, "proceeds the writer," I shall take the opportunity of stating to Captain Brownrigg my opinion of the manner in which the troops under his orders can be employed (so as) to render most service to the common cause, "The correspondence would be forwarded to the Government of Fort St. George ; and the Colonel had no doubt but that the Right Honorable the Governor" (Lord Clive) "would derive the greatest satisfaction from persual." This letter is dated from camp, September 7. On the 20th of the same month, Wellesley gives Brownrigg the following laconic account of the end of the operations against Dhundia. "I fell in with his army on the 10th instant, and an action ensued in which his troops were entirely defeated, and he was killed." This action was fought at Manoli.

The remaining letters are formal ; one from Brownrigg offering congratulations, and one from the Colonel in courteous acknowledgment. It is only needful to add that after the conclusion of the war, four years later, Brownrigg was allowed to enter the service of the Honorable East India Company in which he lost his life, being killed at the siege of Sirsa (presumably in 1818).*

An interesting account of some of the adventurers was published, by Mr. Fisher Unwin, some years ago, the author being Mr. Herbert Compton. There is no date on the title-page, but the work was noticed in the *Indian Magazine and Review* for December 1892. The title is "A particular account of the European military Adventurers of Hindustan ;" but the only full memoirs are those of Boigne, Perron and Thomas, the rest being collectively dealt with in an Appendix.

* V. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII. 12.

ART. II.—THE HIGHWAY TO TIBET.

IT seems strange that at this date, one of the countries of the world should still be shut in from the rest of mankind, not by impassable deserts or impenetrable ice, but only by the exclusiveness of its people ; and these not a hermit nation, like the Koreans of twenty years ago, but a nation of born traders, with a literature, a Government, and a religion. Such, however, is the fact. The priests of Tibet, called lamas, have secured the control of the Government, and, living in pomp and luxury on the profits of commercial monopolies, and regarding the people simply as instruments for their aggrandisement, have forbidden any one to come into their country who can show the people a happier or a more profitable way of life. Surrounded by tremendous mountains, the Tibetans have been able to carry out this policy with a thoroughness which would not have been possible in a country with a sea-board. But China also has helped. It subjugated the Tibetans as early as the ninth century, A. D., and, although it makes too little out of them to take much interest in the possession, it is sensitive about having its supremacy disputed. Accordingly, Chinamen can enter Tibet at all times and by any route ; a Chinese Resident lives in great state at Lhasa ; and Chinese subordinate officers, with small parties of soldiers, occupy strategic points on the frontier.

As may be imagined of a country ruled in this way, the inhabitants and their highways become of less consequence in proportion as they are remote from Lhasa, the capital, a place which only four or five Europeans have seen, and they in far by-gone years. Consequently, while it is possible to penetrate the country, that is, the mere land, for some distance, from Kashmeer, Assam, or Mongolia, it is virtually impossible to go half a mile beyond the frontier from Bengal or China. But the Tibetans come and go ; and, excepting that which leads eastward to the Szechwen province of China, no road out of Lhasa equals in importance that which goes over the Jeylap pass, through the south-east corner of Sikhim, into Bengal.

That was the way a friend and myself took from Calcutta one October ; and it was hard to believe, after traversing forests, descending into valleys, and climbing mountains, whose grandeur baffled description ; after passing in single days from blistering heat to freezing cold, that we had not been more than about thirty miles in a straight line from British India. Such is the mystery of the unknown ; for

Sikkim itself was a closed land till not very many years ago. Our journey finished, my friend and I stood on the pass, at an elevation of 14,380 feet, and looked wistfully over the Forbidden Land, which stretched down and away from our very feet. The will of a small and half-savage nation shut us out from the great tableland of eastern Asia as effectually as the continent of ice shuts men out from the North Pole. Fifty miles off, towering above, like a giant land-mark, its upper half of snow dazzling in the sunlight, stood Chumolairhi, as beautiful as little Fujisan, the glory of Japan. The hand of man appeared in a cairn and pole, thickly hung with prayer-flags, to mark for the demon-dreading traveller the spot where the jurisdiction of the gods of Sikkim ceased and that of the gods of Tibet began. All round was bare and bleak and cold, with snow in patches on the ground and covering the hills that guarded the pass. Before us the path rapidly descended past the timber line, 4,000 feet, where a narrow valley, threaded by a stream, reached away in a straight line for ten miles to the Mochoo river, the main route of traffic from Bhootan to Lhasa. We could not see Rinchingong, the little town at the junction of the rivers; but on the hillside above it the white buildings of the Buddhist monastery of Kajui were plainly visible.

Nine miles behind us, and lower by two thousand feet, hidden from view by the bare mountains, lay Gnatong, a small settlement of Natives living miserably in little huts of rough boards, without a tree to shade them or a flower to cheer them, their hardy cattle grazing in their sight and their dogs and poultry feeding among the rubbish round their doors. There stood also the deserted barracks of a garrison which we English kept in that bleak spot for four years; and in the adjoining cemetery were the neglected graves of fourteen of the soldiers, who died there, "far from their home, beyond the wave." A fifteenth mound marked the resting place of a Swedish Missionary.

It was in 1888 that, a Tibetan force having invaded Sikkim, and the effeminate ruler of that State having failed to expel them, we sent an expedition and drove back the intruders beyond the Jeylap pass. Our camp was at Gnatong, and we held our position there, within a strongly fortified stockade, till a treaty with China defined the limits of Tibet and afforded a guarantee that Sikkim would not be again encroached upon. The tenantless and fast dilapidating barracks bear witness to the energy of the Anglo-Saxon nature in comparison with the objectless life of the Native inhabitants in the adjoining village. The telegraph office, the meteorological observatory, the pay office, the canteen, the guard-room, and the officers' mess are still plain-

ly distinguishable ; and what used to be the soldiers' gymnasium still contains parallel bars and the poles of a swing. Thomas Atkins also, with his usual facetiousness, named the spaces between the lines of barracks "Rotten Row," "Stanton Road," "Hyde Park Corner," etc. ; and these signs remain to suggest Christian charms to Mongol by-passers. To the Natives in the village the roomy barracks appear cold and cheerless ; so they prefer to stay in their own small and dingy huts ; although they regularly pull down and carry away the doors, windows, and rafters, to be used for firewood. They also resort to the reservoir of water which they never thought of building for themselves, but which the English troops built as soon as they came there ; not, however, because they prefer the pure water issuing from a spring in the hillside to that in the puddle which has satisfied them for generations past, but because it is easy to fill their vessels in the deep basin.

Gnatong stands at the limit of the timber line ; and from that point backward towards India the forest grows deeper as the elevation becomes lower. I have taken the reader at once to the border of Tibet, and said nothing of the journey, so I will ask him to return with me and set out from Darjeeling. That delightful hill station, distant from Calcutta about eighteen hours' journey by railway and ferry boat, is by no means as well known to Europeans in other parts of India as it is to us of Calcutta and Bengal ; but its fame has reached Europe and America, and, as it is the most accessible place in the heart of the Himalayas, scores of tourists every year make a point of going there, though they may hurry past all our other hill stations. They are rewarded by seeing what the historian Elphinstone has described as "the noblest scenery in India,..... a sight which the soberest traveller has never described without kindling into emotion, and which, if once seen, leaves an impression that can never be effaced." On a clear day they have a view of Mount Everest, whose summit overtops that of the principal peak of the Andes by half a mile .. in perpendicular height.

At Darjeeling, which is almost 7,000 feet above sea-level at the railway station, and about 1,000 feet more on Jalapahar, we strike off to the north-east, and first go down about 6,000 feet to the Teesta river, a swift and grand current in the depth of the mountains, with a capital bridge constructed not many years ago by British enterprise. Every few hundred yards of the long way down has revealed some new beauty : at one point a splendid view ; at another a shaded walk ; at another a sparkling rivulet ; and all along tall trees, giant creepers, thickets of bamboo, tangles of cane, mosses, ferns, and flowers, with birds and butterflies unnumbered. Crossing

the Teesta, we climb 4,000 feet to Kalimpoong, a town much smaller than Darjeeling, where missionaries of the Established Church of Scotland have a church, a medical dispensary, a school, and the headquarters of a work which extends to numerous villages and has been repeatedly acknowledged by the Government to have a most beneficial effect in civilizing the mountaineers.

The Rev. J. A. Graham has won a reputation by his graphic account of the Mission, entitled, "On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands," the closed lands being Tibet, Nepal, and Bhootan. From Kalimpoong we proceed along a fairly level road, through light forest and in an exhilarating climate, to a small town called Padong. Then there is a steep descent to the Rusheet river, which bounds British territory, and we enter Sikhim. Climbing up from the valley, we come to Rhenok, where the influence of British civilization is seen in a post office, a telegraph office, and a row of little wooden shops with things for eating and wearing unknown to the natives till we took them there. We found the postmaster a most polite and intelligent man, a typical Nepalee of the educated class. He introduced his interesting family to us, and told us he had a son at school in Darjeeling. The mountaineers of India are nearly everywhere labouring men without a turn or taste for education. The Mahratta Brahmans on the ghâts above Bombay are an exception; and so are the upper classes of Manipur and of Nepal, thorough Hindoos with frames and muscles formed by constant climbing. At Rhenok we left civilization behind us and entered the solitudes of the mountains, where are no inhabitants save a family or two in a hut, at long intervals, who maintain a precarious livelihood by offering food and drink to traders passing with strings of laden mules between Tibet and Kalimpoong.

We are now two long marches from Gnatong, and, grand as has been the scenery and marvellous the animal life so far, they become more awe-inspiring and bewildering from this point onward. But the climbing is terrific. There are 9,000 feet to go up; and twice over we have an interminable zigzag to descend into a valley, and then a corresponding ascent before we reach the level from which we started. We two did it in rough style, with no more commissariat than the Boers in South Africa: we had one saddle mule, but my friend disdained to ride at all, and I contrived to walk half the way. One of us carried a camera, and the other a gun. We had neither servant nor coolie, but a mule to carry our provisions and extra clothing, and one man to look after it and the riding mule. We paid for two men, but one of them deserted us on the second day out.

The mountains grew higher and higher and the forest became deeper and denser as we trudged mile upon mile the day long. The amazing variety of colour in the trees, far surpassing the contrasts of autumn hues in Europe, riveted our gaze many times as a vast wall of mountain rose before us or a panorama of hilltops stretched away into the distance. Shade after shade of green, of yellow, of brown, and of red, from lightest to darkest, made a mighty patchwork and displayed one glory of the Himalayan range. And although the season of flowers and orchids was past, we saw enough to remind us of the paradise that blooms there in spring, with gorgeous clusters hanging from the trees and microscopic beauties making mosaics on the ground. For miles the first day our road lay along the bank of the rippling and gurgling Runglee river, and when we crossed the bridge it was to follow another stream for a long distance before the path turned up the mountain and slowly rose 4,000 feet to Sedonchen. No words can describe the gloom of that forest or the wildness of those shaded torrents. Man is of no account there : vegetation puts on its glory without his aid, and animal life teems on a scale of which he knows little. Among birds, the giant horn-bill has its home there. This great creature is four feet in length, but nevertheless it finds a hollow in one of the trees large enough for its nest : into that the female retreats to lay and hatch its eggs, and the entrance is plastered up with clay by the male, which regularly feeds its mate with fruit, through a hole left in the plastering, till the period of incubation is completed.

From Sedonchen we climbed to Lingtoo, a crag several hundred feet higher than Gnatong, where the Tibetans built a fort when they invaded Sikkim, and where the path proceeds along a narrow ledge overlooking a dreadful precipice. Our troops demolished the fort ; but the ruins still show a line of slabs with inscriptions, and a collection of prayer-flags mark the spot as the haunt of a "Zhi-dak." To this black demon travellers offer a rag torn from their clothes and tied to a stick, on gaining the summit of a hill or pass. I watched the manœuvre performed by our muleteer, but had to resort to the "Gazetteer of Sikkim" to understand its significance. While planting his offering on the "lap-che," or cairn, the traveller calls the demon by uttering in a meek voice, *Kiki ! Kiki !* Then he adds *So-so ! So-so !* which means presentation or offering ; and exclaims in a loud, triumphant strain, *Lha-gyal-o ! Lha-gyal-o !* "God has won ! God has won !"

We are now above most of the mountains, and the tropical vegetation has given place to pine forest. The weather is too cold for the birds and the beasts, the insects and the reptiles, among which we have walked so long. The air does

not buzz all day with the din of the cicadas, and at night we do not hear the constant pipe of the pigmy owl, nor the bewildering clamour of grasshoppers and treefrogs. But the fierce and strong lammergeier is here in its pride, and parties of the small black eagle sail to and fro along the cliffs. The raven is everywhere, in pairs, and choughs, with their musical roll, fly about the valleys. The Himalayan marmot, and smaller, but not less interesting, rodents, have their burrows among the gorse. We chanced also to come upon a herd of about forty yak tamely grazing on a cold hillside, with their shaggy hair and broom-like tails. The calves were curious little creatures.

We were three days in this region going and three days returning, with an interval of two days in which a high wind rose and the weather underwent a change. October is the season when the sun endeavours to assert itself after the tropical rains and before the snows of winter. So we saw the skies and the landscape under a considerable variety of climate. We passed more than once through a deluge of rain; we went for miles in mists that shrouded everything; and we saw the sun shining in its splendour and the moon "walking in brightness," with every star sparkling in the rare atmosphere. The heat scorched us in the valleys, making the perspiration stream down our faces and soak through our clothes; and in six hours we were shivering with cold on a mountain top. But no view we had impressed us, because of its unlikeness to anything seen in India, as much as the sun shedding its rays through openings in the clouds, upon distant hilltops or on masses of snowy mist. It was when we were on the highest elevations of our journey, and ourselves so enveloped in mist that the orb of day was invisible: there would be a long stretch of clear atmosphere, say to our right, the hilltops lying all below us, and several valleys filled with mist that looked like pure cotton pressed down. If, then, an opening in the clouds above, invisible to us, permitted a flood of sunlight to fall on a square mile of distant landscape, showing a green hillside and a bed of snow-white fog in perfect brightness, we had a view of glory peculiar to those upper solitudes.

All the countries in this part of Asia, with the exception of Nepal, are peopled by Mongol races, having the flat faces, high cheek bones, unmistakeable eyes, scanty beards, and yellow or brown complexions most familiar to us in the Chinese; and these people observe a form of the Buddhist religion with its monks and monasteries and mystic sentences, and spells and charms, and rosaries and prayer-wheels, and its demons and exorcists and astrologers. The Tibetans come down from their lofty, wind-swept tableland only to trade.

The Bhooteas, a stalwart people from the less inhospitable, but still jungle-clad and fever-stricken, mountains on the right, travel more easily into Sikhim and find local employment and residence there. The Lepchas, who are the proper natives of Sikhim and have a petty king at Guntok, are a delicate-looking people with a wonderful knowledge of wood-craft, and are dear to the entomologist because of their familiarity with butterflies and beetles and their skill at catching rare specimens without spoiling them. They gather and eat a profusion of vegetable produce, and delight in making gardens of wild flowers round their huts and clearings. But their gentle spirits and easy habits give them no chance against the enterprising Nepalese on their west, who already swarm over the most fertile parts of Sikhim and are cutting down the forest and raising crops of grain in a masterful manner. This warlike and sturdy race of Hindoos conquered the country in the 14th century and have ever since maintained a strong, organized administration, with priests and idols and temples as strictly Hindoo as any in India. They may be recognised wherever met by their dress, their caste, their idolatry, and their family system. They exhibit, in a thoroughly Buddhist region, the picturesque element which makes India incomparably a more interesting country than China. But it is British order and British wealth that give every class the best opportunity to make a show; and consequently, at Darjeeling and round about these Nepalese and Bhooteas, Tibetans and Lepchas, with the local hillmen known as Paharces come out in dresses and flowers and ornaments that beat anything else to be seen in all the inhabited Himalaya. Feminine vanity has here all the scope it wants, and no tribe of girls in India, outside of Kashmere, look as attractive as the girls between Darjeeling and Rhenok.

I have spoken of the Jeylap-la—"La" means "pass"—as the end of our journey. To be exact, we went eight miles into Tibet, to Yatung, where, by a treaty signed between Lord Lansdowne and a high Chinese official from Lhasa, whose visit as "Omban" is well remembered in Calcutta, an open mart was established for the promotion of trade between India and Tibet. There are a Chinese and a Tibetan garrison to see that no person other than a Tibetan or a Chinaman passes the barrier one yard further into Tibet. But no market, not a stall for the sale of food, has yet been set up there; and nobody lives there except the soldiery, and the servants of the only two Europeans in the place. These Europeans are an English Commissioner of Customs in the service of the Chinese Government, and Miss Annie R. Taylor, the missionary known for her persistent and daring attempts to reach

Lhasa both from China and from India. It is a desolate spot, in a valley with an elevation of nearly 10,500 feet. A small but fairly good house and office have been built for the Commissioner, with dwelling places for his establishment. The highway to Lhasa, the very path we have pursued from the pass, runs in front of these buildings and so becomes a street; for on the other side of it is a cluster of wooden huts occupied by the squalid and tattered Tibetan garrison. Among these huts a "suite of apartments" is rented by Miss Taylor, who keeps a shop of miscellaneous ware as the condition of her residence in forbidden territory. She is the first and last merchant to take advantage of "the open mart" we extorted from Tibet. A quarter of a mile further along a stone-wall makes the barrier beyond which we may not trespass; and immediately on the other side is a garrison of Chinese soldiers, just a little better accommodated than the Tibetan garrison. The Kajui Monastery, already mentioned, is up on the hillside, four miles beyond; and in the valley below it, but out of view at Yatung, is Rinchingong, a really important town, with all the advantages of a corner shop at the junction of the Yatung and Mochoo valleys. That is undoubtedly where our open mart ought to have been; and, as the treaty provided for a revision of its terms in May 1899, an advantageous change may be announced at the first favourable opportunity. That opportunity, however, has a good way round to come. The Chinese Government and the powerful monopolists at Lhasa are against any change, and our Government is politically indifferent. But our commercial interests are riotous for a highway for Indian tea into Tibet, which lies so much nearer to our doors than to the doors of China. Very many square miles of land round Dajeeeling have been cleared of forest and laid out in tea by British energy and with British capital; and tens of thousands of Nepalese and Lepcha coolies find employment there on terms which cannot be approached under their own Governments. All this tea positively steams to flow into the many myriad tea-pots of Tibet. And it is shrewdly pointed out, as a countervailing advantage, that Tibet wool might be exported to India, under suitable encouragement, in much larger quantity than it is at present.

But, speculate how we will, the march of civilization is resistless. Forty years ago the tracts now covered with ranges of coolies' huts and dotted with the pretty bungalows of tea-planters, were as hopeless jungle as any all the way to Gnatong; and the prophet's eye can see a time when the forests of Sikhim will give place to fields, and the railway will traverse the mountains, till thriving towns stand on the Runglee river, Lhasa becomes a Moscow, and Kalimpoong the seat of a university.

ART. III.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL JUSTICE IN BENGAL.

IN 1898, 591,793 civil suits were instituted in the Civil Courts subordinate to the High Court of Calcutta. Ten years earlier the number was 452,533.

The value of the property in dispute in the cases instituted in 1898 was Rs. 4,30,08,755 or over $4\frac{1}{4}$ crores of rupees. The amount realised during the year in execution proceedings was well over two crores.

These figures show how important a function of Government the administration of Civil Justice has become; indeed there is scarcely a department which more vitally affects the interests of a greater number of people. It is easy to upbraid the litigiousness of the peoples of India, but a characteristic common to the Bengali, the Panjabi and the Madrassi cannot be due to mere perversity: its cause must lie deep. It is undesirable that there is much frivolous and vexatious litigation—we take no steps to prevent it. But in a society where nearly every man has an interest in land, and is to that extent a capitalist, and where nearly every man raises money, directly or indirectly, on his capital, litigation is inevitable. Disputes about boundaries, rights of way and succession in connection with land, as well as disputes about longstanding debts, must frequently arise. It is not fair to compare such a society with a country where the bulk of the population receive wages in cash. In England the working man who wants to raise money, sells his Sunday coat: in Bengal the ryot mortgages his holding: a proceeding which will eventually land him in the Civil Court.

As such disputes, requiring settlement, are numerous, the number of suits brought in the Civil Courts will depend on two circumstances: firstly, the extent to which the indigenous method of settling such disputes is superseded: secondly, the way in which work is done in the Government Courts. As the Civil Courts are not only supreme over, but actually ignore, 'panchayets or other non-official tribunals by which through long ages petty disputes have been settled, it is merely a question of time before the latter are ousted. They necessarily lose all the coercive force with which custom has endowed them. Except in the few cases where strong religious or caste feeling may interfere, all disputes must eventually go to the civil courts for decision, unless the parties can come to terms.

The less inducement the parties have to come to terms, the more disputes will actually reach the courts, and this leads to

the second point—the way in which the courts do their work. Where justice can be obtained with certainty, promptness and cheapness, a certain class of suits will proportionately diminish. If a weak case is reasonably certain to lose, it will not be set up: if it is useless to resist a just claim, resistance will not be attempted: if vexatious claims are ruthlessly suppressed, they will not be instituted. It is, then, not sufficient for Government to sigh over native litigiousness; so far as the litigation which exists is unnecessary, Government is itself largely to blame.

It seems, however, that the evil is exaggerated. Of the total number of cases decided, only one in five is decided against the plaintiff, and, seeing how many legal pitfalls beset the path of the litigant, and that he may have a good case and yet be unable to prove it, the number of unsustainable cases cannot be great. It is not clear why a man should be blamed for prosecuting a just claim in courts to which we invite him. If, in so doing, he involves his opponent in disproportionate costs and harrassment, the fault lies in the system. People often talk and write as if the bulk of the litigation in the Civil Courts were the outcome of sheer perversity: they deplore it and would, if they could, diminish its volume. If the litigant in our courts finds his way beset with difficulties, they are inclined to think that it serves him right. We cannot, however, put back the hands of the clock: civil disputes will inevitably come more and more universally to the Civil Courts for decision. It is our obvious duty to render their decision easy and satisfactory, and at the same time to discourage all abuse of the procedure of the courts.

It is not my purpose in this paper to consider whether the law administered by our courts is suited to the present condition of the people, or whether the procedure of the courts is the best that could be devised. I propose the much humbler task of considering whether, taking the present law and the present procedure, the standard of work attained is the highest possible under the circumstances; whether unnecessary delay and expense are avoided and vexatious litigation is discouraged.

The Provincial Civil Courts of Bengal are manned by 31 District Judges, 66 Subordinate Judges, and 292 Munsiffs. Of these 221 exercise the powers of a Small Cause Court, from which the power of appeal is limited. About one-third of the litigation of the province is decided under the Small Cause Court procedure.

If these courts are to deal satisfactorily with the mass of business submitted to them, it is clear that method, promptitude and diligence are necessary. Method and promptitude

are not the leading characteristics of the Bengali mind : it is in this direction that we may expect to find defects in the Civil Courts.

In 1898 the average time that elapsed between the institution and the decision of a contested suit in the Mofussil Courts in Bengal was 128 days. In the case of uncontested suits the time was 61 days. But the way in which business was disposed of can best be seen by examining the figures for the different classes of suits. These are given in the following table of duration of suits, in days :—

	Contested.	Uncontested.
For money and moveables ...	74	40
Rent suits ...	141	72
Title and other suits ...	204	110

These figures indicate sufficient delay in the disposal of work. But the litigant in Bengal is not at the end of his troubles when he has got his suit decided in the court of original jurisdiction. There will probably be an appeal. An appeal takes sometime to decide. The litigant will have to wait for a decision.

179 days in a suit for	money.
157 " "	rent.
227 " "	land.

Thus the plaintiff in a contested title suit will have his case pending for 431 days before it is finally decided, without counting the time which elapses between the decision of the suit and the filing of the appeal, and of course without allowing for the perilous joys of an appeal to the High Court. The case will be hanging over his head for 15 months. That is the *average* time, it is nothing exceptional for a case to last two or three years.

Now these title suits are not suits between wealthy corporations, involving valuable properties : about half are valued at less than Rs. 50. By them are settled the ordinary disputes between villagers. If we were not all too accustomed to the law's delays, it would, perhaps, strike us as a scandal that, if two ryots have a dispute about the ownership

of a field, they cannot get the matter decided without their hanging about the law courts for fifteen months, or that it should take a landlord ten months to get a decree for rent from his ryot. Such prolongation of cases involves constant visits to the law courts, each visit being attended with expenses: adjournment succeeds adjournment; the parties and their witnesses are harrassed and bled, frequently until their resources are exhausted. Sixteen per cent. of the cases instituted are compromised, which means in most cases that the parties cannot afford to continue the contest, and so patch up some sort of arrangement to save themselves from total ruin.

The people of Bengal are mainly agriculturists. They are poor; their disputes are mostly such as a man of common sense, visiting a village, could settle in an hour: our wonderful legal system intervenes, plunges the parties in litigation which is to last for years, and then wonders that its procedure is abused.

Common sense refuses to believe that such delays in legal business are necessary. Want of firmness, want of method, want of organization may with certainty be assumed as the causes of this dilatoriness in the despatch of business. The question for decision in the ordinary petty civil suit is no more complicated than that in the ordinary criminal case: it is as easy to decide whether A borrowed Rs. 10 from B as whether A stole Rs. 10 from B; but the Civil Courts take nine months to come to a decision where the criminal courts take one.

There is another criterion of the work of the Civil Courts: in some districts rent suits are still tried in the revenue courts under Act X of 1859: the procedure is a clumsy one: the officers who try the suits have a great amount of other work to do, and a Deputy Collector would always postpone a rent suit to take up a criminal case: yet in the revenue courts a contested rent suit pends 108 days against 161 in the Civil Courts, and a rent appeal 52 days against 157 in the Civil Courts.

So much for the way in which the suitor with a just cause is treated. But, perhaps, if the good are not encouraged, the bad are at least actively discouraged. Far from it; to one who knows the facts it is ludicrous to remember that section 209 I. P. C. makes punishable with two years' imprisonment the offence of dishonestly making a false claim in a Court of Justice: that to fraudulently and collusively obtain a false decree for money or property is a criminal offence: that to remove or conceal property to prevent its being taken in execution, or to make a false claim to such property with the same intent, are acts punishable under the I. P. C. Perjury and forgery and

disobedience to the court's process are of course penal offences. Yet, so far as action depends on the initiative of the Civil Courts, these provisions of the law are dead letters: if a man makes a false charge before the Criminal Courts, he runs every chance of being prosecuted under section 211 I. P. C. Section 209 is the corresponding section relating to the Civil Courts: few Magistrates have ever been called on to try a case under it.

If such obvious defects exist in the working of the Civil Courts, and are due to want of proper organization and supervision, we at once ask the question, "Who is to blame?" The answer is "No one." There is no one to be hanged, for there is no one responsible: no head to the organization.

The High Court is the body nominally responsible for the working of the subordinate Civil Courts. In practice its powers of supervision are limited. There are two methods by which the head of a department may satisfy himself that his subordinates are working satisfactorily and exercise the requisite control over them. One method is to make them submit returns and statistics and to judge their work thereby. All experience shows that this method is fallacious. The returns, even if not fudged, are deceptive, and also lead directly to bad work. To take a case in point from the Civil Courts, it is desirable that a Munsiff should decide suits with the least delay possible: accordingly Munsiffs submit returns showing the length of time that the cases on their files have been pending. If any cases are pending more than six months, the Munsiff must explain the reason for the delay and may be reprimanded. He will accordingly try to complete his cases within six months, but will consider that he has *carte blanche* to keep all cases pending up to five months. Thus the average duration of a contested suit under the regular procedure is a little over five months.

Many other illustrations could be found of the fact that returns are mainly useful to direct the enquiries of an inspecting officer in the right direction. Government in all other departments has learnt the lesson that the watchword of good administration is "inspect, inspect, inspect."

.. The heads of all administrative departments spend much of their time in inspection: in many cases they have special assistants entirely employed on such work: in the case of the Criminal Courts the work of the Subordinate Magistrates is inspected weekly, monthly, and half-yearly by the District Magistrate, and also by the Commissioner. When we turn to the Civil Courts we find that the case is different. This consensus of expert opinion is ignored; there is no staff of inspecting officers engaged in detecting the erring, inciting

the lazy, reproving the backward and instructing the ignorant officer.

The District Judge is supposed to inspect his subordinate courts once a year: the supposition is little more than a pious wish: if the Judge choose to make his inspections but once in two years, no one will say him nay. If a District Magistrate did not inspect his offices in accordance with rules, he would soon find himself in water unpleasantly hot.

If the Subordinate Courts are seldom inspected, there is no one at all to inspect the work of the District Judges, or to ascertain that work throughout the Province is being conducted on uniform lines and see that lessons learnt in one place are laid to heart in another.

The High Court as a whole cannot exercise the requisite control: most of its members lack the requisite knowledge of the working of Mofussil Courts or of the needs of the people. So large a body is also unsuited for the task of supervising the details of daily administration. In practice one of the Judges devotes his spare time to the work, and the routine of the department is the hands of a junior civilian who holds the appointment of Registrar.

The task of the Englishman in India is to organize and control. The Civil Courts stand in as much need of organization and control as any other department. To suppose that, because a judicial officer should be left entirely unfettered in the exercise of his judicial discretion, he should also be free from all efficient control as to his method of doing work, is mere confusion of thought. The Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs of Bengal are a hardworking and conscientious body of men, but they are not exempt from the failings of their races. If, unaided and unsupervised, they conducted business with the vigour, common-sense and promptness demanded by English opinion, it would only remain to abolish the civil service and open the Calcutta Houses of Parliament.

Organized supervision is needed: a department of civil justice should be created with a head responsible for its working. Such an officer would be entirely subordinate to the High Court, perhaps a member of the court, but he would be responsible to Government and in the eyes of the world for the working of the Civil Courts. He would have an adequate staff to assist him in the work of inspection. It would be his business to introduce reforms in the interest of litigants. At present the only public opinion that is brought to bear on the methods of judicial work is the opinion of lawyers; and the opinions of litigants about many matters are apt not to coincide. The lawyer, like the theologian, when removed from the control of public opinion, runs into the direst absurdities.

He will refine and refine his legal procedure until it ceases to work and the ordinary business man is in despair.

Why is it that the Civil Courts are in so chaotic a condition, as compared with other departments of Government? Because they and they alone are not under the direct control of Government. The High Court has no funds at its disposal; it has no staff at its disposal: to a great extent it has not the knowledge requisite for the proper conduct of such work.

The Executive Government is composed of officers who have had practical acquaintance with the working of various departments, and who, when their turn of power comes, are ready to remove defects of which they are personally cognizant. They know what standard to aim at and what it is possible to attain.

There is no member of the Executive Government who has personal acquaintance with the inner working of the Civil Courts or is specially interested in their efficiency; there is no individual outside the Government on whom is laid the definite duty of maintaining that efficiency.

The multiplicity of Government Reports and Resolutions which are published, often gives ground for a jeer; but at any rate from them the public learns that the highest officers of Government are watching over the work of their subordinates, looking out for defects and applying remedies.

There is no such wholesome publicity about the working of the Civil Courts. Government is not responsible for them, and the High Court does not take the public into its confidence. Nor, indeed, is there anything for the public to learn beyond masses of figures, which show work in a state of chaos and no attempt made at improvement.

The case would be different if there were an officer whose reputation was bound up in the working of the Civil Courts. With an efficient staff, he would put pressure on the Munsiffs which would enable them to resist that constant opposing pressure of the pleaders in favour of delay to which they now succumb, there would result that life and movement which is the product of personal initiative.

On the other hand, such an officer would be able to press vigorously on Government demands for increased aids to efficiency which are now quietly shelved because there is no one in a position to enforce them.

All such proposals as the present at once raise the question of cost. In the first place the Mofussil Civil Courts yield a net revenue to Government of over 50 lakhs per annum: so long as the courts are worked at so large a profit, there is no excuse for sparing money in making them efficient.

There is, moreover, a method by which funds could be made

immediately available. There are 31 District Judges, the majority of whom are civilians on large pay. These officers also exercise the powers of Sessions Judges, in which capacity it is reasonable to employ them: as Civil Courts they are anomalies.

The District Judge on Rs. 2,000 a month hears appeals from the decisions of Munsiffs: in this respect he exercises concurrent jurisdiction with Subordinate Judges on one-third of the pay. More than half such appeals are heard by Subordinate Judges; so it must be presumed that they do the work efficiently: if so, it is sheer waste of money to employ the more highly-paid officer.

The District Judge exercises exclusive jurisdiction in probate and insolvency cases. There is no reason for this, beyond a thoughtless following of tradition: the questions for decision are not so complicated as many which are disposed of by Subordinate Judges: work under the Guardians and Wards Act, now performed by the District Judge, is work which it is peculiarly desirable should be done by natives of the country. The only judicial work done by the District Judge which is not, or could not, be equally well done by the present Subordinate Judges is the hearing of certain appeals. If a Subordinate Judge decides a suit valued at Rs. 5,000, the appeal lies to the High Court and is heard by two Judges whose abilities are measured by salaries of Rs. 4,000 a month: if the suit was valued at Rs. 5,000, the appeal lies to the District Judge, who is only worth Rs. 2,000 a month. This is in itself anomalous, and it is not worth while to retain the present class of District Judges merely to perpetuate the anomaly. Why should District Judges be civilians? It is necessary to bring Englishmen from England and pay them high salaries either to secure men with special knowledge which is not possessed by natives of India, *e.g.*, engineers or doctors; or to secure men with powers of organization and a love for western methods which we do not expect in the East. Do either of these reasons apply in the case of Civilian Judges? Far from the Civilian Judge having a special knowledge of law, he is the only member of the legal hierarchy, from the Chief Justices of Bengal to the youngest officiating Munsiff, who is entirely ignorant of civil law and procedure. The civilian spends his first ten years of service in converting himself into an efficient administrator: when he is thereupon pitched into the office of District Judge there is no guarantee that he has ever in the course of his life seen the inside of the Code of Civil Procedure. But it may be said that he will at least bring a vigorous common sense to bear on his work, which will be wholesome. Far from it: he has small opportunity to do so.

The Sessions Judge tries personally all the most important criminal cases in the district : it may well be worth while to employ a highly-paid European officer for this. The district Judge does not try himself the most important civil suits ; so that his special qualifications have no scope in this direction. More, our system of civil justice, with its license of appeal, is remarkably homogeneous. There is no place for vigorous, but uninstructed, common sense between a legally-minded High Court and the body of Munsiffs whose thoughts are bounded by a Law Report. The High Court, which keeps its appeals pending over a year and then decides them on some delicate point of law, necessarily sets its impress on all the Subordinate Courts. No one has ever contended that a sturdy common sense is the distinguishing note of the Calcutta High Court.

At this time of day it is unreasonable to appoint, as Judges immediately subordinate to such a court, officers who have merely shown ability in improving their district roads or stirring up lazy municipalities, or even who have shown want of ability in such work.

The 31 District and Sessions Judges of the Province are employed almost equally on their criminal and their civil work : if they were relieved of the latter, 15 senior civilians would be at once set free for general executive work and the pay of five of them would man the District Civil Courts. We should see fewer young civilians of four and five years' standing placed in charge of districts, and three or four officers could at once be spared to set the work of the Civil Courts going at a more business-like pace and in a more business-like manner.

The question of the class from which District Judges should be drawn, of the point in the legal system at which criminal and civil powers should be united in the same officer, is, however, a subordinate one. The necessity of rendering civil justice more cheap, more prompt, and less harassing, is urgent : such a reform would not be a showy one ; but scarcely any reform would do more to remove vexations from the common life of the common people.

C. H. BOMPAS.

ART. IV.—A RETURNED EMPTY.

(*Gleanings from the Field of Memory*).

CHAPTER I.

Curæ leves loquuntur ; ingentes silent. " Petty cares babble ; heavy care is mute."

[Any one who happened to read the Recollections published some time back under the title "A Servant of John Company" may, perhaps, bear in mind that they broke off with the writer's departure from Calcutta. The following pages offer an account of some of his subsequent experiences.]

THE steam-vessel on which I embarked with my family in October, 1882, was of considerable size ; belonging to the "City Line," owned by a Glasgow firm and primarily designed for cargo. But she had a small passenger accommodation forward of the engine-room and exquisitely clean ; each person having a commodious private room opening on to a well-appointed central saloon.

My Diary may be now drawn upon for a few notes.

Kalpi, Wednesday, October 25th.—Raised anchor 7 A.M., and soon got into open water. Remembrance of the first sight of these low wooded shores just 35 years ago ; a mere episode, and how unprofitable !

Pilot went on board his brig about 2 P.M. bearing our last letters ; and soon after we were in the blue ocean ! 'Tis better to have lived and lost than never to have lived at all . . .

The Captain, a thick-set Scottish mariner, is courteous—even to the point of flattery ; knew all about one, I daresay ; but only brings the best side forward. The vessel is rated, one is told, at 2,800 tons for Canal dues, but her actual cargo at this moment is said to be 5,000 tons. Here is a nautical problem that enquiry does not altogether solve ; she is built of iron and her *weight* is 3,500 tons. The freight is carried at 5s. a ton—a dead loss undergone for purposes of competition. She steams 12 knots an hour ; but sets her trysails this evening to try and do a little more.

Saturday, 28th, off Madras.—Lost a valuable gold watch by leaving it in the bath-room. Tried school for the elder children, but they pleaded *mal-de-mer* and threw it up. Went early to bed and overheard Captain on deck above ask : "Does he say nothing about his watch ?"

Sunday.—Up early and strolled into Captain's cabin, where my watch lay upon the table : said quietly :—"Wind that watch up every morning, please." He handed the article to me with the observation that "she had stopped." We sailed and steamed along the Southern side of the island and signalled Galle about noon : hoping that no sabbatical scruples

would hinder the Gallese from telegraphing the matter home, so that friends in London would know before breakfast that we had passed during Church-time. A nut for Lord Dunderbary! Our not landing was a source of gratification to those who remembered former visits and vain expenditure on sham jewels. In the evening had a cigar with the skipper, who spun tremendous yarns.

Tuesday 31st October.—A lovely day, ship doing short time ascribed to engines “priming.” Were we all wise we should not repine at a little delay of this kind since life has not one day of peace too many.

Saturday, 4th November.—Passed South of Socotra; then “the Brothers,” two apparently volcanic piles. Towards evening Abd-ul-Kuri about 20 miles long and 1,000 feet high.

Monday.—Passed Aden 11-30 A. M.—After entering Red Sea wind fell dead aft, and we felt the heat.

Wednesday.—Lost what the seamen called our fair wind, and after a short calm encountered a fresh northerly breeze. Passed a man-of-war and dipped our ens’n, meeting a courteous reply.

Thursday.—Thought of Moses as we glided passed the Sinai Peninsula: if any display such as his were to occur now, the *New York Herald* would send out a special commissioner, and it would be reproduced at the Crystal Palace.

Friday, 10th November.—Woke at 4 A. M. by engine stopping. Beautiful dawn in Suez harbour;—

Sirius is set: no sound is on the sea
Where late the ship's green fire was backward rolled;
But see the comet's beard of spreading gold,
Is tangled in the swarming Pleiades.
Yon shore, from whence we catch the landward breeze,
Is Egypt, where the monuments were old
When Joseph to the Ishmaelite was sold:
Before Rome rose, she fell; her king's decrees,
Her arts of peace and armaments of war,
Her laws, her hopes of Immortality,
Sunk in the sand to-day, can scarce suffice
To give our Island autumn exercise;
Our Island that has all she had of yore,
And what she is will some day surely be.

Sunday, 12th November.—After the horrible flatness of the canal, with its buoys, stations, and pleasant break of greenery at Ismailia, we reached Port Said, a slummy little Venice. Testimony to the power of commerce, that any kind of town should be erected on what was no more than a spit of sand, barely large enough to hold a lighthouse, twenty years ago.

Monday.—Went ashore with the Captain, who took us to his Agents, where we passed a couple of hours with M. Savin, the local Director, an agreeable Frenchman, who showed the skin of a fine lion that he had lately shot.

Thursday.—Sighted Malta in the morning. After midday dinner all went on deck to see the ship glide in among the numerous lights of Valetta harbour and town. Went ashore about 8, and to the large and comfortable Opera House—orchestra-stalls 3 shillings. The piece was called “Ione,” founded on Bulwer’s “Last days of Pompeii,” pretty well rendered, but somewhat noisy. Military officers (Infantry and Gunners) in uniform; also some from German and Yankee ships in harbour. Supper at the *Gran Caffè*, and back on board, where coaling was going on with much vigour.

And so on, through squalls and falling temperature, past the coasts of Tunis and Algeria, now restored to Latin civilization; past the gardant Lion of Gibraltar, and the historic shores of Trafalgar and Cadiz; sighting Lisbon and Cape Roca; and once more into the boundless waters, with the long wave rolled in from Labrador and all the cold racket of the Bay of Biscay; till we sighted Start Point on the 25th, and proceeded up the channel. Next day we turned the North Foreland, passed up the river, and reached the Docks about 4 P.M.

And then, a few weeks having been spent in looking up friends and making preliminary arrangements, we settled down before the end of December in a temporary abode at Ealing, near to town for business, yet affording the means of sleeping in fresh air. The place was, even then, large and populous, with one or two old houses—of which the best were occupied by the Right Hon. S. Walpole and his relatives, the daughters of Mr. Perceval, the Minister shot in the House of Commons so far back as 1812. Our experiences of England were not at first encouraging; trouble with tradespeople and landlords, one could stand; but the outrageous behaviour of nurses and cooks often made us think with tender regret of the swindling old Khansaman and story-telling Aya whom we had so often cursed in India.

Nevertheless, whatever drawbacks may have attended the attempt to establish one’s encampment on the metropolitan outskirts, it had at least one very considerable compensation. For some years past one had been a member of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the Athenaeum Club; and in these retreats one could escape from the suburban Philistine and meet the true aristocracy of England, the wise and learned men who gave one constant opportunities of *looking up*—the most agreeable and profitable of all attitudes. Only to mention a few who have since departed, there were James Ferguson, the architectural critic; Vaux, the accomplished Secretary; Matthew Arnold; Thomas Huxley; Sir H. S. Maine; Sir Louis Malet; Sir James Stephen; Lord Bowen; Henry Reeve;

Lord Monkswell (1st); Lord Lytton, and old Richmond, R. A., and the artists Calderon and Du Maurier, all of whom it was once a pleasure and a privilege to meet; as well as many who are still happily on this side of Charon's Ferry.

London life I found much altered from what I remembered it at the commencement of the Victorian era, when the ideal of one's ambition was to form one of the persons who—with scant social acknowledgment—were to be directors of human opinion. The traditions of Grub Street, or what it was the fashion to call "Bohemia," were then still operative. Maginn was gone; but Mahony, Thackeray, and other less famous men, remembered him and his attitude of careless omniscience and schoolboy scurrility. The period of coffee-houses and sponging houses was waning, with its atmosphere of drink, debt, and duelling; but there still clung to the literary calling a kind of Fra Diavolo romance which had a strong fascination for a certain class of youthful minds. Now, after thirty-five years of peaceful prosperity, one found the man of letters transplanted and transformed. Grub Street was improved off the face of the earth; the editor, even the contributor, had become a power in the State, driving to his club in his own carriage, and quaffing champagne at the dinner tables of Dukes.

Obviously, this was a career completely closed to the Returned Empty. His only prospect was to look on from the outside, and observe, where he could no longer hope to participate. One's youthful ideal had proved false—youthful ideals mostly do. It was now to be seen whether the new position—that of an undistinguished onlooker—would be more fruitful. Without further explanation a few scraps from the Diary for 1883 may be now permitted. Private matter is excluded; but I will just note—for the information of others in like circumstances—that a great deal of time, temper, and money, was wasted in trying to find quarters for a large family at a low rental.

A very few words, however, may be convenient as to the conditions of public life in 1883. In the previous December some important events had occurred, and some important men had passed away on the last day of the month. Léon Gambetta died, from a mysterious wound, at Ville d'Avray, near Paris; and if no equally distinguished Briton had disappeared during the period, yet the decease of Archbishop Tait, and of Antony Trollope, made a blank in the ranks of Englishmen. On the 1st a new set of procedure rules was agreed to by the House of Commons; on the 4th the Queen opened the new Law Courts, on which occasion I was present accompanied by the late Mr. Justice Spankie. The sight was

impressive, a crowd of barristers being present in their forensic costume, the Queen's Counsel in full bottom perukes; as her Majesty entered, a sunbeam pierced the wintry sky and crossed the Gothic Hall; and the gracious Lady proceeded to her *dais*, whence she delivered a short address in her clear, sweet, voice, supported on either side by Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt in their listening robes of office.

In the following February an enquiry was held at Dublin into the circumstances of the Phoenix Park murders, and the discovery was made that the Fenian Society included an inner ring of criminals associated for the assassination of public servants: James Carey, a Dublin Town councillor, who had been privy to the murders, being among the Approvers. The Parliamentary Session was almost entirely absorbed in two subjects, Irish disaffection and Mr. Bradlaugh's endeavours to force his way into the House, culminating in a riotous meeting in Trafalgar Square, and an action at law in which the free-thinking M.P. was sentenced to a fine of £500, on the 30th of June. Unusual attention was drawn to India by the agitation arising out of the proposed alteration of the law of Criminal Procedure, oddly designated "the Ilbert Bill," after the Legislative Member of Council who had drafted the measure in the ordinary routine of his duties. On 27th June Lord Salisbury made a speech, to which he now, probably, hardly cares to look back; Mr. Chamberlain's programme was, he said, pure Jacobinism; and it was, to his lordship, a source of wonder that Mr. Chamberlain was allowed a seat in the ministry (Mr. Chamberlain being President of the Board of Trade under Gladstone). On the 29th Sir W. Harcourt, for his part, expressed warm appreciation of Lord Rosebery. Such are the vicissitudes of opinion in high places. In July Carey, the Dublin approver, was assassinated at Port Elizabeth by one O'Donnell, doubtless an agent of Fenian vengeance.* In the following month four Irishmen were sentenced to penal servitude for life on a charge of conspiring to destroy public buildings—a new gunpowder plot with the improved resources of modern science. On the 6th December Lord Ripon announced in Council that the "Ilbert Bill" had been approved by the Home Government with modifications restricting jurisdiction to District Magistrates and Session Judges, who would be *ex-officio* Justices of the Peace. These were some of the salient features of the year in which were recorded the notes from which I proceed to make a few extracts.

Monday, 22nd January 1883.—Rather hard day in Town; lunch at Athenæum with Mat. Arnold: thence to the rooms of the Asiatic Society, in Albemarle Street: met Dr. R. N. Cust,

* O'Donnell was hanged at Newgate on 27th December
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Vaux, and Terrien de la Couperie. After dinner went by special invitation to R. Inst. of British Architects to join in discussion on paper by old Will. Simpson about Himalayan Architecture, which he thinks taken from wooden huts. Lord Stanley, of Alderley; Col. H. Yule; General MacLagan, all speaking.

Tuesday, 30th.—Indian mail in. A.—indignant at my C.I.E., but I am not responsible, never having asked— or even wished for—such a thing. I have no doubt Lord R. meant it kindly.

Thursday, 15th February.—Parliament opened by Commission. Tried to get through crowd; at last arrived in Broad Sanctuary by way of the Embankment; crowd very dense, but got through by S. Margaret's to the Peers' entrance, and got into the Lord's lobby: here T. came to me and took me in. Debate on the address and funny spectacle of old men in robes, taking off and replacing cocked hats that did not fit.

Monday, 19th.—Called on Mr. Ely at University College to obtain information about vacancy as Prof. of Indian Law and History; kind promise of support from Lord N.

Thursday, 8th March.—More promises of support at Gower Street.*

Saturday, 10th.—Friendly letter from T. offering introduction to Lord R. A member of the family went to town at 4-50, protesting to the last against the inaccuracy of a Railway porter who assured her that the train would not start till ten minutes to five.

Friday, 22nd.—Called on Major A. at Bedford Park, a very remarkable place; with dense masses of Queen Anne houses (detached) of red brick-work; artificiality trying to look simple; no shops, one inn, a club, stores, school of art, and a nightmare church calculated to make orthodoxy intolerable—if anything could.

Saturday, 23rd.—Interesting conversation with——at the Athenæum. He said that Max Müller made Indian Aryans and their institutions too primitive. In modern matters English Society hastening to disintegration: Chamberlain practically a Tory; Conservatism idle in itself, as health in social organism must demand change: but it might be useful to slacken downhill speed, like a brake.

Tuesday, 27th.—Finished Mallock's "Social Equality," a book that may be applicable to Anarchists, but is no refutation of Liberals: he shows—what is pretty obvious—that a graded society is favourable to ambition, and so to progress. But what Liberals appear to insist on is that the minority of persons naturally privileged—born with silver or gold spoons in their

* The attempt failed, owing—I was told—to one's not having been called to the Bar

mouths--ought not to be further endowed with advantages other than what fortune has already given them. It is not social but political inequality that is the blot of the old sort of European societies--founded mostly on conquest.

Friday, 6th April.—To Society of Arts about lecturing.

Tuesday, 10th.—To a meeting at Grosvenor House to see a testimonial presented to Ernest Hart. I did not quite know why; but was glad to see a number of distinguished folks, and still more to make acquaintance with the Duke's small but beautiful collection of pictures, among them Gainsborough's famous "Blue Boy" and one of the three copies of Reynolds' "Mrs. Siddons." When I say "copy," I would not imply that the one at Grosvenor House is not an original, but only that there is another at Dulwich and a third somewhere else, while Sir Joshua's "Note book" only mentions the painting of *one*, for which he records that he was paid 700 guineas. I asked Richmond, the oldest of extant Academicians, to tell me which he thought the original; he was born in 1809 and might have heard authentic traditions. He would not, however, undertake to say which of the three was original; adding—"you see we don't paint any of our pictures; we only sketch them in, and then make them over to our pupils: when they think the work finished, we take it into our studios and play with it, and put in what we call 'artistic merit.'" I knew that this was done by sculptors, having seen mason-looking men in paper caps chiselling in Gibson's atelier at Rome: but did not know that similar procedure was usual in painting.

Friday, 27th.—To House of Commons: Gladstone made a great speech on the Affirmation Bill:—"I do not hesitate to say that the specific form of irreligion with which, in the educated society of this country, you have to deal . . . is not blank Atheism; that is a rare opinion and seldom met with: but . . . those forms of thought which hold that whatever is beyond the visible scene, whatever is beyond the short span of life, you know—and can know—nothing about: it is a visionary and bootless undertaking to try to establish relations with it." Of course this, if true, is a description of Epicurus, his school, and takes us back to the days of Lucretius. One doubts if our modern Agnostics go quite so far [G. O. M. not in touch with contemporary opinions.]

Saturday, 12th May.—At Lady W.'s. Met Genevieve Ward and Mathilde Blind. A note from Lord N. about a club he is instituting for the excellent purpose of enabling those interested in India to meet natives of that country visiting England.*

* This Club ultimately failed; and the premises are now in the occupation of a publishing firm. It was known to the profane as "the Black Hole of Calcutta."

Friday.—To Exeter Hall, where I met Lord Stanley and made final arrangements for my Lecture, at which he was to be Chairman. The Hall well filled, and lecture well received : the report in the papers saying that I showed that Lord Ripon's project ("Ilbert Bill") had been premature and had raised up an amount of class antagonism that could not but be highly prejudicial. Discussion ensued (cheers were given to the pro-native sentiments).

Monday, 21st.—Went to N. Club by invitation to see the Prince of Wales declare it "open : " a number of Anglo-Indian celebrities and a few Indians. Dinner of R. A. Society at St. James's Hall, Sir Bartle Frere in the Chair very bland.

Wednesday, 23rd—Went with Mr. C. J.—to see the famous Chiswick House, now in the occupation of Lord Bute, who was not there, but had most kindly arranged for our reception. It is a fine villa, said to have been built by Inigo Jones from a design by Palladio ; standing in 25 acres of ground, with superb hot-houses, 100 yards in length. In front some fine cedars, dating from the Revolution, sweep the green velvet of the lawn with dark branches. The ground-floor only meant for use in very hot weather : an external staircase leads to the principal suite which is magnificently furnished and hung with rare pictures, including Vandykes, Teniers, a fine Rubens, and two good Tintorets. We were shown the bed-room in which George Canning died. It seemed strange to find such a scene of rural beauty within five miles of Charing Cross, and to see a heron rise out of the sedges as his ancestors may have done before the beginning of history.

Saturday, 26th.—To Lady F.'s where they had a dress-rehearsal of a spectacle from Homer, called "The Tale of Troy."—the Greek verses being spouted by a troop of Girton girls, led by Brandram and Mrs. Beerbohm Tree ; with an accompaniment of curious pentatonic music by Messrs Otto Goldschmidt, M. Lawson, W. Parratt and Professor W. H. Monk. The *mise-en-scène* was under the capable hands of Sir F. Leighton, P.R.A., Messrs. Watts, Poynter (R. A. S.) and others. Several very lovely ladies took part : among whom one recognised Mrs. Trevor Plowden, Mrs. George Batten, and Miss Laura Craigie-Halkett.

Monday, 28th.—Dined, with General N., at Willis's Rooms, being the anniversary of the Geographical Society, whereof my host is a Fellow. Lord Lansdowne spoke ; Huxley was in the Chair. Some other (rather dull) speeches, of which it struck us that Huxley made the best.

Friday, 1st June. To Exeter Hall, to hear a paper by Miss Nightingale on "The Ryots of India." Discussion followed, in which I took part, along with Lord S., Sir G. Campbell and

others—more or less experts. Lunch at Northbrook Club with Yule, Sir G. Birdwood and F.

Saturday, 2nd.—Took E. to *matinée* at Vaudeville Theatre : met. C.B., who said he hated to see plays in the daytime, but—being himself an Actor—had no other chance. The piece was the immortal “Rivals,” in which in youth I had often acted. Mrs. Stirling an excellent “Malaprop;” and I thought Farren’s “Absolute” better than his father’s, equally graceful and more vigorous. Thence to Lady W.’s Reception : where—was not wholly pleased.

Thursday, 7th.—This afternoon saw a sight I should not have expected in this highly policed land. A youth galloped down the lane by my study-window ; leaped his horse over the gate at the end, flung himself off and disappeared : presently followed a mounted Constable in pursuit, who got the horse, but not the rider, who—it was said—had stolen the animal and ridden it over in broad midsummer daylight from Hounslow.

Thursday, 14th.—To the Olympic with E. and A. The piece, called in English “The Queen’s Favourite”—was an adaptation of Scribe’s “Un Verre d’eau,” and very well played by Miss G. Ward and Mr. W. H. Vernon. A daughter of old Buckstone’s made a pretty *Abigail*, and a minor part was taken by Miss Achurch.* As history the play is stark nought ; but Miss Genevieve put her culture and her fire into the part of the Duchess. I visited her behind the scenes with the compliments of our party and was introduced into the Green-room.

Friday, 15th.—To Levée at St. James’s, held by Prince on behalf of his royal mother. Beekeepers interesting as survivals, Gentlemen-at-arms rather *rococo* in ancient-modern dress. A great crowd of officers, some of whom one knew. Presented by Lord N. (H. R. H. supported by Duke of Cambridge.)

Monday, 18th.—Spent an hour and a half at the R. A. Exhibition, making notes in Catalogue for future use. To R. A. S. with Colonel G., to read paper—“Can India be made interesting ?” Discussion by Dr. Leitner, Colonel Keatinge, Jas. Fergusson and Mr. Colborne Baber.†

Wednesday, 20th.—Talk with Sir L. M. at Club : he is always full of information and anecdote. Called on Vaux in the afternoon and went to Grosvenor Gallery to see pictures by Degas, Manet, and others of the French “impressionist” school : it struck one that they would not do.

Tuesday, 24th July.—To Twickenham with E. S. P., an old brother-officer and a man of culture, to see the contents of Strawberry Hill. The former sale (April 1842) had dispersed

* Janet Achurch Ward, since *m.* to Mr. C. Charrington, and well known as the interpreter of Ibsen’s female characters.

† Orientalist, since dead.

much of the old collection of H. Walpole ; but some still remained, including an alleged Gian Bellini, some fair historical portraits, and the marvellous group of three ladies by Sir Joshua which was long since insured for £ 10,000. The rooms in the old part of the house are too low ; but the more modern rooms very good. There was some very pretty china, with very quaint furniture. The grounds were not open. It was interesting to see the last of a famous home.*

Wednesday, 29th August.—E. and I went to lunch with Archdeacon Cheetham at the " Old College," Dulwich. [Of course this is the real " College of God's Gift," founded by Alleyne, *temp.* Jacob. I.; the other is a mere school, misnamed " College," according to the loose magniloquence of our day.] It is a fine old building, and the Warden's rooms look out upon a still and sheltered garden. We enjoyed the picture-gallery, with many fine works from Teniers to Reynolds, so strangely brought together by Descendants and Bourgeois. Amongst them is the *replica* of Sir Joshua's " Mrs. Siddons" referred to in mention of the Duke of Westminster's collection above,† (10th April).

Monday, 22nd October.—Read paper on The Taj at Agra before the Royal Institute of British Architects. [The Secretary was good enough to say that my writings on the subject were " of more value than you perhaps imagine." He considered me to have solved the problem of " the real authorship of the designs for the Taj."]

Thursday, 22nd November.—Singular inquest on an Afghan residing in Montagu-Place. His name was Ismail Khan, and he had passed as a Surgeon and also as a Physician, but had failed in obtaining employment. He took prussic acid, recording his conviction that the act was a " sane " one, and bequeathing his body to the London University Hospital for scientific uses.

Saturday, 24th.—Reading autobiography of Sir A. Alison, the historian. Evidently a courageous, indefatigable man ; whose narrowness gives his reader an occasional start. He tells us, in so many words, that Providence co-operated in his *History of Modern Europe* by arranging the incidents in an instructive sequence. It is significant of the want of reflective power, too, that, after persistently arguing that Free Trade

* Inherited by Lady Waldegrave, daughter of the famous singer, Braham : married (*en secondes nocces*) Lord Carlingford, who sold the property after her demise.

† These paintings were originally acquired under commission from Stanislaus Lesczynski, King of Poland : but, that somewhat theatric sovereign having lost his throne and civil list, the pictures were not sent to him ; and, after long lying neglected in a private house in London, were bequeathed to Dulwich by Sir F. Bourgeois.

had set on foot the ruin of the country, he says—towards the end of his book—that the condition of the nation is still prosperous and that commerce and manufacturing industry are immensely increasing. Also that London with its poor and crowded population was kept in order by unarmed policemen. Not exactly signs of ruin surely, nor did they then cease. Between the time when he wrote and the year 1881—a period of ten years—the Savings' Bank deposits had increased from 41 to 77 millions, and the Income-Tax returns from 434 millions to 578, while the National Debt had decreased by more than 30 millions, Convictions of criminals were lower, as also the percentage of pauperism.

Monday, 24th December.—In the evening S. C. took me to a subterranean cavern opposite the Aquarium, where a man with dislocated aspirates read some vulgar politics to a staff of shorthand reporters out of work, and a boy sang sweetly.

The year ended in a new house ; and its experiences were recorded in the subjoined doggrel : —

Ah ! London, dear London ! what joy to regain
The streets and the parks that we loved so in youth,
And loved they are still, though the wind and the rain
Take the charm from the scenes if they add to their truth.

How often, when parched by a tropical sun,
For a chill or a shower one hungered and prayed,
And now, when our exile is over and done,
One is wrong to complain of the damp and the shade.

It is true that the life is both irksome and gray,
And the sky of our fortune is oftentimes dark ;
That Honest works kerchiefs at nine pence a day
While her sister Anonyma rides in the Park.

If a house in the suburbs is all you maintain,
The rent will be high though the site may be low,
And they'll offer a Dado instead of a drain,
With facsimile tenements ending the row.

Then the neighbours will stare at you all the first year,
As if wondering ' Who can this pick-pocket be ?'
In the second some cards at your door may appear,
And the clergyman ask you to five o'clock tea.

Yet you live—while life lasts—in your own motherland,
Whose sons may be rough, but are truthful and brave,
And—whatever their conduct—you quite understand
If she grudge you a home she will grant you a grave !

CHAPTER II.

(1884.)

For the greater part of this year we remained at Ealing, interested spectators of a drama very new to our experience, London had many shocks during the earlier months, shocks of which some were physical as well as moral; the playful Fenians pursued their dynamitic diversions; the Russians made moves in Central Asia which gave us fits of what the Duke of Argyll called "Mervousness;" the despatch of Chinese Gordon on a mission to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons from the Sudan led to anxiety and expense which seemed to have no promise of advantage; a small rebellion had to be dealt with in British America, concluded by the incident—so rare in modern times—of a rebel leader dying on the scaffold; Gladstone and his then followers felt the recoil of the Sudan disasters in spite of a spirited little campaign on the Red Sea litoral. The veteran parliamentary hand did not, indeed, shake, ostensibly, and the fiery cross began to wave in Midlothian; but some of the other Ministers gave signs of weariness or weakened allegiance, while one or two announced views bordering on socialism. The cold sinister influence of the Irish conspirators was working half unseen.

Amid all these distractions private life had to go on as best it could: all sorts of efforts had to be made for the establishment of a footing in the world; one did a little journalism for Indian papers, and for the *Academy*. The intervals were used in the preparation of a History of Indian Moslem dynasties, afterwards published by W. H. Allen & Co.

Monday, January 14th.—Finished Bishop Wilberforce's *Life*; a not very skilful or amiable book, yet yielding a clear picture. The man was a somewhat worldly-minded and—under a bland exterior—a pugnacious Priest, with extreme views as to the need and power of Dogma. But there was a thicker stratum of sincerity in his character than what was inferred from superficial symptoms. His chief defect was, perhaps, a failure to realise the principle of evolution—changes in the organism in response to changes in surroundings. So he went on offering stones from the Past to a time that demanded not only the bread of life but also the fruit of the Hesperides. But it was an acute and able personality. I heard him preach, in 1862, and was somehow reminded of Spurgeon.

Wednesday, 23rd—Official forecast of weather: "Wind North-West, changeable, colder." Actual facts: Wind South-West, very high, rain all day; warmest day since winter began.

Thursday, 24th.—Read ——'s new novel: much observation and invention; style full of his pleasant mannerism; a strenuous attempt to make fun out of *chee-chee* talk and doings,

which is perhaps the main novelty. Some of the characters have a curious habit of being reminded of quotations from English or foreign poets in critical moments of life, which seems a false generalisation, since the number of people who do such things is too small to constitute a type.

Gordon leaves London to go to the Sudan: British Government having ordered all the Egyptian garrisons to be withdrawn, which is resented by the Egyptian Government, all whose members resign.

Monday, 28th.—Called on the W. s. No one in save the Papist daughter, with whom an interesting talk. There is something very pathetic in any human effort to transmute evil into good, and hammer the pure metal out of the stubborn ore of Destiny. Does it not seem as if "Nature" represented an ore—a raw material, neither hostile nor friendly, but fundamentally indifferent and even amenable to skilful handling? For efforts of this kind a highly organised theosophy like that of Rome is a most effectual implement for those who can accept it. Returned to find the plumber at work; he too—were he but in earnest—is grappling with Destiny; but an Indian Bungalow that needs no drainage is a simpler thing.

Thursday, 31st.—A kind letter from Lady C. in Ireland, who has evidently overcome some sort of crisis. "We shall be very glad to see you. . . We thought it better not to leave home at present, as some of the party declared that if they went away they would never return, after the sad events that have occurred here. But all are beginning to get over the shock; and by the time you come we shall be having a new . . . and all be bright again."

Saturday, February, 2nd.—A familiar figure gone from the Athenæum, in Abraham Hayward, Q. C., famous in the imbroglio of Mrs. N. and a deceased statesman.* His notice of *Vanity Fair* in the *Quarterly* was said to have given the needful push when that great work of fiction was making an almost hopeless struggle in monthly parts.

A fine cartoon by Tenniel in *Punch*, representing General Gordon Pasha giving Mr. Gladstone "a lift." A Radical M. P. says the G. O. M. looked at it sadly, murmuring—"Yes, it is quite true; and when he falls I shall fall too."

Thursday, 7th.—Great excitement on a rumour that Gordon had been captured. Every one speculates on the effect that such a disaster may have on current affairs. Will Ministers be seriously attacked by the Opposition? They have probably a substantial majority in the House, but the country may turn

* Afterwards idealised in Mr. Meredith's very charming tale "Diana of the Crossways."

very hostile. *Tros, Rutilusve.* . . 'tis all one to Heracleides.

Monday, 11th.—Strange weather; rain, sunshine, sleet, lightning, all in succession. The papers report that Bradlaugh has been excluded from the Commons on the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote, ensuing upon a judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench (*per* Coleridge, *C. J.* and Stephen *J.*), majority of 108.

Tuesday, 12th.—News of the fall of Sinkat and massacre of garrison. Verses in *Vanity Fair*:—"Another slaughter by Egypt's water, etc." Vote of censure in the House of Lords, 100 majority; vote negatived in Commons by a narrow majority of 13.

Friday, 22nd.—Impertinent letter from Messrs.—and—about undertaking my *History*: no ruder being than a prosperous publisher, a tradesman playing at being Maecenas. They live in opulence, with liveried footmen handing round silver plates; and they drink their champagne—as Tom Campbell said—out of authors' skulls.*

Dynamite explosions apprehended.

Thursday, 28th.—General anxiety about Sir Gerald Graham's position at Suakim† Went with S. to the chapel of the convent in Kensington Square, where the Perpetual Adoration was being held: Ghostlike gliding of nuns in the still precincts rather impressive, even to an outsider: *one* is always on duty, so that the Adoration never ceases.

Heard on coming out that Graham's advance had been stopped. Explosion at Charing Cross, only frustrated by time-fuse not acting as intended.

Tuesday, March 4th.—Meeting in Parliament Street to found "Indian Reform Association." Why?

Wednesday, 5th.—Enormous crush at Lady F's; seven hundred said to have been in the house at once. Performance included selections from an opera called "Ostrolenko;" by Bonawitz, who conducted, on piano, a little afterpiece called "Darby and Joan," in which only two characters appeared, which were played by George Alexander and Miss Lucy Roche. Among the audience were the Princess Frederica of Hanover and the fair American, Miss Mary Anderson.‡ Refreshments on the scale of gorgeous Ball-supper.

Tuesday, 25th.—Dinner at Northbrook Club: my guest was Lord H. John Bright made a neat and pleasant after-dinner speech.

Sunday, 30th.—To some studios in Kensington. Met Mrs.

* Sir Walter Besant has done much to rectify this.

† General Sir G. Graham, V. C., etc., died at Bideford in the beginning of 1900: one of the bravest and most courteous of Knights.

‡ Afterwards Mme. Navarro de Viana.

Stirling*, an interesting old lady whom I recollect as a lovely young woman and excellent actress when I used to frequent the Haymarket in Buckstone's days. These mornings with the artists—or rather afternoons, but your visit must be before the light fails—are full of pleasure, and you need only pay with a little benevolent appreciation.

Thursday, April 3rd—Attack on Government in Commons: meant evidently to annoy, possibly to defeat and overturn—principally arising out of Egypt and Gordon. Lord Hartington explained refusal of Gordon's application for services of Zebehr Pasha, saying that Government thought risk too great. Gordon had never been promised support from this country, but had full authority to return if he found his task too difficult. He had never asked for military aid, clearly understanding that, if he executed his mission, it must be with resources on the spot.

Friday, 4th.—Lord Granville took up the parable in the Lords, repeating the explanations given in the other Chamber. He said that he himself had been more anxious for Gordon at the beginning of his incumbency in the Sudan than he was now.

Friday, 18th.—Harcourt made speech at Derby yesterday defending action of Government in regard to Gordon: denying most peremptorily that they were indifferent to the interests of "that illustrious man, who had sent no accounts that would intimate that he considered himself in any personal danger at Khartum." Not the sort of thing he would do! A member of his family tells me that every confidence is felt in his resourcefulness.

Met Lord—who said India was as good as lost, and—of course—my pension with it. On my hoping that her Ladyship liked—where she was travelling, he answered—"Yes; and he hoped she would stay there."

Monday, 28th.—Lord Granville announced yesterday that a Joint Commission had been agreed upon between this country and Russia for delimitation of Afghan frontier.

Wednesday, 30th.—To Grosvenor Gallery; meeting Sir R. Cross—an old contemporary at Anstey's, Rugby. Conversation at Ealing in the evening, where I showed some fine photographs of Kauffman's campaign from pictures by Vereschagin—who had given them to me: they excited general attention.

May, Friday, 2nd.—Dinner at Northbrook Club to send off Evelyn Baring.† A distinguished assemblage, including Lords

* Lady Gregory.

† Afterwards so distinguished in Egyptian administration, as Viscount Cromer, G. C. B., etc

Northbrook, Kimberley, and Lawrence, Sir Ashley Eden, Sir Lewis Pelly, Sir George Kellner, Hon. E. Drummond, Gen. Keatinge, Col. Beynon, and many others, chiefly of the Anglo-Indian type. Lord N. spoke well and Baring excellently, referring to the ability shown in Indian administration and to the want of it in that of Egypt—which, indeed, he called “detestably bad.” Perhaps the contrast may be overworked?

Wednesday, 7th.—Heard that deceased wife’s sister had got through the Commons with over 100 majority. Will the prospect of having only one mother-in-law prove equally seductive to their Lordships in the Upper House?

Monday, 12th.—To Exeter Hall to deliver address on the N.-W. Frontier of India. Col. Malleon in the chair. In subsequent discussion Marvin and Leitner took part. Among others present were Lord S., Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, Messrs. Martin Wood and Scton-Karr. Paper seemed to be favourably received. The situation is exciting; and we hear that Sir Peter Lumsden has been recalled [see note at end of Chapter 7].

Sunday, 18th.—The *Observer* announces that Lord Granville has addressed the Chargé d’affaires at Cairo, directing him to inform Gen. Gordon that, as the original plan for evacuating Khartum proved futile, and there was no immediate prospect of aggressive operations against the Mahdi, he should arrange to remove himself and garrison from Khartum. These middle-aged men (who are no conjurors) remind one of the conjurors of the Middle Ages threatened by their unemployed familiar.

Lord Lytton told me the other day that he liked Watts’ portrait of him in the Grosvenor Gallery. But who can do pictorial justice to those dreamy eyes?

Monday, 19th.—Royal Asiatic dinner, with Sir W. M. in the chair: quite forgot the fixture until too late to go.

Friday 23rd—Forenoon at the Academy; some interesting pictures by artists one knew; Calderon; Prinsep; Solomon; McCallum, etc. Lunched at Club with Sir H. Maine and Matt. Arnold: and played billiards with Sir R. Collier, who told me a curious thing about the Allahabad High Court. He said they had reversed every judgment that had come thence before the P. C. since—had been Chief (I presume he meant “reversed or disturbed.”)

Saturday, 24th—A bachelor dinner party in Cornwall Garden, meeting Lord G. H. and some other M. P.s and journalists: the guest of honour being a young noble from Haidarabad—Nawab Zafar Jang.

Friday, 30th.—Dynamite explosion at Junior Carlton (*paries cum proximus ardet*).—a sad perversion of science that vindicates Irish national aspirations by blowing up London kitchen-maids! Dined at the Wards, meeting Col. Morsec, U. S. A., Col. A.

Ward—Miss W.'s brother, formerly in Mr. Washbourne's Embassy at Paris during the great war. The old mother a most able and interesting woman, widow of the son of Gen. W. who commanded the first force raised in the Revolution. Consulted Col. Morse about lecturing in America, and arrived at the conclusion that the Yankees only cared for celebrated names.*

June Tuesday, 3rd.—Played billiards at Athenæum with Sir E. Hamley, who gave me a copy of his Lecture on Merv. In the evening to Globe Theatre, where T. had a box for Lady G. and Mrs. A. The piece was "The Private Secretary," a three Act farce from the German, in which Penley played a weak-minded Curate with astonishing realism. The two widows laughed until they cried.

Tuesday, 10th.—Indian Tableaux by Val. Prinsep at the Prince's Hall : very gorgeous show, with flabby words. Lord Northbrook, Sir Wm. Muir, Gen. Walker, etc.

Monday, 23rd.—"Song of the Bell" Tableaux at Lady F.'s, music by Romberg, on which Lawson had embroidered patterns from himself and Wagner. Lighting better than at Prince's Hall, and show otherwise quite as good.

Saturday, 28th.—Pretty rural house in the heart of "South Kensington" (used to be Brompton when Lady—lived at Eagle Lodge hard by). Met—, a dull old antiquarian who disbelieves the reading of cuneiform and everything but his own digging.

July, Tuesday, 1st.—Took A. to Lord's to see Oxford and Cambridge match, an easy thing for Oxford. A gay gathering, nearly 20,000 passed the turnstiles : met Lord—; Col. W. (10th Hussars), and many other acquaintances.

Tuesday, 15th.—S. Swithin rainy. Dined at Northbrook, Sir H. Maine in chair. Among those present was Sir F. H., who had been high in office when I landed in Bengal 38 years ago, and still looked as strong as possible.†

Friday, 18th.—Sent an article to the *Calcutta*—on the expansion of Indian Railway system, based on the very best information. The House of Commons grants a loan of 28 millions to be spread over five years ; 5,000 miles of new rail being absolutely necessary to protect the country from famine ;—we may say to Britannia: These are imperial Arts, and worthy Thec.

Tuesday, 22nd.—"Special Matinée" at the Globe, to give dramatic and other rights to a new Play, "The Lost Cause ;" title too prophetic, in spite of Miss Lingard and pretty Lucy Buckstone.

* An anecdote illustrative of this was told me long afterwards by Holman Hunt ; as will be recorded in its due order.

† This gentleman entered the service before I was born : and is alive to this day (January 1900.)

August, Friday, 1st.—Interesting talk at Athenæum with several prominent men. One, a Cabinet Minister, looked white and weary ; and said “ he did not like the life ; out of bed till 3 every morning, badgered and baited ” (I must not say by whom). He evidently thought it would be a happy release to be turned out, only the Tories could not retain power unless they could get 40 votes—which would involve a transaction with Parnell. Called on Mr. Albert Grey at Dorchester House : magnificent place with some good pictures.

Tuesday, 5th—Dinner at Northbrook : Sir C. Petheram ; * Mr. St. John Ackers, the friend of the dumb ; Sir R. T. and other Anglo-Indian worthies. Lord N. made a nice little speech, and Sir W. H. responded gracefully ; about 120 present. Mr. A. explained his system of lip reading, the essence of which was *no talking on fingers*. Said there were people conducting factories and places where a great many hands worked, the conductors being both dumb and deaf.

[For the next few days travelled in the West ; Malvern, Hereford, and N. Wales. Kind invitation to visit “ Tom ” Hughes at Chester † which unhappily did not come off, and I never saw him till his death in the Spring of 1886.]

Wednesday, 13th.—To Stratford-on-Avon, the guest of Mr. S. M., who has a charming house there.

Thursday, 14th.—A pleasant day. Visited church and found the famous monument in chancel (appears older than nave). Fine Carew monuments in a side aisle. The bust very convincing ; gives one the idea of having been modelled on a *post mortem* mask ; the cheeks falling. Beautiful house, greenhouses and grounds of the F.s on the river bank. The birth-place a low-ceiled room in the famous old house ; two enthusiastic old ladies live and take care.‡ An oil-picture, given by the late Mr. Hunt, corresponds with the bust if we only suppose it to have been painted during the vigour of life ; said to have been discovered beneath another portrait in a neighbouring manor-house. The Shakespeare Memorial, a handsome building, containing a theatre with fine drop scene by Beverley. Drove along the skirts of the Cotswolds, a landscape the Bard must have often surveyed in his youth. Anne Hathaway’s pretty old cottage at Shottery.

Saturday, 30th.—London season quite over : close time for politics ought to be beginning when that of the partridges ends ; but the buoyant G. O. M. is off to Mid Lothian to seek

* About to sail for India as Chief Justice, N.-W. P.

† Judge of County Court, and famous author of the day [Tom Browne’s *Schooldays*, etc.] We had never met since Rugby days.

‡ Misses Chattaway, now both dead. There are some interesting autographs on the walls. Scott and Tennyson among them.

a fresh lease of popular support among the canny compatriots of those regions. In his "Triumphal Progress" from Hawarden to Dalmeny he sounded the praises of his new Franchise Bill; which, after all, is the logical issue of Dizzy's legislation in 1867.

Wednesday, September 3rd.—In Gladstone's first speech (Edinburgh, 1st current) he claimed that his Bill was a very moderate measure, full of concessions to Tory feeling. He would not wait for Redistribution; and ended by throwing out threats to the Lords. On the following day he took up his parable; concluding by the announcement that Ministers were "considering the best way of fulfilling obligations to Gen. Gordon" (which they had repudiated in May).

Saturday, 13th.—Hinting to a pretty woman's husband about being indulgent, was told in answer that "women were all deceitful." I objected that, if so, it was because men frightened them: they are wild tender things, and if you don't win their trust, their natural defence is to deceive you. Did not think he quite understood.

Friday 19th.—Heard the lady's side of the story, and felt pretty sure that my explanation had been the right one. But they are not much more than casual acquaintances, not what a Frenchman would call "*des amis*;" and I could not do more than profess sympathy and offer *banal* advice.

An eloquent and in all respects remarkable speech by Mr. J. Cowen, M. P. He told the working men that political enfranchisement was nothing unless they could enfranchise themselves mentally and morally. He would warn them against drink and against rash wage-combinations. Of pauperism he said, in conclusion, that "if Society did not settle it, in time it will settle Society."

[*On the 21th.*—I crossed over to Jersey, whither the family had been already despatched. The scene of departure was afterwards idealised, in an imitation of Juvenal's Third *Satire*, published by Vizetelly:—*

"Though Jack's departure leaves one rather low,
I cannot say I thought him wrong to go,
To cross the Channel on a cranky bark
And give one more inhabitant to Sark. . . .
I went to see him off from Waterloo,
Where five-and-twenty shillings booked him through,
Himself and baggage to the station got—
An average four-wheeler held the lot.

etc. etc. etc."

October, Friday, 17th.—Curious experience of Channel Islands law—servants leaving without warning awarded a moiety of wages.

November, Saturday, 1st.—At the Lieutenant-Governor's ; where I met a local antiquary and official who gravely discussed with me the relative claims of French and British citizenship. He decided in favour of the latter ; but only on the principle of *quieta non movere* ; and it seemed altogether a strange subject to be raised in such a place.

December.—Wrote part of paper on Channel Islands for the *Quarterly*.

Tuesday, 30th.—Back to England, having undertaken office of Bear leader to a Raja's younger brother, whom I am to take into London Society, and so forth.

Wednesday, 31st.—A lady writes " this has been an unlucky year, because we did not sit up on last New Year's Eve to see it in." These artificial divisions of time are a strange feature in the artificial lives of civilised beings. Savages, to whom they are unknown, would perhaps call us superstitious. Nothing *really happened* to-night : in fact it is only the end of a year since 1751.

[Among public events in which the diarist had no concern, was the accomplished century of Sir M. Montefiore, celebrated with much *éclat*, at Broadstairs. It might be argued that a century is also an artificial division ; but the interest here is that a distinguished man had publicly declared that no case had ever been proved of a person living 36,500 days ; and this was one. In November a vote was taken for an expedition to to rescue Gordon ; which, of course, ought to have been done long before if it was to be done at all—but that was long denied by the Government. On the 20th of November Miss Finney—known on the stage as Miss Fortescue—got heavy damages in an action for breach against the eldest son of Earl Cairns, whose courtesy-title was Lord Garmoyle. The case gave rise to the following mild joke :—

"The dearest oil in London is Garm-oil ; ten thousand pounds per gal. (girl !)."

On the 6th December the Franchise Bill was reported to have passed its third reading in the Lords, not without threats—as we have seen—from Gladstone ; enforced by Mr. Chamberlain and other supporters of the policy. The Redistribution Bill—by a compromise—was read a second time in the Commons. It passed next day with slight alterations, and a general sense of relief appeared to prevail. Some thought democracy was a tide which could not be resisted or turned back. Others, taking a less fatalistic view, still seemed to think it better that Demos should be admitted to the freedom of the city than left to batter the walls from without. All alike were glad to get rid of a controversy of which all had grown tired : and the waters closed and the ship held her

way with little change of course. The only subsequent event had nothing to do with the Franchise, being no more than another exhibition of Irish humour in the shape of a dynamite explosion at London Bridge, which did no injury to the pier, though it was said to have shaken a few foot passengers.

I find in my *Memoranda* at the end of this year's Diary a sketch of a book on "Politics for Children," to begin from the Revolution of 1688. It never got beyond *l'état de projet*, but indicates a gap that ought to be someday filled.

ART. V.—GREEK WANDERINGS.

ATHENS.

“*πασῶν Ἀθῆναι τιμιωτάτη πόλις*—Soph. Oed. Col. 108.

ATHENS at last, and a fine fresh morning after the rain. Nothing is more exhilarating than to rise early every morning, and fare on through the long day to some distant goal; but, after a week or so of this migratory life, it is grateful to settle down once more in a fixed habitation. And Athens, born again out of living death by the birth-pangs of 1821-1829, is a fair and noble city. By a happy fortune, too, the new Athens and the old exist side by side without too confusing an involution. The Acropolis is the connecting link, the common root as it were, and also the centre of divergence. Stand on the Acropolis hill and look one way, you have below you Mars' Hill, the Agora, the Pnyx, the Ceramicus on the edge of an almost unoccupied plain that extends down to Phalerum and the sea. Look the other way, you have the well-ordered expanse of modern Athens, cleft by the broad lines of its main thoroughfares that run between substantial rows of handsome houses in white stone,—a city wide in extent, adorned with public buildings amply proportioned, presenting from every point of view an aspect of spaciousness, airiness and cleanliness. There are but few factory chimneys as yet to mar the harmony of the effect,—alas that there should be any to vomit their foulness over so goodly a city! May it be long before the number is increased: let the factory chimneys be restricted to the Piræus!

A few matters of business claim us this first morning. The traveller who would know his Athens, its life as a city of to-day, as well as its antiquities, should, we hold, hire a permanent lodging, but in other ways keep himself free to go and come, to eat and drink, as he pleases. Therefore it was that we went yesterday to the Hotel Minerva, for says not Murray that at hotels of the second class you can hire a room for 3 drachmas a day, and dine abroad or at home, as you list? But the Minerva, having been recently refurnished, beautified and lighted by electricity, is aspiring, it seems, to the first rank: therefore our little difficulty of last night; for the leading hotels will welcome the stranger only, if he resides, *'en pension.'* However, there is nothing like having your whim while on your travels, and, after a little negotiation, we succeed in making our own terms at the Hotel d'Athènes, which is almost equally well situated. Indeed, when we see the room

offered to us, we conclude the change will be for the better ; the old room gave only prospect of Lycabettus, while this has a little balcony which looks straight on to the Parthenon. This is the room for us.

The afternoon we spend on the Acropolis. We find, with something of a shock, that the whole west front of the Parthenon is hidden in scaffolding ; some great, and it may be good, work is in progress ; but none the less the noble effect of the approach is sadly marred. Moreover, no sight can we now have of the few slabs of the frieze that still remain in position within the peristyle of the temple : for all but one of these are on the west front, engulfed in a forest of scaffolding poles, and even barricaded with a hoarding. There is a wooden structure, too, bisecting the steps of the Propylæa, seemingly a shoot for blocks of stone. There is work going on also upon the eastern face of the Erechtheum, in this case obviously the preparations for taking casts of the moulding of the capitals. Altogether there are signs of very healthy activity on the summit of the Acropolis. But it is none the less bitter from the point of view of the visitor, who misses what he has come to see, and may or may not have chances of sharing the fruits of these labours.

The archæological activity going on in Athens and in Greece generally is, indeed, a little awe-inspiring. What rood of Greek earth will there be left soon which has not been compelled to render up its treasures and their story ? In all the open spaces W. and S. W. of the Acropolis have shafts been sunk, cuttings made, and galleries run. Even on the top of the Acropolis rock important work has been done within the last twelve years in bringing to light masses of masonry that had been buried for ages. All this is cause for rejoicing, except that for the Englishman there may be some shade of regret that the share of his country in the great work is comparatively small. Why is not the British School at Athens better endowed, or more liberally supported ? Why does not the wealthiest nation in the world spend a few thousands out of its superfluous millions in generous rivalry with the Germans and the French, since English culture owes no less to Hellas and the past of Greece than French or German ?

Verily we have profited by yesterday's rain. For the streets of Athens and the Acropolis hill are cool and breezy despite the brilliant sunshine. This afternoon there is a smart shower, and followed by a wonderful double rainbow, one end of the inner arch resting exactly on Mt. Lycabettus. By moving back across the pavement of the Parthenon, we are able to get the east front well under the centre of the rainbow, an effect of colour not to be had every day. The

Acropolis draws and holds the visitor to Athens like a great magnet. On first arrival nothing else seems of any account. Tuesday morning takes us there again. The Theatre of Dionysus lies on the way as we sweep round from the Boulevard Amalia on the east, and come under the southern face of the rock, the tiers of seats rising one above the other on the lower slope of the cliff itself, and we can conveniently pass through it instead of continuing along by the carriage-road. We have not here the satisfaction of looking on the actual structure in which the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles were first produced: none of the stone work we see is earlier than the time of Lycurgus, in the latter half of the 4th century B. C. To this period belong the marble seats of honour inscribed with the names of the dignitaries to whose office they were severally attached, and the beautiful throne of the Priest of Dionysus; but the actual inscriptions are later, probably of the time of Hadrian. Still at least we are on the site of the more ancient theatre; the seats must have risen over the slope of the rock in much the same fashion, and we can trace the circular outline of the earlier orchestra, if the severer archaeological interests appeal to us. No one is about at this early hour but the soldier who acts as guardian, and a few workmen. We take the opportunity of testing for ourselves the acoustic conditions of the ancient Athenian stage. One of us sits aloft on the uppermost tier of seats yet remaining, the other stands on the Logeion, or foot-boards, of later times, and we interchange select quotations from favourite plays. The result is highly satisfactory. Every word can be heard distinctly without any effort at declamation, though we are speaking in the open air and to an empty auditorium, both of which may be reckoned as difficulties. After this we incline to think the traditional masks with their unsightly apparatus for sound to have been an unnecessary disfigurement.

You can scale the rock above the Theatre, if you please, up to the level of the Monument of Thrasyllus, now the chapel of Our Lady of the Golden Cavern (*ἡ Παναγία Χρυσοσπηλιώτισσα*). You may also climb along under the fine stretch of Hellenic wall on this southern side, accepted as the work of Cimon: a very handsome stretch of wall in almost perfect preservation. You cannot, however, work round over the rock right along to the Propylæa, but must come down again and pass from the Theatre through the Stoa of Asclepius, the Stoa of Eumenes and by the Odeum of Heracles Atticus.

To drive to the platform in front of the Beulé Gate, ascend the steps of the Propylæa, and duly pass round under guidance to the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the Temple of Nike, the Museum, even to perform a tour laboriously, Murray or

Baedeker in hand, both round the summit and round the base of the Acropolis rock, is, after all, to know very little of the Aeropolis of Athens. To know it really and understand its charm aright, you must ascend the Propylæa daily for many days, your guide book left at home; you must wander capriciously from site to site poring over each precious fragment of stone; you must stray at leisure round the battlements poking into every odd corner, and leaning over the parapet at each fresh vantage point to gaze across the plain of Athens and the roofs of the city to the long lines of her engirding hills, or to the harbours and the sea; you must sit on some convenient stone at evening time, and watch the deepening tints of brown and pink and purple over the long ridge of Hymettus, catch the gleam of the white stone on the steep side of Pentelicus, or gaze towards the dip of Daphne and the Thriasian fields and dream of the Persian horsemen winding out of the Pass and spreading among the Athenian homesteads and farms, or see the sun decline over Skarmanga and the western glory spread over the sky from the peaks of Salamis to the ridges and bluff heights of Parnes. You must come down again and clamber and scramble over the wall-crowned steeps, till you know every cave and boulder and practicable ascent on the Acropolis cliffs.

This in some small measure we have done; but it would be long to take the reader up and down and round the whole way with us, and we cannot tell whether his tastes and ours would agree. For the rest a detailed survey of the whole plan of the Acropolis, of all that is found upon its summit and round its base is far beyond the scope of my design. Besides, what is even more effective as a deterrent against any attempt at a systematic account of the Acropolis and Athens, is that these things have been so often and so well described before that it would be rehearsing a thrice-told tale. Here we see what others have seen and much in the same way; there is nothing new to add, unless it were some reflex of the intense pleasure it all was: and even that would be nothing new, and a thing you must really get for yourself. There is no lack of information for those who seek it. There are, first, the formal guide-books very complete and detailed: then classical accounts like Wordsworth's or Mahaffy's; or, in earlier times, Leake's, Chandler's, Wheeler's. And for a brilliant and popular account, informed with the results of latest research, combining freshness of expression and literary charm, even seasoned with the salt of American humour, you should go to Dr. Barrow's "*Isles and Shrines of Greece*" and you will find all you want, including the inspiration of enthusiastic insight. I shall, however, allow myself the license of a little irresponsible comment, guided only

by the arbitrary principle of noticing what specially impressed or interested me.

The Acropolis is a mine of interest perfectly inexhaustible, if you will bring to it some small insight into the principles and details of Hellenic architecture. It is wonderful how a little knowledge lights up a blank wall, or a few dull stones, which without the knowledge you might pass a dozen times without seeing anything remarkable in them. The barest stones are eloquent if you interrogate them aright. Here, for instance, between the Propylæa and the Parthenon, you find grooves cut in the surface of the rock in order to give firmer foothold to man and beast as they went up. Here are manifest fittings for a gateway. There traces of the base of a column or a pedestal. Of singular interest are the protruding knobs, or handles, to be seen in a great number of the marble blocks used in the back wall of each of the wings of the Propylæa; they witness to this day to the fact that the work was suddenly broken off and left unfinished, probably owing to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. These knobs or handles were meant to help in moving the stones and putting them in position: they were to be chipped off afterwards, and the whole surface of the wall was to be finished uniformly. You can see in the South West wing, behind the little temple of Nike, how some have already been removed and the stone finished off; others have been just chipped and left in the rough, while in other cases, again, the projection has not as yet been touched. You can trace the line along which the masons were working when their labours were cut short.

Even more curious is a small pedestal on this same side of the Propylæa (S.), and close to the corner column, with an inscription to Athena Hygieia, for there is a tradition, preserved by Plutarch, that a statue was dedicated by Pericles himself to Athena in this character of Healer, in gratitude for the recovery of a favourite workman of the architect who fell from the Propylæa (when in course of construction) on this spot, and received serious injuries. Pericles dreamed a dream that Athena appeared to him, and bade him use a certain herb for the injured man's recovery. The herb was applied, the man cured, and here is the pedestal of the statue that Pericles* set up.

Altogether a corner of extraordinary interest this at the South-West extremity of the rock behind the Temple of Nike and the S. wing of the Propylæa. There is, besides, a great

* Unfortunately for this story, the inscription on the pedestal records a dedication by the Athenians. Yet this is surely a case in which poetry is more philosophical than history. Fraser's Paus. I. p. 277-9.

angle of Pelasgic wall, deep down beside the site of the ancient temple of Artemis. Quite a tangle of walls is discernible in the deep pit that has been scooped out, and it is on the blocks of the walls of the Propylæa rising above this to the west that the handles spoken of above are most conspicuous. From this south-west corner, too, the wretched defenders of the Acropolis in 480 B.C. are said to have flung themselves when the Persians scaled the opposite summit, even as the Rajpoots by the Johur Tank at Gwalior and with more deliberateness the Albanian women at Suli.

The caves round the Acropolis rock form a special feature. We have already noticed the cave above the Theatre of Dionysus which now forms a Christian church: you may see the light burning in a coloured lantern there at night. On the north side of the Acropolis, a little east of the Propylæa, are the two caves of Apollo and of Pan, high-pitched and shallow. The first of these is that connected with the story of the Ion of Euripides. Of a more thrilling interest is a third cave, considerably further along this north side. It is identified as the cave of Aglauros. It once communicated by a staircase with the summit of the Acropolis a little west of the Erechtheum. Scale the not very formidable barrier of stone fragments and go down—warily, for there is good need of wariness. After a dozen steps or so the staircase breaks off abruptly, and you look dimly into a deep, and narrow chasm, through which comes a glimmer of light from below. Murray (col. 367) suggests the investigation of this rift by the aid of a rope. But there is a readier method. Climb up over the rock a little beyond the tiny chapel at the north-west corner of the Acropolis and make your way along and up till you come to a narrow rift leading right into the side of the cliff. Wriggle yourself through this opening—you will need to wriggle slightly, for the rift, though high enough and not too narrow for a human body of average length and breadth, has a twist in the middle, and to this you must conform your shape. Once within this, the passage widens and you go forward quite easily: it is four or five feet wide at the bottom and wider above. This passage extends onwards along the face of the cliff some 30 yards, till you are directly under the broken stairway from the summit. You are inside a great cleft running lengthwise through the living rock and stretching some 40 or 50 feet above your head. Further progress is obstructed by a stone barricade, but you easily surmount this obstacle and can then make your way into the cave of Aglauros, which is a lofty arched cavern like the others on this side, but less shallow. There are a few more stairs beyond the barrier, but they end here, so that it is evident that the stairs led from this cave to the summit of the Acropolis.

It was at this point and possibly by this very stairway that the Persians scaled the rock and got possession of the Acropolis in 480 B.C. More probably the assailants contrived to climb in over the cliff. For Herodotus, though he records that they got up by the shrine of Aglauros, daughter of Cecrops, says nothing of the betrayal or discovery of the secret stairs, and there is fair probability that the cliff was scaleable. The best test of this probability is to try it for yourself. This we accordingly did, starting from below somewhat west of the cave, and found no special difficulty. To get actually on to the platform of the Acropolis the masonry at the top must be climbed hand over hand, and you make your entry exactly at the angle in the wall a little west of the Erechtheum, where there is a small breach over which a rough board has been placed. The latest stormer of the Acropolis, my companion in travel, attained the summit precisely at this breach.

The changes in the appearance of the Acropolis since the Turkish garrison vacated it, as a fortress, in 1833, have been very great. Towers, bastions, redoubts, and a great number of buildings, large and small, have been bodily removed, the approach has been entirely altered, for when the Acropolis was a Turkish fortress, the entrance was not through the Propylæa, but from a point further S., and we owe to Queen Amalia the fine road that sweeps up to the platform before the Beulé Gate. An outer Turkish gate was removed from this platform only in 1886. The clumsy mass of Roman masonry known as the Beulé Gate was unearthed in 1853. Tons upon tons of accreted matter have been removed from the base and sides. Vast accumulations of soil and a confused mass of mediæval and modern buildings have been cleared off the summit. There is a sharp conflict of opinion as to the expediency of removing all post-classical structures from the top of the Acropolis. "On the hill of the Acropolis and its buildings the whole history of Athens, from its earliest to its latest days, has been clearly written, and there it may still be clearly read wherever the barbarism of classical pedantry has not wiped out the record." (*Studies of Travel*, pp. 19, 20.) So Freeman states the ground of objection in his usual trenchant manner. The destruction of the record moves him to anger. "We can conceive nothing," he says, "more paltry, nothing more opposed to the true spirit of scholarship, than these attempts to wipe out the history of any age." (*Ib.*, p. 29.) The work of clearance has gone on in spite of Freeman's denunciations, and for our part we agree with Professor Mahaffy in rejoicing thereat. What is of priceless value for us is to recover and comprehend as much as possible of the great works of the best time of Hellenic architectural and

artistic genius. Nothing else matters very much. Anything that detracted from the unity and symmetry of that effect was better away. The retention of relics of a quaint mediævalism has, in comparison, very little weight in the scale. As to the historical aspect, the history was melancholy, deplorable, better forgotten, except occasionally for disciplinary purposes. when the revived spirit of modern Hellas tends to become overweeningly puffed up with the world's homage to Hellenic antiquity. Or, if not to be forgotten, yet not for ever to be obtruded painfully upon the sight by buildings that mar the æsthetic symmetry of the Acropolis as a monument of ancient Athens. Freeman's principle, if pressed, would be inimical to every sort of restoration, repair or improvement; would condemn the removal of whitewash from all panelling, and plaster from the carved screen. Hardly might we set up the chimney overturned in a memorable storm, or repair the breaches in a bombarded fortress. We must remember that, before this work of clearance began, the columns of the Propylæa were actually embedded in a wall of solid masonry,* as may be seen in one of Dodwell's extremely interesting pictures. One seeks in vain for a satisfactory compromise between leaving all in the state to which neglect and barbarism had reduced the Acropolis, and a thorough-going clearance. We do not certainly wish to see the Acropolis as Chandler saw it in 1765, and join in his regrets, when he writes: "The spectator views with concern the marble ruins intermixed with mean flat-roofed cottages, and extant amid rubbish the sad memorials of a nobler people." We even think the process of purgation might still with advantage be carried one or two steps further. The base of the equestrian statue of Agrippa is an unsightly block having no historical significance worth keeping, still less any essential relation to the Propylæa it disfigures. The Beulé Gate is confessedly no integral part of the original design for ennobling the approach to the Parthenon. It is heavy and ugly in itself, distracts the view of the true Propylæa and mars the due stateliness of the effect. It would be a real gain to get rid of both.

The supreme glory of the Acropolis is the Parthenon. In beauty, as distinct from grandeur, the Erechtheum comes not far behind. The little temple of Athene Nike has a unique charm. It is impossible to leave the Acropolis without a passing homage to these greatest things. There are weighty

*Both the Propylæa and the adjoining buildings have been considerably defaced in modern times; of the former the intercolumniation has been closed with a wall, so that not half the thickness of the column is seen and they thus appear destitute of proportion and elegance.

volumes that treat of them with becoming fulness. But mere idle comment is hushed in the presence of beauty so sublime, and, in its mutilation, so pathetic. But, though you read all the books before you go, yet, standing on the summit of the Acropolis rock with the Athenian skies above your head, and these splendid marble ruins before your eyes, you shall say 'surely the half was not told me.' The beauty and the wonder are inexhaustible; nay, as with noble music, the harmony grows upon us, as we grow more familiar with its elements, and the last visit to the Parthenon is the most rich in delight.

The source of the impression in the case of the Parthenon would seem to be the unity and grandeur of the design—sheer magnificence, that is scale and proportion combined; for the subtler beauties have been shorn away with the destruction of the pediment sculptures, and the removal of the frieze. Even in this wasted state, torn and rent by the explosion caused by Morosini's shell, it is a structure of surpassing beauty. Perhaps the ruins even gain something through the forces of associative suggestion. In the case of the Erechtheum it is variety, graceful symmetry, and the marvellous richness of detail. It is needless to say anything of the charm of the Caryatides, eternally patient in endurance, yet supporting their burden with easy grace. In the temple of Wingless Victory we find the contrasted beauty of miniature. It is to the Parthenon as the carved jewel to the marble statue, each perfect in its kind.

The Museum is a dull looking building; but, besides much else of very great interest, it contains the loveliest piece of carved stone extant in the world, not excepting those matchless fragments of the sculptures from the Parthenon gable ends in the British Museum. You will find in Room IX the three well-known reliefs from the balustrade of the Temple of Nike. It is the second of these which displays such superlative skill, a perfection of mastery more than human. And this in two respects; the exquisite loveliness of the form itself and the subtle art by which the solid marble is presented to the eye as transparent drapery: this last is sheer wizardry. The other two slabs are beautiful, though not so marvellous as this.

Next to the Acropolis no spot in Athens will be so dear to the lover of Hellenic antiquity as the Ceramicus and the Street of Tombs, though for different reasons. Here, instead of the glories of art and architecture, which are almost divine, it is a gentle human interest, the pensive suggestion of the everyday joys and sorrows of Hellenic life 2000 and more years ago, with which the place is haunted. When I first saw it, it was an untidy piece of waste ground adjoining the high way to

the Piræus—at least such is my remembrance of it—not the orderly enclosure with railings and a gate (a little like a metropolitan church-yard) that it is today. But the charm was as great or greater, for the asphodels grew plentifully among the tombs, and to-day, despite the better order, the general aspect is rather bald and unattractive. We want an Athenian Society for the reclamation of grave yards to turn it into a pleasant garden and so help to supply one of the greatest wants of modern Athens, gardens and green verdure. Most of the best stelæ have been long ago taken away and placed in the National Museum, but enough are left in place to enable you, with the help of a little imagination, to build up a picture of the ancient aspect of this highway of the dead.

The enclosure includes also the Dipylon and a most interesting portion of the ancient walls of the city. The whole space enclosed is a considerable area, but it lies a little out of the way and is not very readily found. The safest way of reaching it is to follow down the road to the Piræus from the Foundling Hospital, till you come, on your left, to the railing of the enclosure, which cannot be mistaken, since the tombs and the Dipylon beyond are visible from the road. The Dipylon itself is really close to Hermes Street and the Theseum.

When you have found it, go first to the further extremity of the enclosure, even to the boundary wall on that side. So will you the better understand whereabouts you are in ancient Athens and how things looked in other days. If you stand behind the masses of masonry on the right and face towards the Piræus road, you have in front of you the great double gate through the walls of Athens, now called the Dipylon named also the Ceramic Gate (because the part of the wall it pierced separated the inner from the outer Ceramicus) and the Thriasian Gate (because the road through it led to the Thriasian plain). The Gate is double, in that there is an inner and an outer portal, with a courtyard between, 132 feet in length and 60 broad. The larger mass of masonry is on the right of the inner gateway, and well in the centre is a fragment of a round altar still showing the remains of an inscription to Zeus and Hermes. You cross the broad space of the open court and come to the outer gate which pierces the actual walls of Athens. A block of masonry is left, which occupies the centre of the roadway in a line with the altar of Zeus, and there is another mass adjoining the remains of the wall running along to the left. In this direction the line of the old wall can be traced most plainly for 100 feet or more, and not one line of walls only, but two. The first, *i. e.*, the inner line of masonry, is the Wall of Themistocles; the second, or outer, running parallel to it some 20 feet further towards

the Piræus Road, is a wall of later date, perhaps of the time of Conon. The Wall of Themistocles is especially interesting, for it bears witness at this day to the truth of Thucyclides' story of the haste with which the walls of Athens were built in order to circumvent Spartan jealousy. In the momentous year 480 B.C. Xerxes and the Persians got possession of Athens and the Acropolis, and levelled, or, at all events, broke down the fortifications. After the destruction of the host of Mardonius at Platæa in 479, the Athenians set about rebuilding their city. But the Spartan Government looked with no friendly mind on the prospect of a restored Athens stronger by reason of the ordeal through which she had perilously, but triumphantly, passed. They were better pleased with an Athens without walls. So they opened friendly negotiations and pointed out that it was far better for Greek cities to remain unwalled like Sparta herself. Themistocles received this disinterested advice in a spirit no less amicable. By his advice the Athenians agreed to despatch commissioners to discuss the matter at Sparta and sent Themistocles himself as one of them. It was understood that the others would follow. But Themistocles charged the Athenians to push on the work with all speed and to delay the departure of the other envoy until the wall was high enough to be defensible. Every able-bodied Athenian worked night and day on the defences. Themistocles meanwhile put off the Spartan authorities on various pretexts. At last the message came that the work was well-advanced. Themistocles then informed the Spartan Government that it was too late now to discuss the matter, as the walls were already built. Thus it was that the walls of Athens and the defences of the Acropolis were thrown up in hot haste, irregularly and of any materials that came to hand—rough stones, fragments of columns, broken slabs, stelæ, bits of ornamental work from houses and temples, all the odds and ends, in fact, that came to hand—solid stone of some sort to face the wall and a jumble of rubble inside. Even so may you see it with your eyes to-day in the portion of the wall still standing between the remains of the Dipylon and the place of tombs. The most remarkable piece of the wall is to the left (beyond the small gate that fronts the street and tombs) where the bare rocks begin to show and the ground rises in the swell that ultimately forms the Hill of the Nymphs. It is here quite 12 feet high, and shows the characteristics just described most plainly. You can walk along the top, and decipher, if you like, the fragments of inscriptions, still remaining on some of the stones.

In the first piece of the wall three other things are remarkable. The first is the extraordinary way in which one

corner of the big building (supposed to be the Pompeion) of which a part of the massive outline is left, cuts right into the city wall; one angle of the Pompeion actually makes part of the wall of the city. The second is the boundary post between the Inner and Outer Ceramicus, to be found 15 yards to the left along the wall from the Dipylon. It is a plain stone with the inscription 'Ὅρος Κεραμεικῶν' cut upon it vertically. The third is the supposed Sacred Gate further again to the left, which forms a break between this and the second and more remarkable stretch of wall that reaches to the rock.

It is a base fabrication, the suggestion that this break in the wall is merely an outlet for the stream of the Eridanus, or, in plain English, a sort of drain. Standing at the Sacred Gate, you look down the Street of Tombs and see the road curving before you and presently dividing into two branches, one branch continuing the Sacred Way to Eleusis, the other turning left and following something the direction of the present high way to Piræus.

The second City Wall, a few feet in advance of the Wall of Themistocles, and running parallel to it, is better built and somewhat thicker, but has nothing like the same interest. On the extreme left, where the ground rises, it apparently made a circuit round the hill, instead of going over it, thus enlarging the boundaries within the walls.

We now leave the walls and saunter down the Street of Tombs. They still make a broken line on either side of us, though sadly thinned, as has been said. Looking to the monuments on the left hand, one comes first on a plain pillar bearing simply the name *Ἰνθαγορος*. A little further—after a great gap—is the famous tomb sculptured with the figure of young Dexileos. Dexileos was a youth of a noble Athenian family serving in the cavalry in the year 394. He fell at Corinth along with four other young knights. The sculpture represents Dexileos on horseback piercing a fallen enemy with his lance. The inscription is very clear and runs:—

ΔΕΞΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΙΟΘΘΟΡΙΚΙΟΣ
ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΓΓΙΣΤΕΙΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΟΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
ΑΓΕΘΑΝ ΕΓΕΥΒΟΛΙΔΟ
ΕΓΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΕΓΕΝΤΕΙΓΓΕΩΝ

Then after another gap we come to a farewell scene inscribed ΚΟΡΑΛΛΙΟΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝΟΣ ΓΥΝΗ. Next under a large niche, now empty, are the following graceful lines:

Σῶμα μὲν ἔνθαδε σὸν, Διονύσιε, γαῖα καλύπτει
ψυχὴν δὲ ἀθανάτων κοινὸς ἔχει ταμίας·
τοῖς δὲ φίλοις καὶ μητρὶ κασιγνήταις τε λέλοιπας

*πένθος ἀειμνηστον σῆς φιλίας θ' ἱμερος
 δίσσαι δ' αὖ πατρίδας σῆ, μὲν φύσει ἡδὲ νόμοισιν
 ἔστερξαν πολλῆς εἵνεκα σωφροσύνης.*

Further on is a Molossian dog (conspicuous in photographs of the tombs) and a very quaint group representing a funeral feast above, and Charon and his boat below. It is to be noticed that Charon has oars enough to man an eight. The much-admired Tomb of Hegeso is to be found in the space behind, on rather higher ground. Following now the right hand series from the Dipylon outwards as before, we find first a small sculpture of a horseman with a spear and the inscription ΕΝΗΣΚΑΛΛΙΟΥ ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ ΧΑΙΡΕ. After that is a plain vase, and then a family tomb with only two roseates for ornamentation, but curiously inscribed with a series of names. Thus :

ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΣ
 ΚΛΕΙΔΗΜΙΔΟ
 ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ
 ΚΛΕΙΔΗΜΙΔΗΣ
 ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΥ
 ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ
 ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΣ
 ΚΛΕΙΔΗΜΙΔΟΥ
 ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ
 ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΣ
 ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ
 ΕΙΤΕΑΙΟΣ

The first three are evidently three generations of one family, the fourth name may or may not be connected. What is more curious, is the extraordinary variance in the skill with which the letters are cut. The first is quite well-done, the second very badly ; the third is a considerable improvement on the second, though not nearly as well done as the first: the fourth is worse than the third, but not so bad as the second.

A little further on is another farewell scene inscribed

ΔΕΞΙΚΛΕΙΑΦΙΝΩΝΟΣΕΙΞΟΙΟΥ
 ΑΡΧΙΑΣΓΥΒΙΟΥΓΟΤΑΜΙΟΣ

Behind to the right is another good-bye over the tomb of a child, the little Eucoline. There are three figures besides the child, a man and two women. The inscription runs

ΓΡΩΤΟΝΟΗΝΙΚΟΣΤΑΤΗΕΥΚΟΛΙΝΗ.

There is a special charm about the stelæ found here under the sky in the place where love first planted them, which

makes this enclosure by the Piræus Road for me almost the best loved corner of Athens. But anyone who feels the pathetic attraction of these Athenian memorials to loved ones taken away, will find a far greater number in the National Museum, including the most artistic and the best preserved. Many have written of these most touching of all tokens of human affection for the dead—of their tenderness, their grace, their subtle pathos. I know not how it may be with others, but for me these simple and natural scenes, these quiet farewells, have a more moving power than cemeteries and their trappings of woe. None of them can be called representations of sorrow; or, if at all, very rarely: there is no direct appeal to the fount of tears, scarcely even a suggestion of grief and loss; and yet, in their very restraint and reticence, in their very silence, their resolute setting aside of cruel fact, their defiance of the great Destroyer, there is a more poignant force, an appeal, which seems to bring close home the pathos of human life and love, the anguish of parting. Many of them are scenes of parting (though even this has been questioned): no tears, no wringing of hands, nothing but the quiet, tender clasping of hands, a simple good-bye, calmly and tranquilly spoken, though it is good-bye for ever. They are so purely and utterly human, the natural man at his best and most refined. For, of course, if they say nothing of the terrors of death, neither have they anything to say of the hope of meeting again. They accept the fact of separation simply, courageously, with resignation. And yet we find in them just that spirit of calm courage and acquiescence which is so strangely lacking in the Christian attitude. They realise in practice, what the Christian theory enjoins, but the Christian practice too often ignores, that death is nothing to lament over. They refuse, as it were, to admit the sadness of death. If this is true of the scenes of parting, still more obviously is it true of other favourite types of representation, a warrior in his armour, a domestic scene, a youth playing with a dog, a child with a bird: all these speak of the untroubled current of every-day life, and only in the subtlest way suggest its sudden interruption and close. Nearly all are beautiful, some exquisitely so.

ART. VI.—REIS AND RYOT IN UPPER INDIA,

IN his speech at the grand durbar held at Lucknow in December last, Lord Curzon paid a tribute to Sir Antony MacDonnell's administration, and, in particular, to his legislative abilities. Without saying that the compliment was undeserved, it may be worth while, now that the excitement of the Viceregal visit is over, to enquire how far the amenities to which it gave rise are justified from the standpoint of provincial exigency. In other words, the question I propose to ask is, to what extent do the legislative principles which Lord Curzon had in mind indicate a wholesome sense of responsibility in the administration concerned? If it is a peculiarity of the legislator to also pose as a philanthropist, there is not the least doubt that Sir Antony MacDonnell can fill the rôle as well as anyone: but, though the public have too much confidence in his resources to imagine for a moment that such is his intention, it would still be hard to explain how two such measures as the Oudh Settled Estates Bill and the North-Western Provinces Rent Act Amendment Bill came to find a place in the legislative programme. As regards the former, it would be outside my present purpose to enquire how the taluqdars first came into existence, or what their precise rights and privileges were in the pre-mutiny days; but it is safe to assume that it was only after the British occupation of Oudh that they were recognised as a community. When the change of *régime* was effected, all existing taluqdari institutions, so far as they could be ascertained, were confirmed by special pledge of the Government of India, and amongst them was the absolute right of the taluqdars to deal with their estates as they pleased; or, as the *sunnuhs* put it, every taluqdar had "a permanent, hereditary and transferable proprietary right in his estate, with full power to sell, mortgage, give or bequeath it as he pleases."

Against this concession Sir Charles Wingfield, then Chief protested; but Lord Canning, holding that, if an aristocracy Commissioner of Oudh, had to be created at all it should be in estate and not in name only, overruled the objection, and so the taluqdars were launched into their new sphere of life with the Viceregal blessing and an admonition to make good use of their opportunities.

But the best laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft agley, as the Scotch poet put it: and if ever there was a provoking commentary on the vanity of human expectations, it is to be found in the admittedly bad use that the taluqdars have made

of their princely resources. For years past their growing indebtedness has been a source of anxiety to the provincial officials, and many have been the efforts to redeem them from the extinction with which, every now and again, they are threatened, first by the Oudh Taluqdars' Relief Act of 1870, and now by a measure which, it is hoped, will embody the saving grace in a form to allow of future generations being benefited even more than the present. The intention of the Oudh Settled Estates Bill, now before the provincial Legislative Council, is to curtail the power of the taluqdars to alienate their estates, and it may be aptly described as a grand effort on the part of Sir Antony MacDonnell to find a solution for a contingency which has hitherto defied the best intelligence of Anglo-Indian legislators. That its conception is charitable, I presume no one who is at all acquainted with its provisions, will deny. The work of redemption has this gratifying feature, too, that it disarms criticism, and places the critic in the position of one who is forced to admire in spite of himself. No matter how frail the design, if it has the least show of saving, it forthwith appeals to our sympathy and extracts from us a response which, had it been anything else, would be impossible in an age imbued with the truth of Carlyle's dictum that the barrenest of mortals is the sentimentalist.

When I say that this is precisely how one feels in regard to the Oudh Settled Estates Bill, I have pretty well exhausted all that can be said in its favour. Intrinsically it has little to recommend it, and the more it is examined the more apparent it becomes that it is at best a fanciful solution of the trouble in hand. To a certain extent it will preserve the taluqdars; but will it make them any the happier, or worthier of preservation, if there be the same incubus of debt and the same depressing influences as exist now? Even if we restrain a man from disposing of his mess of pottage, it is quite certain that no legislation will prevent him from incurring fresh debts or transmitting the tendency to his son, or *per se* create an assurance that every occupant of a *gaddi* in Oudh will not be as hopelessly bankrupt as his predecessors were before him. The official contention is that merely as a political safeguard, it is necessary to preserve the taluqdars—by reducing them to the condition of life tenants. The contingency had not, indeed, been overlooked by Lord Canning, being specifically referred to in the Government of India despatch to Sir Charles Wingfield; but it was condemned as derogatory to the state of aristocracy, if not actively injurious to its best interests. I am inclined to think that the Viceregal decision was not altogether impolitic, in view of the impossibility, then as now manifest, of having one law to regulate so many diverse

interests, as regards race and religion, as the taluqdars embody. The very fact that the Oudh Settled Estates Bill is permissive shows that Sir Antony MacDonnell is by so means certain of his ground, while the additional circumstance that no taluqdar is bound to conform to its provisions will go far to rehabilitate Lord Canning's judgment in the estimation of practical men. To them it will be apparent that just as the nominal preservation of estates is no gain to the country at large, so no amount of gubernatorial coddling will secure for the aristocracy of Oudh what can only accrue from an unreserved acceptance of the maxim that righteousness alone exalteth a nation. In the absence of this preliminary requisite to prosperity there will be nothing to prevent the life estates contemplated in the Bill from being misused by each holder as he comes into possession, or obviate the decree-holder being in full enjoyment of the baronial income for a series of years which can be indefinitely prolonged by a father and son acting in conjunction.

At a recent meeting of the Legislative Council Sir Antony MacDonnell, somewhat curiously, anticipated the adverse criticism which future historians of India would pass on a large portion of our land legislation. If this means that his own will be favoured as an exception, the complacence will, I fear, not be shared by others, in the face of the subsequent admission that much of our agrarian policy "has been based upon ideas which were peculiarly English and which found no analogy in the institutions or in the traditions of this country." Are we to assume from this that the Oudh Settled Estates Bill is a peculiarly native inception? What is one to make of this astounding pronouncement, or of the still more astounding inference that the importation into India of ideas which had their origin in feudal England has had a far-reaching evil effect, except that they constitute so much legislative prancing and are not meant to be taken seriously? Moreover, how is one to account for a policy which on the face of it bears the impress of fatuity. If the native landowner is to survive as a unit of the higher social system of the country, it can only be by the exercise of his own powers and not through any unmerited assistance from the Government. What La Bruyère said is true for all time, that, if it is a happiness to be nobly descended, it is not less so to have so much merit that nobody enquires whether we are so or not. This is precisely what Sir Antony MacDonnell ignores when he steps forward as the saviour of the taluqdars, not because, it is claimed, they are worthy men, but because they are nobly born. It seems to me we are overdoing this birth business in India. When the Statutory Civil Service was inaugurated it was the

openly avowed purpose of the Government of India to utilize it as an opening for the sons of men with territorial influence. It was urged that something ought to be done for them, just to keep them out of mischief as it were, and the result was that a large number of budding rajahs were thrust into the public service with little or no regard for educational or other qualifications. That the statutory civilian failed to excite admiration, and was properly condemned, was only natural, and it is not surprising that he is being got rid of altogether, though some representatives, like Rajah Chitpal Singh who was recently dismissed for gross incompetency, are still alive to mark the blind policy of the past.

In the case of the taluqdars old families may be worth preserving from a sentimental point of view, but in the absence of permanent affluence they must degenerate into curiosities, in spite of extraneous aid. Legislate as and when we may, the fact cannot be got over that in their hands alone lies the work of redemption.

As I have said before the mere protection of land from being sold, either as a voluntary act or in execution of legal decrees, cannot obviate the real trouble, so long as individual life estates may be vitiated, and there is no assurance that the coming generation of taluqdars will be morally impervious to debt: all that it will do is to hide the character of the trouble by the creation of a hope, which in all probability will prove false, that the future will be an improvement on the past. For my part I see no reason to object to the transfer of estates to new men, provided full value is obtained on the transaction. At present what every indebted landowner who is pushed into a corner may justly complain of is the cruel way in which the law operates by depriving him of the right to object to a sale on the ground of insufficient consideration. No matter how valuable a property may be, if there be no defect in the sale procedure it must stand, and in places where sales are badly attended, and there is scarcity of buyers, it often happens that the unfortunate owner gets little or nothing for his patrimony. I know of a case in which some valuable stock of a taluqdar was sold under judicial orders and bought by a speculative lawyer for a thousand rupees, the same stock being almost immediately afterwards re-sold to the original owner for six thousand rupees—deferred payment, of course. It is a law which allows atrocities like this to be perpetrated that needs amending, and it only shows how little our legislators know what they are doing when they ignore real defects in the administration in favour of supposed ones. This is a somewhat serious charge to make: yet it is one which, I am convinced, will bear investigation.

That there is nothing politically or socially injudicious in taluqdari properties being sold, provided always full value is obtained for them, is very conclusively established I think in the last Lucknow Settlement Report, which states that in cases where sales have taken place the new proprietors invariably make better landlords than the old. While this is only natural, it also indicates the wide scope of the benefit which the transferred relationship affords to the country at large. Far be it from me to unduly depreciate the Oudh taluqdars, some of whom are excellent individuals in their way, generous and noble and keenly alive to the responsibilities of their position. But it is no part of legislation to concern itself in essence with the social status of the people whom it affects. Both Buckle and Lecky have told us that expediency alone should be the aim of the legislator. Where is the expediency, however, of class legislation of which the only apparent object is to preserve old families (many of whom, by the way, are not so old after all) regardless of the consideration whether they are worth preserving or not? If the *nouveaux riches* subserve the material ends of the nation, it is surely imprudent to stem a tide which is admittedly flowing in their favour.

Probably the Indian official has other views, and I am aware that the prospect of a discarded aristocracy giving trouble is a perpetual nightmare to him. It is pointed out that the taluqdars are the natural leaders of the people, and on that very account are entitled to generous manipulation. I am willing to allow that many old families are looked up to in Oudh, as elsewhere, but that they have any irrevocable hold on the popular mind is an exaggeration which no one who knows anything of Indian agricultural life will entertain. There is, I believe, a rural saying, *bhare jahan jaigi katri jaigi*, which leaves no doubt that Hodge in India is perfectly alive to his own special interests: so it is idle to argue that it is only by humouring the classes that we can hold the masses.

This is precisely what the conception of the Oudh Settled Estates Bill conveys. If it has been found that the transfer of taluqdari properties to new men is attended with good results in the shape of better land-lords, it is obviously not to the advantage of the cultivating population, or the country in general, to have the old order perpetuated on the score of sentiment alone. Personally I have no great regard for the new man, who is generally a vakil redolent of wealth gotten through a complex, and in some respects unsuitable, system of litigation, but the fact that he has both money and brains cannot be ignored in an unbiased consideration of the issues at stake. There is this advantage, too, that in the case of the self-made individual there is no false dignity to preserve:

being new, he is anxious to please a tenantry on whose good will he is clever enough to see depends the value of his acquisition. Above all he has no whims to gratify. Only the other day the death occurred of a taluqdar who is credited with having spent three thousand rupees on a marriage between a mouse and a doll. When people are thus bent on vitiating wealth, they accentuate the need for a strict enforcement of merit.

The question arises, will the taluqdars recognise the obligation? I doubt it. Of course the miraculous may happen in the future as it has happened in the past; but taking into account the slow rate of moral progress in India, and the insuperable obstacles to reform which custom and prejudice present, there is not much hope that the coming generation of Oudh land-owners will be very different from the present or their exigencies any the less embarrassing.

The most suggestive commentary on the subject was afforded by a native member of the Legislative Council, one of the new order of self-made men, who attributed the sale of old estates to avoidable extravagance and incompetence on the part of the taluqdars in the first place, and unavoidable inflictions in the second. No legislation will obviate the former, and, as to the latter, clearly the best thing to do is to eradicate them as far as circumstances will permit. In either case what has the Oudh Settled Estates Bill to offer by way of relief? Unless social exigencies materially alter in the future, we may take it that the same necessity for spending money will exist. The grand nautch, the *burra jalsa*, the indispensable retinue of servants, the magnified zenana, the permanent establishment of dancing girls, the more legitimate, but none the less ruinous, expenditure necessary for the marriage of sons and daughters, the elephants and horses and carriages, and last, but not least, the pastime dear to the native aristocrat, of fighting his neighbour in court, if for nothing else, at least, to show who has the longest purse—all these are features which will mark the life of the future taluqdar. precisely, as they do that of the present; nor can it be hoped that Nature will change, or that the monsoon of the twentieth century will be less erratic than it is to-day, or famine be a visitation of the past: so that, look at it as we may, distress must exist so long as the causes contributing to it are not removed. I do not see what good is to be derived from a condition of life which legislation invests with the mask of affluence but which is really rotten within.

Moreover the fact that the Oudh Settled Estates Bill will prevent legitimate mortgage must tend to raise the rate of

interest, since no recognised banker will find it worth his while to do business on the slender security of a life tenancy, and so there will be a large addition to the class of usurers who for exorbitant profits will lend money on them. This alone is sufficient to condemn the measure. For years past it has been the expressed object of the Government to pulverise the mahajan: yet here we have a measure which will give that *bête noir* of Indian agricultural life new opportunities for the exercise of his villainy. It would be hard to say how such an issue, fraught as it is with highly pernicious effects, was overlooked in the legislative purview, and I can only ascribe it to an over-sanguine temperament failing to recognise that necessity knows no restraint. Probably Sir Antony MacDonnell thinks that being deprived of the power to mortgage or sell their properties, the taluqdars will promptly acquiesce in the altered condition and live without borrowing. If they do, the gubernatorial claim to be accounted among the prophets will be past all dispute: if they do not, no one who knows anything of high life in India, with its love of pomp and splendour, will be very much surprised. Personally I shall be glad to acknowledge an error, but under present circumstances I cannot help regarding the Oudh Settled Estates Bill as being based upon a perverted estimate of human nature. What a source of comment for the future historian of India in the picture, thus presented, of trying to do too much! Yet this is precisely what our legislative efforts often amount to. One year the country will ring with anathemas against the usurious mahajan, and judicial officers will be impressed with the urgency of crushing him: the next will see a complete reversal of the policy, or such a modification of it as will practically defeat its purpose.

I do not know that, in dealing with the taluqdari system, or, indeed, any Indian question, much good can be derived by unreserved reliance on the inspiration of so egotistical a writer and administrator as Sir John Strachey, whose opinion on the subject the official apologists quote with much gusto and approval, since to talk of the pre-mutiny taluqdars holding their estates "subject to the conditions of the Hindu or Mahomedan or Local Law" is to travesty history by investing the Nawabi princes with a judicial power of control they did not possess.

No doubt, succession was governed in simple cases by existing custom, but there was nothing to prevent a strong taluqdar from shaping the family history as he thought fit. The principle of primogeniture was, indeed, so restricted, that Sir Charles Wingfield had to resort to exaggeration in pleading for the acceptance of his views by the Viceroy. Moreover, even if one were to admit that the Indian con-

ception of the fitness of things is opposed to the policy inaugurated by Lord Canning, in what way will the Oudh Settled Estates Bill improve the situation? If it is to obviate sub-division, as part of the larger policy of integration, the end will be no more acceptable now to the Hindu mind than formerly. Here, too, the restrictions imposed on the operative area of the measure seem to show that the gubernatorial intellect has quite grasped the essence of Lord Canning's objection that "we can *only recognise* the advantage of the inheritance of landed estates by primogeniture, or, at least, the transmission of them to one heir." To do more is clearly impossible. It is not enough to say that the principles in question have been accepted by the taluqdars, because what is there they will not accept when the official oracle once makes it clear to them that acceptance is the most politic course to pursue? Sir Charles Wingfield's procedure gave rise to precisely the same experience, when, whatever may have been their own predilections in the matter, the taluqdars succumbed to his well-known and deeply-felt wishes. In this case they have not much to lose personally. Such borrowing as they have to do has already been done, and it is easy now to tell the coming generation that, if they have any wild oats to sow, the sowing had better be indefinitely postponed. All this would undoubtedly be very excellent, if, as La Roche said, we could both give the advice and the wisdom to profit by it. Unfortunately we cannot.

Be that as it may, how are all the scores of divergent interests embodied in a community of landowners, widely separated in point of descent and religion, to be consistently merged into one harmonious entity without disturbing the excellent ideal whereby the native is to be governed, not as the Englishman thinks he should be, but as he himself would have it. I can quite understand Sir Antony MacDonnell's desire to do something heroic for the unborn generations of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, but the difficulties attending the effort are so great that it becomes a question whether it would not be as well to leave the future to deal with its own phase of the contingency as it comes. At present what we have to consider is that seventy-five per cent. of the Oudh taluqdars are more or less hopelessly indebted, and that all existing mortgages must stand. Where then is the precise utility of the Oudh Settled Estates Bill as a practical measure? What would be the judgment passed on a man who consoled himself with the reflection of a far distant millennium is precisely applicable to Sir Antony MacDonnell, with this difference, that while the former may be credited with a generous desire to benefit great and small alike, the latter restricts his bounty to the

great alone. In all other parts of India remedial legislation affects every class of the landholding community, but in Oudh it is only the taluqdars who are thought of. The scores of interests outside that body, the lives and fortunes of hundreds of small landowners and village proprietors—these are of no moment beside an aristocracy over which there is now only a dim halo of vitiated wealth.

Passing on now to the North-Western Provinces Rent Act Amendment Bill, I may say that in deciding to ameliorate the condition of the provincial cultivator Sir Antony MacDonnell has been mainly influenced by judicial returns of ejectment suits, which are stated to have increased from 52,317 in 1896-97 to 69,510 in 1897-98. In their last Report on the Land Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the Board of Revenue urged that the circumstance was inimical to the best interests of the country, and an intimation of the impending legislation was thereupon given by the Lieutenant-Governor in a Resolution dated 12th May 1899, declaring "that the existing state of things, whereby ejectment is used as a means to defeat the operations of the law permitting the gradual accrual of occupancy rights, is indefensible." Since then the matter has been under active consideration, and in October last it was specifically referred to in a meeting of the provincial Legislative Council as the first of a series of remedial enactments which the Government had in view.

It is necessary to state here that the proposed alteration affects only the Rent Act of the North-Western Provinces, and not that of Oudh, where the agricultural population already enjoy a sufficient measure of protection to make them independent of the vagaries of their landlords. Still the principles underlying the change are being keenly criticised in both areas, and it is not to be wondered at if their united intelligence should be somewhat exercised over it.

In this matter, as in the other, I fear the legislative impulse is equally faulty. No doubt a certain amount of fixity of tenure is necessary for the effective purposes of agricultural life, and in this sense Sir Antony MacDonnell is justified in deprecating the frequency with which ejectment suits are instituted. On the other hand, it may be urged on behalf of the landholding community that the essential object of going to court is not to dispossess the ryot, but merely to obviate the accrual to him of rights which it was never intended he should have, and which he is in no way keen to acquire so long as he is otherwise well treated and there is no attempt at rackrenting. It is only fair to state that in the majority of instances the ejected tenants are reinstated in their holdings,

but as regards the other condition, it is less easy to form a correct judgment.

How far rackrenting exists in India is a question which can never be satisfactorily answered, and while it would be safe to say that all landlords have a natural tendency to get the most they can, they may, at least, be credited with sufficient discrimination to realise that in catching at the shadow they may lose the substance. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the Indian tenant will go on paying any rent that is demanded of him—though he has never heard of Ricardo, he understands the Ricardian theory well enough to know precisely what proportion of the produce of land should go to him and what to the landlord. Among tenants-at-will, particularly in Upper India, any attempt to exact too much is almost certain to lead to land being relinquished, a contingency which no landlord would deliberately create unless he was utterly callous to his own interests. It is noteworthy in this connection that the Board of Revenue adduce no specific instances of rackrenting: it is only an assumption, which, in the absence of proof to the contrary, must be taken as a legitimate manifestation of the law of demand and supply.

So great, moreover, is the indigenous subservience to *kismet*, that, if the agricultural population were canvassed on the point, the majority would probably be in favour of accepting the inevitable, and, indeed, there has always been between landlord and tenant in India a tacit understanding, which has been on the whole well maintained, that so long as the customary rent is paid there shall be continuity of tenure. There is a curious passage in the Report referred to which states that during the famine years 1896-98 "no undue advantage was taken by the zemindars, as a body, of the distress of the tenants to destroy occupancy rights." Here, it will be observed, there is a divergence of opinion which the Board of Revenue might very well have explained. If there is no tendency on the part of the provincial landowners to act harshly when it would be easy to do so, it is not clear why, in the case of tenants-at-will, there should be such an ebullition of antagonism as is implied by the Government. Some revenue officials are inclined to ascribe the restraint to the fear that undue pressure might lead to wholesale relinquishments and consequent loss of rents. Apart from the colour this gives to my contention that in the matter of rent there are two to make a bargain, the implication is a trifle ungracious, and the provincial landowners may be excused for feeling somewhat aggrieved at what now practically amounts to an accusation of dishonesty. If Sir Antony MacDonnell, out of sympathy for the hard lot of the cultivator, is determined that he shall have the full benefit of

an official championship, by all means let us have such legislation as the contingency demands; but to blow hot and cold in the same breath, to tell the zemindar to-day that he is a model of forbearance and to-morrow that he is a knave and fool combined, is about as creditable as the legal device, when one's case is bad, of abusing the other side. Curiously enough no attempt has been made by the Government to justify its predilection, except on the broad assumption that it is good for the country, and beyond the gratuitous surmises of the Board of Revenue there is nothing to reconcile the proposed measure to our sober judgment.

As to the official argument that the law contemplates the gradual accrual of occupancy rights to tenants-at-will, it may reasonably be objected that it does nothing of the kind. The very fact that ejectionment was provided for would ordinarily go to show that the accrual of occupancy rights was only contemplated as a matter of neglect on the part of landlords, whom we cannot now blame for seeking to enforce what, at any rate outwardly, has been accorded to them. If the fault lies anywhere, it is in the Act itself and with those who framed it. The relations between landlord and tenant are already so strained in India that even then it may be doubted whether Sir Antony MacDonnell is acting wisely in promoting a measure of which the immediate effect will be to make matters worse.

There is a good deal in the last Administration Report of the Board of Revenue for Bengal about the transition of agricultural life in that province from the Oriental or patriarchal stage to that of strict legal contract. While, however, the change is pronounced to be unsatisfactory, Sir John Woodburn's belief in the success of the final issue shows, at least, that in the official world of Bengal there is no unwholesome hankering after the inspiration of the East. In Upper India the conditions are precisely the same, but the effect varies in that, though all our rent legislation, including that under criticism, continues to be conceived on English principles, the outward expression of opinion is seemingly against it. No one will imagine for a moment that Sir Antony MacDonnell's advocacy emanates from other than a purely English desire to give everything, no matter what, a basis in law. There is no suggestion to preserve the patriarchal traditions which are dear to every native of India, nor any attempt to sympathise with the spirit of the past: indeed, so great is the gubernatorial repugnance to indigenous sentiment in this case that, in replying to a deputation of landowners last December, Sir Antony MacDonnell urged that it was quite impossible for him to withdraw from a position which was in keeping with the agrarian policy of the Government ever since the Mutiny.

And yet this identical policy was what he presumably condemned only three months previously in connection with the Oudh Settled Estates Bill.

In all legislation affecting the relationship between landlord and tenant in India it should be the endeavour of the Government to combine philanthropy with justice. There can be no question of the theoretical value of granting to the cultivating community rights which we are all agreed, are essential for purposes of efficiency. At the same time it is well to differentiate between expediency and sentiment. Are we sure the proposed legislation will achieve the desired end? In answering the question, an issue arises, whether the deprivation of land is what the provincial ryot is suffering from, or his own thriftlessness, and, of course, natural afflictions such as famines and the like. If the latter, the essential purpose of the Government falls to the ground, and legislation becomes, as it were, a rope of sand which, as Emerson says, will perish in the twisting. It is well, perhaps, to recognise from the outset that the irresponsible character of the Indian tenant is as inimical to agricultural progress as any unsympathetic attitude on the part of his landlord. Those who know him best, know also how ready he is to impoverish himself by undertaking litigation on the smallest pretext. Whether the quarrel be with his landlord or a neighbour, the fight will often be protracted till the last bullock has been sold, or the village mahajan absolutely declines to advance another rupee, and by the time the final appeal has been heard he is ruined past all recovery. For such a man legislation has obviously nothing to provide.

It is a common experience, too, in Upper India to find an agriculturist who has got together a little money making a series of expensive pilgrimages to Pragraj or Mathuraji. Then there is the inevitable *shukrana* to the thanadar for the expiation of real or imaginary offences, and occasional entertainments to one's caste fellows, all which put together would ruin most men I fancy.

A critical examination of the Bill creates the fear that the proposed remedy may fall short of a completely effective purpose by its failure to recognise the true causes of agricultural backwardness. As has been said before in connection with the Oudh Settled Estates Bill, the essence of the evil lies less in the frequency of ejections than in the condition of apathy in which the agriculturist is plunged. If persuasion to improve the old methods of cultivation, to provide against a rainy day from the proceeds of bumper harvests, to limit expenditure on marriages and other social ceremonies, and, above all, to avoid litigation, are unheeded, it

is inconceivable that the mere fact of being provided with a five or seven-year tenure will avail in a contingency which entails an unrestricted recognition of the principles of self-help. That the condition is often wholly neglected, or only partly realized, is clear from the last Stamp Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, which testifies, from the abnormal sale of document stamps, to the growing distress of the Oudh tenantry, notwithstanding the provision for fixity of tenure existing there: and the fact that no satisfactory explanation of the circumstance is afforded may not unreasonably be applied by the opponents of the measure to enquire what need there is for bringing the Rent Act of the North-Western Provinces into line with what has admittedly failed to ensure prosperity. That all landlords are not inimical to the principles of the Bill is apparent from the statement of one who writes that long before the measure was made public he had given every tenant-at-will on his estate five-year leases in the hopes of thereby improving their material condition. "My experience," he says, "is not at all assuring. Lease or no lease, the moment a tenant finds he owes a couple of years' rent, he is off somewhere else. The good tenants stay, but they do not care for leases, knowing very well that it is not to the advantage of the landlord to quarrel with them." There is no reason to believe that this experience is limited, and certainly it is worth consideration.

The main point to be remembered in matters of this sort, where the welfare of an agricultural community is concerned, is the good old maxim that Heaven helps those who help themselves. So far, there is reason to fear, we have allowed too much of our attention to be engrossed by the rhetorical aspects of rent and revenue problems, quite forgetful that the tendency to make the least of one's resources, to over-populate, to rush into litigation oftener than is necessary, to spend fifty rupees on a *tamasha* which would be dear at ten, to play into the hands of the police, to convert the proceeds of bumper crops into ornaments which seldom fetch what they cost—are only a few of the factors to which agricultural demoralization in this country is due.

Probably, if the matter were carefully gone into, it would be found that a large number of ejectment suits are instituted for the real purpose of repressing the spirit of defiance which the provincial ryot has a knack of generating the moment he is well settled. There is much in the theory which accounts for the opposition offered to the Bill, and though it is obviously impossible to decide on the merits of a quarrel between master and man, it is only fair, while condemning oppression and rack-renting, to recognise that a tenant who makes a

persona ingrata of himself on every possible occasion, or who cannot bear to have his rent demanded when it becomes due, is not precisely an individual entitled to legislative protection.

I should be the last to suggest that our agricultural population should be deprived of the benefits which they now enjoy; but I am not exaggerating when I say that one effect of our rent legislation has been to engender in the minds of the land-holding classes a distrust of official motives. The difficulties attending the realization of rent and of managing a large body of tenants, all of whom cannot be good, are so great, that I firmly believe most landlords would gladly surrender their positions were it not for the social advantages, which the possession of land affords. There is no reason to think that they are necessarily happy, or their troubles less deserving of official recognition than those of their tenantry. And yet, while the Government affords to the one the right to stick to his lands, what relief does it afford to the other who finds one fine morning that a tenant has run away with all his belongings and a couple of years' rent in the bargain? The relief of finding remedy in a court against a man whose whereabouts may be anywhere within a radius of fifty miles, is assuredly not very gratifying, but it is the landlord's only consolation. If he wants to eject a tenant, it must be through the court: if he wants to re-let his land, he must first obtain the written resignation of the present holder. The present holder, owing, perhaps, a year's rent, with the intention of owing another, refuses to execute the resignation, and so the whole machinery of the law has to be put into operation. After this is it at all surprising if the justice of the Government comes to be questioned?

One word more by way of postscript. Since the above paragraphs were written and sent to press more than three months ago, the Oudh Settled Estates Bill has been passed into law. I ought, perhaps, to alter parts of them to embody the improvements made by the Select Committee in the original draft of the measure, but I fear this is now impossible, and in any case the alterations would not materially affect my general contentions. I am glad, however, that an endeavour has been made to meet the objection in regard to mortgage and interest, though whether it will obviate usury. I am just as doubtful as before. The Kent Bill still awaits the sanction of the Government of India before it can be introduced here. In the meantime it may be worth while to draw attention to a circumstance on which much reliance was placed last year, namely, the increase in the number of ejectment suits filed against tenants-at-will. Had the official deductions been quite sound the feature should have been equally apparent this year,

but ejectment suits, on the contrary, have decreased so considerably of late that the Board of Revenue, in its annoyance at having the ground thus cut away from under its feet, is constrained to explain that the result was purposely brought about by the landowners of the province. To sum up. If the criterion of efficient administration is avoidance of unnecessary tinkering with existing conditions, there is every reason to fear that all this legislation will end in failure. The essential desire of the native of India is not for the complicated niceties of civilized administration, but for the realization of a full stomach: that secured, it matters very little to him what other forms the executive interest in his welfare assumes. There is a pathos about the blind dependence of the Indian people upon Providence which no one could justly accuse Sir Antony MacDonnell of ignoring, but that he should be concentrating his efforts to save in directions which are not immediately necessary shows how far he is from recognising the value of Emerson's teaching. What we want at the present moment is not grandiose legislation which will perish in the twisting, but measures which will bring prosperity to the country and increase its capacity to bear trouble. What we have is an inchoate longing to save the landowner from the mahajan and the ryot from the landowner. Thus, to quote Plautus—

Certa amittimus dum incerta petimus.

EROPMAR.

ART. VII.—RELIGIOUS AND CHARITABLE ENDOWMENTS OF BENGAL ZEMINDARS.

I.

PERHAPS in no other country in the world is the religious enthusiasm of a people so great and all-absorbing as it is in India. The holy books of the Hindus inculcate charity especially as the surest means of salvation. The Brahmins favoured charitable gifts and extolled them beyond measure, and the legislature fostered them by every means in its power. It is therefore not a matter of surprise that we have in India an amount of charity, both religious and temporal, which is hardly approached in any other country.

I shall deal in this article and in another with the works of public charity and charitable endowments of the landholders of the province of Bengal. If India is rich in charities, Bengal is the province in it which possesses the largest number and amount of such charities.

It has become the fashion now-a-days to describe the landlord class as a body too much 'concentred in self' and entirely forgetful of the welfare of the people at large. Yet, it is a fact as clear as daylight, that, if any good has been done by any class in this country for the benefit of the public, it has been by the zemindar community. I shall show that the landlords of this country have spent in works of public charity and utility a far larger amount than has been spent elsewhere, and, in many instances, far beyond their circumstances. Yet the comparative poverty of the landholding classes of this country is too apparent to admit of serious contradiction. Let me compare some men of colossal fortune in England and in Bengal and see how their incomes stand to one another

	Name.	Capital.	Income.
		£	£
England.	Duke of Westminster ...	16,000,000	800,000
	Duke of Sutherland ...	6,000,000	300,000
	Duke of Northumberland ...	5,000,000	250,000
	Marquis of Bute ...	4,000,000	200,000
Bengal.	Maharajah of Durbhangah ..	3,000,000	150,000
	Maharajah of Cooch Behar ...	2,600,000	130,000
	Maharajah of Hutwa ...	1,800,000	90,000
	Maharajah of Burdwan ...	1,800,000	90,000
	Maharajah of Dumraon ...	1,000,000	50,000
	Late Maharani Sunomoyee ...	800,000	40,000

Thus the highest income of our Bengal landholders falls far short of the lowest of the millionaires of Great Britain. The richest landlord of Bengal is the Maharajah of Durbhangah.

It was during the administration of Sir Stuart Bayley that the estate was taken from the control and supervision of the Court of Wards. While congratulating his late ward—alas, no longer living—who had just come of age, the late Governor declared that the annual income of the Durbhangah Raj estate was then about seventeen lakhs of rupees. Yet, it is a fact that, after the incomes of the Maharajahs of Durbhangah and Cooch Behar, there is, excepting the Maharajah of Burdwan, the Hutwa Raja and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, hardly a landlord who owns half their income. The Burdwan Raj is, indeed, the richest landholder in this side of Bengal.

Before detailing the charitable works of individual zemindars, I will give a brief summary of the law of endowments prevailing in this country. The English law which forbids superstitious bequests has no application in India, and hence the practice of devising by will vast amounts of property for religious purposes has become common since the establishment of the Supreme Court of Calcutta. The question whether a Hindu can apply the whole of his property to religious objects is now settled, and there have been several instances in which such an extreme course has been held valid. The creation of perpetuities is fully allowable in such cases, and does not render the will invalid. Among Mohomedans only a third of the property can be so devised, unless the testator has no heir or near relatives. Such religious endowments, however, must not be colourable, but *bonâ fide*, and the income of the endowed property should be devoted entirely to the purpose of defraying the religious ceremonies and worship connected with the endowments. But where a will under the guise of a religious character really bestows the beneficial interest on the devisees, it will be void so far as perpetuities are concerned, and the property will be governed by the ordinary Hindu law, subject merely to a trust for the fulfilment of religious purposes. If, again, a property yielding a large profit is devised by will for religious endowment, but the nature of the worship and ceremonies connected therewith is such that only a small portion of the profits can be and is actually utilized for the purpose, then the devise with regard to the remainder of the profits to religious objects will be void, and the heirs-at-law at liberty to divide them at their pleasure. Where a property is absolutely dedicated in perpetuity to religious purposes, the trustee cannot encumber or dispose of it for his personal use; but he can do so for the benefit and preservation of the estate. Sometimes land or other property is held for the maintenance of a religious endowment, subject merely to a trust as to part of the income. Here the land passes under the ordinary law with the specific charge upon it.

What is said here of religious, will equally hold good with reference to charitable, endowments. No charitable bequest will fail on account of vagueness or uncertainty, as the Court has power to direct the trustee in that case to apply the bequest to any act of general charity of the nature contemplated by the will according to the well-known *Cypres* doctrine.

It will be impossible to enter into minute details of the various works of public charity and liberality which distinguish noble families like the Durbhangah or Cooch Behar Raj. I shall make references to them in general in their proper place, giving details as far as possible. In the meanwhile I shall say something in the beginning about the works of public charity and endowment maintained by the poorer class of the Zemindars of Bengal :—men who by dint of their own self-exertion and economy built up their own fortunes, and, investing their money in landed property, had but a single aim in their lives, that of doing good to humanity.

To begin with Bengal proper. I select first the district of Hooghly—a district which perhaps contains more educated and influential landholders than any other in this province.

In this district three zemindars absolutely bequeathed their estates for the benefit of the public. The name of the first is Mahomed Moshin,—a name which is hallowed and enshrined in the hearts of the people. That palatial building, the Hooghly Imambara, with its magnificent tower-clock and glittering minarets, visible over many a mile of land and water, owes its existence to the munificence and charity of this large-hearted Mussulman gentleman, who settled in the district and died in 1812. By a deed, dated the 9th June 1806, he founded that sacred trust which has shed such a lustre over the whole province. The Imambara, and its river revetment, which now form such a prominent object in the topography of Hooghly and its river scenery, cost no less than two lakhs of rupees. The tower-clock was procured from England, at a cost of Rs. 11,721, and I have heard my Mahomedan friends say that, excepting the clock of Saint Paul's Cathedral in London, it has no compeer in the world. That great educational institution—alas ! now in its days of decline and decadence—the Hooghly College, charmingly situated on the river, with its quiet halls of learning, its splendid library and beautiful botanical gardens, also derives its birth from his liberality and catholicity of mind. Into the Valhalla of history have passed the names of the old professors of this renowned College :—Dr. Thomas Wise, the first Civil Surgeon of Hooghly, Captain D. L. Richardson, the great Shakespeare reader and antiquarian, and Mr. Lobb, the veteran educationist and learned follower of Comte. It has produced some of the greatest men of the day, most notable

of whom are the late Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter, than whom few abler Judges ever graced the High Court Bench, and Mr. Justice Amir Ali, the brilliant writer of Mahomedan history. The Hooghly Imambarah hospital has been rendered famous by the wonderful surgical operations of Dr. Esdaile, who used to practise mesmerism in those days to produce insensibility on patients before performing such operations. The zeal, energy, self-reliance and perseverance manifested by Dr. Esdaile in the cause of mesmerism, as an instrument for relieving human suffering, extorted the admiration of the *then* Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, who rewarded him with the post of Presidency Surgeon and honoured him by entertaining him at a dinner at Government House.

To that hospital was appointed the first Assistant Surgeon, Dr. Budden Chunder Chowdhury, for the purpose of rendering help to Dr. Esdaile, who is still alive, and who is the sole survivor of those ten distinguished students of human anatomy whose names are emblazoned in golden letters on a shield in the Calcutta Medical College Theatre in honour of their proficiency in surgery. That great adept in the healing art Dr. R. L. Dutta was for a considerable time the Civil Surgeon of this hospital. The *Motowali* of the Imambarah, who seems to have done the greatest amount of good and useful work was Syed Keramut Ali, of Jaunpore, the faithful friend and companion of Lieutenant Conolly's travels in Kabul. He was a great Arabic scholar and mathematician, and his attempt to trisect an angle is said to have been the most successful yet made. The present Imambarah was built during his direct supervision in 1861, and during his term of office the religious celebrations and festivals were conducted with such pomp and show as had not been witnessed before.

If there is anything worth seeing at Hooghly it is the Mohurram. Although much of its pristine magnificence are gone, still there is enough left to strike a stranger with awe and respect. It is said that even in these degenerate days a sum of Rs. 1,000 is spent daily during the eleven days of the Mohurram. Time was when Arabs and African Negroes used to come from their distant homes to witness the Mohurram. Hardly has the new moon been seen when the Imambarah becomes a perfect Tower of Babel: the discordant music of the *tom-tom* and the cries of 'Allah' and 'Hossein' rend the air. Through the portals of the Imambarah a surging mass of humanity pass like ocean-waves. If anyone wishes to have a lasting impression of the Hooghly Mohurram, which he will never forget clear, let him come on the ninth and tenth day at night. The whole building is beautifully illuminated on both these days. In the courtyard a bubbling fountain of water falls

harmoniously and incessantly into a splendid cistern, at which one finds pious Moslems washing their hands and faces previous to entering for prayer. A flight of steps leads to a magnificent hall paved with the richest and purest marble and beautiful in its proportions and decorations. It really looks like a fairy dream when the marble hall becomes resplendent with the rainbow hues of colored glass lanterns and beautiful chandeliers fed with the purest oil and hanging by chains from the roof, which rises from six gothic columns on each side, carved with the rarest skill and painted with passages from the Koran, looking as bright in their fresh colouring as if they had been painted yesterday. The followers of the Prophet assemble here, listening sorrowfully to the recitals of the preacher as he relates the sad and tragic end of their departed heroes. A small audience of moon-faced beauties of the faithful is collected on the upper story behind a very rich curtain of Persian silk and one may see their dark blue eyes stealing through the folds of the gauze like a moon-beam through the fleecy cloud of a summer night. Towards the conclusion a general cry of sobs and lamentations rise and burst through the whole throng. I believe I never saw a finer action of tragic woe than these loud groans of the faithful. The torchlight procession on the tenth day is perhaps the most brilliant and enchanting sight of all. Candles are lighted up in amber glasses, numbering thousands and hundreds of thousands, which stretch for nearly half a mile on both sides of the road, and the procession moves literally in a blaze of triumph, the snow-white *taxia*, a veritable emblem of the miniature Taj at Agra with the silver crescent on its dome, shining in the midst.

The management of the Imambarah is in the hands of a trustee, under whom a *Motowali* is employed and paid a salary of Rs. 500 monthly. The ultimate control rests, of course, with the Government. By strict economy and good management the Moshin Trust Funds have rapidly increased, until they stand at the present day at a capitalised value of about twenty lakhs of rupees, and the income is about a lakh. The income from landed property amounts to Rs. 60,000 a year, of which the estate of Syudpore in Jessore alone contributes Rs. 45,000. Besides this, there is a fixed money endowment of Rs. 10,57,000, and a variable one of Rs. 90,400 in the hands of the Government to the credit of the Moshin Fund. The Imambarah has a *Hakimi* dispensary and a *Mosafirkhana*, in which Mussulman travellers lodge and board. A sum of Rs. 50,000 is yearly spent for the performance of the religious ceremonies and in feeding and maintaining the poor. The remaining fifty thousand rupees, which used formerly to be spent on the up-keep of the Hooghly College

is now distributed, much to the chagrin of the people of the Hooghly district, amongst the poorer classes of Mus-ulmans all over the province for their education. The Moshin fund entirely supports in addition to these the Doulatpore Entrance School and charitable dispensary at Sayudpore at a cost of about Rs. 200 monthly. The present *Motowali*, Syed Ashraf-uddin Ahmed, is the son of the late Nawab Amir Ali, and is discharging his duties efficiently.

The name of Behari Lall Mookherjee, of Boinchee, comes next in point of liberality and public spirit. Before his death he gave away by a will, which became the subject of contentious litigation in the High Court, a sum of one lakh and sixty-one thousand rupees for the establishment of a charitable dispensary and hospital in the village of Boinchee, as well as a free school teaching up to the Entrance Examination standard for the benefit of the local public. It gives the reversionary interest in all the landed properties of the testator to Government after the death of his widow, the proceeds of which are to be applied to similar acts of public usefulness. A sum of Rs. 2,500 is spent annually for the maintenance of the hospital and an equal amount for the school, both of which are doing yeomen's service to the cause of suffering humanity and the education of the poorer classes of the native community. The income from landed estates amounts to about Rs. 12,000 yearly, and it is hoped, that, in addition to the existing good works of permanent benefit to the public, others of a splendid nature will be created by Government as soon as it succeeds to its reversionary right. It is estimated that the entire estate of the late Bihari Lall Mookerjee yields a profit of Rs. 20,000 yearly, all of which goes into the hands of Government on the death of his widow. There is an able and experienced Assistant Surgeon, drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 100, as well as a compounder attached to the hospital; and the school is under a graduate of the Calcutta University on a monthly salary of Rs. 100. The construction of the hospital and school buildings has cost close upon thirty thousand rupees and has been carried out under the supervision of the Collector of the district. Both are nice and commodious buildings. The hospital has ten beds for in-door patients. Its popularity is so great that a larger accommodation and expenditure on the head of medicines have become absolutely necessary. Bihari Lall's brother, Babu Ram Lall Mookerjee, has made a handsome donation of Rs. 50,000 to Government for the abundant supply of good water to the people of the district during times of water scarcity.

The third zemindar of the Hooghly district, who has absolutely dedicated his properties to the public, is Nundo Lall Barman.

He was a resident of the town of Hooghly, and, dying without heirs, left his entire estate, valued at three lakhs of rupees, by a will for a religious endowment at Bally. During the festivals which take place yearly large numbers of Brahmins are fed and money and food distributed to the poor. In addition to this yearly outlay, the daily expenditure in the guest-house (*sadabroto*) is very large, as all comers, without distinction of caste, creed or colour, are sumptuously fed and housed there. The income of the estate endowed comes up to about ten thousand rupees yearly. The widow has lately constructed a beautiful bathing ghât, flanked by two temples, on the river side in Hooghly-Bally. The cost incurred in its construction is a little over Rs. 15,000. It has removed a long-felt want in the locality and done much good to the public.

Amongst the names of the landholders of this district, the late Joykissen Mookerjee stands foremost, not only in point of intelligence, ability and wealth, but also in public spirit and liberality. His father, Juggo Mohun Mookerjee, devoted properties worth about three lakhs of rupees towards a family religious endowment, the main object of which is the performance of religious ceremonies and feeding and giving alms to the poor. Joykissen spent no less than six lakhs of rupees in purely charitable works. A Hindu zemindar of the old school, he naturally expended vast sums of money in the digging of tanks and reservoirs and in the construction of embankments and roads. That splendid Library at Utterpara, which one admires from the river as a specimen of architectural beauty, cost him about sixty thousand rupees for its construction, and an equal amount was spent for the collection of books. The property which he endowed for its maintenance yields Rs. 2,100 yearly. It was he who, conjointly with his brother Rajkrishna, endowed the Utterpara School, which has been since raised through his exertions and munificence to the status of a second class college, with two taluks—Boinchee and Ramnagor—of the net value of Rs. 1,200 per annum. He also gave a sum of Rs. 19,000 into the hands of Government for the purpose of creating a trust fund for the Utterpara School scholarship. The same brothers subsequently made a similar endowment, yielding Rs. 1,800 per annum, for the foundation and support of the Utterpara Hospital, which has turned out so beneficial to the local public. In addition to these, he subscribed about a lakh and half towards the expenses of public societies and associations, which had mainly for their object the relief of the poor, and about a lakh of rupees for municipal purposes and for the construction of municipal roads and bridges.

The Calcutta University Library was founded by Jay Kissen Mookerjee in 1869 and endowed with a donation of

Rs. 5,000. It was through his help and encouragement that the "History of a Bengal Peasant Life" was written by the late Rev. Lall Vihari Day—the best book we have about the daily life of a Bengal ryot. A worthy son of a worthy father, Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee, has followed closely in the footsteps of his noble father and has largely subscribed to many important public needs.

Of the old zemindars of the Hooghly district, Chaku Ram Singh of Bhastara deserves special mention. The town of Hooghly owes much to him for its prosperity. He gave Rs. 500 for the repair of the Hooghly town roads, Rs. 1,000 for the Satgaon, and Rs. 5,000 for the Bally suspension bridges, built the *Chandni* of Smyth's Ghât at a cost of Rs. 3,000, and subscribed largely towards the building of the Hooghly Branch School. But this is nothing in comparison with the vast sum of money he spent in building temples and endowing them with valuable lands. Several of them stand to this day on the banks of the holy river at Tribeni, where he entirely rebuilt that splendid masonry ghât which is frequented by thousands of pilgrims from distant parts of the province for the purpose of bathing in the sacred junction of three streams. He constructed several temples in Chandernagore and at his native village of Bhastara, which are still maintained by his son Babu Joggeshwar Singh, the eldest representative of the family at the present day, at a cost of about four thousand rupees yearly. During the great famine of 1866 the latter took a most prominent part in relieving the distressed. He opened almshouses throughout his extensive possessions and fed the poor with a princely liberality. For his great public spirit and generosity, Chaku Singh was recommended by the District Officers of the time to be "decorated" with the title of a Raja, but he died prematurely soon after and the wishes of the Government could not be carried out. He also spent a large amount of money in the construction of roads and tanks. The road from Magia to Bhastara was constructed by him, and is up to this time the only road through which the extensive grain trade of Magra is carried on by means of bullock carts. His son, Babu Joggeshwar Singh, maintains a school at Bhastara, and has been, in spite of the waning fortunes of the family, always prominent in acts of charity. The late Shyama Sundari Dasi, aunt of Joggeshwar Singh, has bequeathed by will properties yielding a yearly income of Rs. 700 for the maintenance of poor and helpless widows of Bhastara. His son Prava Chandra Singh has contributed a sum of Rs. 2,000 towards the Lady Dufferin Fund in commemoration of his late mother's memory.

The Seal family of Calcutta holds a high place amongst the zemindars of the Hooghly district. The founder of it was

Mutty Lall Seal, who rose from a mere hawker of empty bottles to one of the richest men of the province, acquiring vast zemindaris and Calcutta house properties in the course of a very few years. The Calcutta Medical College Hospital owes much to his bounty and munificence. A considerable portion of the lands on which the magnificent edifice stands belonged to Mutty Lall Seal, who made a free gift of them to Government, moved by that public spirit which always marked that great man's career in life. It has been estimated that the value of the land then given away would come to Rs. 40,000. The Government of Bengal recognised his liberality by naming a ward in his honor, 'The Mutty Lall Seal Ward,' for native male patients. He subsequently supplemented this gift by a handsome donation of more than half a lakh of rupees to the Calcutta Medical College Hospital. But the charities which have endeared his name to the public at large and made him illustrious were created by him later on and are contained in a deed of trust by which he made over a considerable portion of his property amounting to several lakhs of rupees for the good of the public. A net yearly income of Rs. 36,000 is derived from those properties. Out of this a sum of Rs. 12,000 yearly is spent in the upkeep of the Seal's Free College that fine two-storeyed building in Collootollah, which had come into existence long before the late Venerable Pundit Iswar Chundra Vidyasagor sowed the seeds of cheap education in this country, and has been since doing all along incalculable service to the cause of advancement of learning amongst the poorer members of the native community. The College stands high in the estimation of the public and competes successfully with Government and Missionary Colleges in the University examinations. Apart from this College, the trust fund distributes a sum of nearly Rs. 4,000 to a number of poor widows and orphans of Calcutta regularly every year. The scale of payment to each individual varies from Rs. 3 to 2 monthly. The rest of the income of the trust fund is spent in the maintenance of two *alithsalas*, or guest-houses, one at Baranagore and the other at Khidderpore, where all comers are sumptuously fed and entertained during all hours of the day. The Mutty Lall Seal splendid bathing ghât at Ramkrishnopore is a further example of his liberality. Well have some of his descendants followed his noble example in this respect. The Chuni Lall Seal out-door dispensary due south of the Medical College Hospital, is supported by an endowment of Rs. 60,000, which has been placed in the hands of Government. Kanye Lall Seal has made over a sum of Rs. 60,000 for the construction of a Charitable Hospital at Howrah. The Elliott Bridge across Bharpara khal, near the Civil Engineering College of

Shibpore, was constructed at a cost of Rs. 30,000, given by Gopal Lall Seal, and has proved a veritable boon to the local public. In addition to these benefactions the Seal family has always come forward with liberal donations during times of distress.

The richest zemindar of the Serampore sub-division was the late Rajah Harrish Chandra, whose descendant, Rajah Poorno Chandra Roy, is still alive. He was the greatest benefactor to the establishment of Jagarnath at Mahesh, where people resort in so large numbers during the great Car festival, and created those valuable endowments for the support of its worship, which have rendered the name of Mahesh so renowned in this province. The Bathing festival is attended by a large concourse of pilgrims, the gay folk coming in green boats and budgeiows from Calcutta and its neighbourhood and amusing themselves with boat-racing, singing and dancing. The temple of Nistarini, which is visible from the Sheoraphuly Railway Station, owes its most productive endowments to this zemindar family. The Baidyabati market, famous in Bengal as the emporium of all vegetable produce, was originally made over for the endowment of this temple. The income of this endowed property was over Rs. 12,000 yearly, but it has now been considerably diminished by litigation, as some portions of the property have been held by the Privy Council to have not been endowed for religious purposes and have hence changed hands very recently. To succour the distressed was the special delight of Harrish Chandra, and the temples he consecrated were the refuge of hundreds of poverty-stricken human beings who were freely maintained at the expense of the endowment. But alas! the wheel of fortune of this noble family has turned and much of its splendour and good work have vanished!

Among the female landholders of this district the name of the late Rani Rash Moni must always stand pre-eminent on account of her charity and religious works. The long line of temples at Dakhineswar on the banks of the river, with the beautiful ghât in the middle, the fine flights of steps leading down to the water's edge, still stands as a monument of her piety and devotion. Once a year this place becomes alive with the hum of thousands of pilgrims, the laughter of the merry and motley crowd, and the sombre and solemn recitals of religious poems and songs by red clothed priests. This is on the day of the anniversary of that holy monk Rajkrishna Paramhansa, who lived long amidst these sacred temples and drew scores of disciples from far and near, propagating the holy gospel of eternal truth to all. Some valuable properties have been endowed for the support of these temples, yielding an

income of about Rs. 30,000 yearly. Nor are the cravings of the poor left unsatiated. Numbers are fed daily there, and cloths and money are distributed freely amongst them during all occasions of festival. There is a temple close to Government House, Barrackpore, for which landed property with an income of ten thousand rupees yearly was endowed by that distinguished lady Rash Moni. The bathing ghât in Hooghly, Babugunj, is another memorial of her charitable disposition. Her husband Raj Chander Mar was also remarkable for public spirit. He did much good to the Hindu citizens of Calcutta by constructing a house for the moribund in Nimtola. Those splendid bathing ghâts which go by the names of Babu Ghât and Hatkhola Ghât owe their existence to his munificence and liberality and have proved very useful to the people of the metropolis.

The celebrated shrine of Tarkeshwar was originally created by one of the Rajas of Burdwan. It is superfluous to say that there is hardly any temple in Lower Bengal which is held in greater esteem and veneration by the people. An every-day sight but not the less touching, is the vast number of persons that congregate in front of the temple and, without taking a morsel of food or a drop of water, throw themselves completely on the mercy of the gods for the fruition of some desired object—either to be recovered of some incurable disease or for the fulfilment of some vow. The number of Mahommedans that go over there for this purpose is not small. The Mohunt is virtually the master of all the endowed properties. In addition to the daily feeding of the poor, the Mohunt maintains an English school and a Sanscrit *tol* in which boys are taught free of charge. The late Madhub Chunder Giri, who was himself a learned Sanscrit scholar, founded several scholarships for the education of Hindu boys in the Sanscrit College of Calcutta. He also endowed a Vedic Professorship in the Sanscrit College, and for this purpose handed over to Government a sum of Rs. 12,000 in Government Securities. There is a guest-house (*atithsala*) attached to the Tarkeshwar temple in which fifty Brahmins are maintained daily. There is also an almhouse where the needy and the poor are supplied with food. In the digging of tanks and reservoirs, and in the construction of roads and other works of public utility the Mohunt has always freely spent money. The late Mohunt Madhub Chandra Giri subscribed Rs. 1,000 towards the construction of the Hooghly Victoria Town Hall and an equal amount towards the Lady Dufferin Hospital. The days of festivity, however, which bring the largest number of pilgrims to Tarkeshwar, are the Shivoratri and the Chait Sakranti. The concourse of people assembled comes to hundreds of thousands on these occa-

sions, and the income derived from spontaneous offerings to the god of the temple is estimated authentically at the large figure of about a lakh of rupees yearly. During the famines of 1866 and 1874, the Mohunt did eminent public service by subscribing handsome donations to the famine fund, as well as by opening famine relief at Tarkeshwar and elsewhere.

It is a significant fact that even middle-class zemindars have left legacies to the poor. The Dashghora Biswas family, although not very wealthy, have maintained an English school, and their religious endowments and alms-house have done much benefit to the local public. The Haripal as well as the Makhalpore Roys have similar endowments and charities and a minor school.

The late Saroda Churan Roy of Chuckdighi made over a large amount of property for the public good by his will. Amongst his works of charity the most important is a charitable dispensary and hospital at Chuckdighi for which an endowment of Rs. 3,000 yearly has been made. It is under the able supervision of an Assistant Surgeon who is paid Rs. 100 monthly. In addition to the free distribution of medicines to the public, there are ten beds for in-door patients. A large sum of money was spent in the construction of the hospital building, which is spacious and nicely situated on the side of a public road, and its utility in a part of the district far away from the headquarters, where it was formerly impossible to get any sort of medical aid, has been remarkably proved by the large numbers of patients who have recourse to it morning and evening, every day. There is also maintained an English Entrance School called the Saroda Prosad Institution, having an endowment of equal value with that of the charitable dispensary and doing equally good service to the poor boys of the village of Chuckdighi. An *atithshala*, or guest-house, is supported, according to the directions in the will, out of the proceeds of the endowed estate, where fifty Brahmins and strangers are daily fed. In addition, the family idol has to be kept up with all the religious and ceremonial observances necessary for the purpose. This will was sought to be set aside by Chuckun Lall Roy, but after long and costly litigation the Privy Council held it to be good, reversing the judgment of the Calcutta High Court, which had declared Lolit Mohun's right, to be only a life-estate and held the reversionary right in favour of Chuckun Lall.

The Masya family of Bansberia has long been well known for its religious endowments and charity. Its wealth and importance have, I regret to say, much dwindled down of late, but still enough remains to indicate the sort of things it had done in good old days. The famous temple of the

goddess Haneswari, with its dozen golden pinnacles and images of Siva, still attests the religious enthusiasm and devotion of this ancient zemindar family. There are other temples along with it. These are all said to have been built by Rani Sankari Dassi, a pious lady of great renown. The remains of a fortress and entrenchment are still visible round the place, where peaceful burghers used to seek protection from the ravages of the Mahrattas. The income of the estate originally set apart for this endowment was about a lakh of rupees. After protracted litigation in the High Court, a considerable portion of the endowment was held invalid. The family has all along been famous for liberality and public spirit. It maintains a public library and an English school at Bansberia and still performs the religious ceremonies with *éclat*.

The late Sagore Dutta of Chinsurah, brother of the well-known Madhob Dutta, has left a princely fortune for charity. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that he gave up nearly the whole of his wealth, consisting of Calcutta house property and zemindaries, and valued at no less a sum than six lakhs of rupees, for the benefit of the public. The grand charitable dispensary and hospital at Kamarhati near Belghoria, with its separate female ward, surrounded by a large and airy compound and constructed in the best style at an immense cost, stands as a monument of his liberal heart. This endowment is now in the hands of the Administrator-General of Bengal. The hospital has fifty beds for in-door patients and is under the charge of a first class Assistant Surgeon, drawing a pay of Rs. 200 monthly. A lady doctor with a monthly pay of Rs. 50 is placed over the female ward. The Civil Surgeon of Alipore supervises the whole establishment and inspects it monthly, for which he is paid handsomely. It would be difficult to exaggerate the boon conferred on a very large number of the public of the district by the establishment of this charitable institution, the like of which very few districts in Bengal can boast of. It is immensely popular with all classes of people, and I am credibly informed that even people from Serampore, Barrackpore and Naihati go there to avail themselves of medical help.

It would be invidious if I did not include here the excellent charities of the late Bhudeb Mookherjee, who served the Education Department with so great honour and credit. Born of very poor parents, Bhudeb Chandra rose in life by dint of sheer industry and ability, and it was no small self-sacrifice for a man of his position, burdened with family and children, to dedicate almost the entire savings of a long and laborious life to the benefit of the public. A lover of Sanscrit literature and himself no mean scholar, he executed a year

before his death a deed of trust by which he endowed the sum of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees mainly for the encouragement of Sanscrit literature, distributing the annual income of this fund in the shape of yearly stipends among the indigenous *tols* of Bengal. In addition to this, there are maintained, out of the funds of the endowment, a Homœopathic and an Ayurvedic charitable dispensary as well as a free Sanscrit school (*chatuspathi*) at his house. The late Rup Lal Sen, of Chinsurah, has left a sum of one lakh of rupees in Government Securities partly for the maintenance of the poor and partly for the purpose of defraying the expenses of his family idol. Babu Lal Bihari Dutta, nephew of the late famous Jebun Pal, has opened an alms-house (*Annachatra*) at which any number of people are given food gratis and which is doing signal service in Chinsurah to the poorest members of the native community. This charity costs Lal Bihari Babu from rupees three to four hundred monthly. These three gentlemen are not zemindars in the literal sense of the word, but they have lands in Calcutta and the Mofussil for which Government revenue is payable and hence their names have been mentioned in this article.

The Tagore family of Calcutta, owning valuable landed properties throughout the province, is well known for public charity and munificence. Among its present distinguished members, Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore occupies a prominent place in native society. His ancestor, Prosonno Coomar Tagore, conferred a lasting boon on the public by his princely bequest of no less a sum than seven lakhs of rupees for religious, charitable and educational purposes. For the endowment of the 'Tagore Law Professorship' he bequeathed the splendid sum of three lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University—an endowment which has produced such brilliant results in the arena of legal lore, adding to our knowledge of law year by year and materially assisting the Bench and the Bar alike in their arduous duties. The present emoluments of the Professor who fills the chair of the Tagore Law Endowment amount to Rs. 9,000 per annum. The following terms of the bequest are given from the will:—"My will is that the 'Tagore Law Professor' shall read or deliver at some place within the town of Calcutta one complete course of Law Lectures without charge to the students or other persons who may attend such lectures. Within six months after the delivery of each course of lectures, the lectures shall be printed, and not less than 500 copies thereof shall be distributed gratuitously. I desire that the expense of such printing and distribution may be defrayed out of the residue of the annual interest of the said fund. Whatever portion of the

residue may remain after defraying the expenses, I desire that it may be devoted to the printing and publication of approved works on Law or Jurisprudence. It is my will that the said 'Tagore Law Professorship' shall, save as herein provided, be, as to the kind of law which is to be taught, and in all other matters and things, regulated by, and subject to, the control of the Senate of the said University." Thirty years have elapsed since the establishment of the endowment and twenty-seven Tagore Law professors have delivered their lectures, among whom may be cited the names of many eminent scholars and jurists. The names of Herbert Cowell, who thrice filled the exalted chair, and Sir Frederick Pollock are known to all students of law. Three of them have become Hon'ble Judges of High Courts of Justice. The Tagore Law Lectures series is now a household word in every lawyer's library. Few treatises on law can match with Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose's Law on Mortgage or Babu Upendra Nath Mittra's Law of Limitation? It is perhaps not known to many that Prosonno Coomarr Tagore was himself one of the most learned and voluminous writers of the day, chiefly on questions of law and jurisprudence.

His love of the Sanscrit language and literature was great. In those days Mulajore was famous as the Cambridge of Bengal. It has been immortalized by the muse of Bharat Chandra—the eminent poet—, who lived at Mulajore latterly and took an active part in the teaching of Sanscrit to the pupils of the local school. It was Prosonno Coomarr Tagore who by a liberal donation of Rs. 35,000 gave this ancient and renowned Sanscrit school a local habitation and abode. The Mulajore temples bear an eloquent testimony to his religious devotion and for their support he set apart some very valuable properties. To the cause of the sick and suffering humanity he was equally alive. He bequeathed a sum of one lakh of rupees towards the establishment of the Mulajore Charitable Dispensary—an institution which has proved a veritable haven to the inhabitants of Mulajore. That was the time when the scourge of malarious fever first made its appearance in this part of Lower Bengal. To all his dependants and servants who served him faithfully during his life Prosonno Coomarr left a splendid legacy of two lakhs and fifteen thousand rupees as a token of his unfailing love and sympathy for them. To the District Charitable Society and to the Native Hospital of Calcutta he made a gift of Rs. 10,000 each. It will thus be seen that the late Prosonno Coomarr Tagore's charities were as extensive and diversified in their scope as they were discreetly discriminate in their character. It required not only a noble and magnanimous mind to achieve this result, but a very wise and intelligent one also.

Like him, his successors have also been eminently liberal. In the year 1877, on the accession of Her Majesty as Queen-Empress of India, Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore made a free gift of the land on which the Mayo Hospital was built, and supplemented the gift by presenting Government with Promissory notes to the value of Rs. 10,000 in aid of that much-valued institution. In recognition of this liberality, the Government has honoured the donor by naming one of the wards of the Mayo Hospital after him. He has also founded some valuable scholarships in the name of his father and uncle. He made over to the Calcutta University in the year 1883 the sum of Rs. 3,500 in 4 per cent. Government Promissory notes in order to found two medals, a gold and a silver one, to be open to competition amongst the students of the Tagore Law Lectures. He has also set apart funds for a provision of a gold armlet (keyur) to be presented to the best student in Sanscrit literature in the Calcutta University. He has awarded another medal to the best student in Physical science. But the best and most useful endowment he has made is that for the benefit of Hindu widows. It is valued at one lakh of rupees and is given to perpetuate the memory of his deceased mother, after whom it is named 'Maharaj Mata Shib Sundari Debi's Hindu Widow's Fund.' An equally good endowment of Rs. 25,000 has been made by him for the noble object of the relief of helpless orphans.

Amongst the descendants of the late Prosonno Coomar Tagore, Raja Sourindra Mohun Tagore is second to none in point of liberality and public spirit. He is the first enlightened Native of India who studied the Sanscrit theory of music, on which he is presumably the best living authority. He founded the Bengal School of Music in August 1871 and the Bengal Academy of Music a few years afterwards, both of which institutions are conducted at his sole expense and under his authority. He maintains a charitable homœopathic dispensary in Calcutta, which is highly popular with the poorer classes of the native community. On the outbreak of the plague in the metropolis he came forward and liberally placed a large house for use as a Plague Hospital. For the equipment and maintenance of this hospital he has given a donation of Rs. 1,000. On the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and the Republics of Africa, Raja Sourindra Mohun Tagore set the noble example of contributing towards the Mansion House War Fund and towards the equipment of Lumsden's Horse. Both he and his uncle, Maharajah Jotindra Mohun Tagore, subscribed Rs. 5,000 each towards the expenses of raising Lumsden's Horse, and to their joint efforts was due in no small measure the success of the British Indian Association meeting for rais-

ing subscriptions towards the Transvaal War Fund. During times of distress the charity of the Tagore family has always been on a large scale. Maharajah Jotindra Mohun Tagore made himself conspicuous by his liberality during the great famine of 1866. In Midnapore alone, where the scarcity was very great, he made a remission of rents to his tenantry to the amount of Rs. 40,000. For the present famine he has subscribed a sum of Rs. 10,000.

Maharajah Durga Charan Law, originally of Chinsurah—the prince of merchants and a very wealthy zemindar—is greatly famous for his public spirit and liberality. As a patron of learning his fame stands high throughout Bengal. He awards every year ten studentships to poor students reading in the English department of the Hooghly College, and a scholarship of Rs. 25 per mensem to a B.A. student of the College preparing for the degree of M.A. in any branch. Besides this he gives numerous scholarships to students of the Presidency College. For these he has endowed a sum of Rs. 50,000, which have been placed in the hands of the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal. Needless to say, these scholarships help hundreds of poor boys who have absolutely no means whatever not only to prosecute their studies but to carve out their career in after-life and distinguish themselves in various spheres. He has endowed, in addition to this, several lakhs of rupees for the purpose of aiding the helpless and poor of his caste and community. In Chinsurah alone he pays monthly a sum of several hundred rupees for the maintenance of poor widows and orphans and the destitute class of natives. In Cuttack at Killah Harishpore he has built temples and endowed them with landed property fetching an annual income of Rs. 2,500. To the proposed water-works of Hooghly he has subscribed Rs. 10,000. During the famines of 1866 he took a most active part in the relief of distress, and has always liberally contributed towards all benevolent objects of public charity. His brother Shama Charan Law has done a great good to the Calcutta public by the construction and maintenance of an Eye Infirmary. It is situated just north of the Medical College Hospital. An endowment with Rs. 60,000 has been created by the donor for its maintenance. Maharajah Durga Charan Law is greatly noted for his liberality towards his tenants. He has spent about sixty thousand rupees in the district of Khulna alone in cutting canals and digging tanks in his Morelunge estate for the benefit of the poor ryots. For them he has established a charitable dispensary at Morelunge, the up-keep of which costs him Rs. 1,800 annually. His charity towards medical relief has always been on a liberal scale. To the Mayo and Dufferin hospitals he has given a donation of Rs. 5,000 each.

He supports quite a host of dispensaries at an immense cost in the Mofussil, of which I may mention the Bagerhat, Khulna, Tumluk, Chuadanga, Uluberiah, Jessore and Comillah charitable dispensaries. To the District Charitable Society he has subscribed Rs. 14,000 and to the Suverna Barnik Charity Fund Rs. 10,000. For the relief of the sufferers in the present famine he has given Rs. 10,000. The Calcutta Zoo laboratory owes its existence to the munificence of his brother Joy Gobindo Law who has made a donation of Rs. 15,000 towards its establishment.

There are few great men in this country who can vie with the Burdwan Raj in its spirit of religious devotion, public beneficence and charity. The Burdwan Palace may well be described as the fortress of Hinduism. There is not a god in the Hindu mythology to whom a temple has not been dedicated by this pious raj family. The royal style and structure of these temples must strike everyone with awe and reverence. Every temple has its necessary paraphernalia of *Natmandir* (Ball-room) and *Nobotkhana* (Concert-room), its priesthood, its customary offerings and worship, and its daily distribution of food to poor Brahmins and beggars. Not only in Burdwan, but throughout the province wherever its extensive estates are situated, are seen such spectacular visions of rows of beautiful temples with their contingent machinery of Brahmin priests and worshippers, their offerings of food and flowers, their bands of singers and pipers. The group of 108 temples popularly known as the 'Shivalaya,' situated a couple of miles from Burdwan in a large open maidan and arranged in two concentric circles, is perhaps the most notable feature amongst the whole of these numerous temples. There is also a group of fine fanes of equal number in Culna, standing charmingly on the banks of the Bhagirathi, of which the temple of Lalji is the most famous and beautiful. It is elaborately carved and ornamented and is built on high ground, with a spacious courtyard, its high and big dome with its glittering pinnacle forming the most conspicuous object of the place and its neighbourhood. During the Shivaratri festival the Shivalaya temples are illuminated and make a splendid sight. In Culna the temple of Lalji and the adjoining temples become a blaze of light during the night of the *Jhulun Jatra*. The Burdwan Palace becomes a scene of delight during the Saraswati Puja festival. The entire surroundings and buildings of the Palace are illuminated, fire-works and bon-fires blaze in every street, singing and dancing go on everywhere, and pantomimes, jugglery and mimicry are the order of the day. In the Mahtab Munzil distinguished guests are entertained with music and rich repasts. In every temple as many men are fed as can

put in an appearance. The maintenance of these religious institutions is a most heavy item of expenditure. There is a splendid endowment fetching an annual income of over a lakh of rupees (Rs. 1,11,373) for meeting these expenses alone. It is said that none ever starves in Burdwan, as well as in Culna, owing to the extensive charities of the Raj, as in every temple Brahmins and poor people can get their fill daily.

Amongst the representatives of the Raj family the late Maharajah Mahatab Chand Bahadur was a person of great ability. He managed his great estates with such marked success that they became the most prosperous in Bengal. At the time of the Santhal rebellion in 1855, and again during the troubles of the mutiny, the Maharajah did all that he could to help the Government. He placed a large number of elephants and bullock-carts at the disposal of the Government and kept open communications in the neighbouring districts. During the famine of 1866 he rendered invaluable services to the country. With princely liberality he opened up *annachatras* (almshouses) throughout his estates and was the means of saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of starving creatures. Just on the outbreak of the famine, the Maharajah made the munificent offer to Government to provide for all the destitute paupers in Burdwan entirely at his own expense. It was at once accepted by Government, and from 6th September the work of gratuitous relief in the town was made over to the Maharajah. No less than 6,000 persons were daily fed by him. Cloths were distributed gratuitously to 2,183 persons in all and subsistence money was given to enable the paupers to return to their homes when the distress subsided. The total expenditure of the Maharajah was up to the 4th November in the town alone about Rs. 20,000. Besides the distribution at the special relief houses, some hundreds of poor people were daily fed at the Maharajah's temples at Culna. As a patron of Sanscrit learning, his name stands high. His court was daily thronged by learned pundits, on whom he showered riches and honour. He caused the translation of the sacred books of the nation and spent almost a fabulous amount of wealth in carrying out this worthy object. The translation and publication, both in the original and the vernacular, of the gems of Sanscrit literature, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and the codes of Manu, Mitakshara, Jagnavalka, etc., were carried out in a most admirable manner and in a short period of time. The gigantic nature of the task is sufficient—to use Oom Paul's well-known phraseology—to stagger humanity. With a magnanimity unexampled in these days, he caused copies of these invaluable works to be freely distributed throughout the educated world among oriental

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pundits and western savants. It is very difficult to give exact facts and figures with reference to the costs incurred in these publications, but I have learnt on very good authority that not less than several lakhs of rupees were spent for the purpose.

The Raj has been most liberal towards the encouragement of learning. Its free schools and college and Sanscrit *tol* attest this most remarkably. The Burdwan Raj College was established in the year 1817 and has since been supplying the educational demands of the Burdwan public in a most satisfactory manner. It began its career as an Anglo-Vernacular School, imparting the rudiments of learning to the people in the early days of British rule, and, passing through various phases of utility, it at last developed into a Second Grade College in 1881. The educational establishment is divided into six branches: (1) The College Department, affiliated to the Calcutta University. (2) The School Department, a feeder of the above. (3) The Bengali School, teaching up to the Vernacular Scholarship Examination Standard. (4) The Persian Department, teaching those boys of the first two departments who take up Persian as their second language. (5) The Sanscrit School, imparting instruction in the orthodox native style to those whose religious scruples prevent them from availing themselves of the advantages of the English school. (6) Last, but not least, the Girl's School, the present provision in connection with which is adequate enough to meet the requirements of female education in Burdwan. The disbursements in the different departments aggregate annually about Rs. 21,000, all these being entirely met by the liberality of the Raj. What is the most prominent and praiseworthy feature of the whole machinery of educational administration is that public instruction in all its phases is imparted gratuitously to all, and several boys in consideration of their extreme indigence, besides being provided with free tuition, are maintained at the expense of the Raj. In addition to this it maintains a free Entrance School in Culna and hosts of other minor and vernacular schools throughout the zemindari. These minor educational establishments cost from seven to nine thousand rupees yearly. For the construction of the Raj College building it has spent considerably over a lakh of rupees. It maintains also a Public Library at Burdwan.

Its charitable dispensaries entail a yearly expenditure of no less than sixteen thousand rupees. The insanitary state of Burdwan and the much-dreaded fever which is named after the town have all along occupied the careful consideration of the medical authorities, and, prompted by a spirit of philanthropy, the Raj came forward with large subsidies of money to cope with the ravages of the disease by the establishment of an

excellent charitable dispensary and hospital in Burdwan. Besides maintaining a female ward in the hospital, the Raj has subscribed Rs. 25,000 to the Lady Dufferin's Zenana Hospital.

In addition to the alms-houses maintained out of religious endowments, the Raj maintains several others in Burdwan and elsewhere at a cost of Rs. 20,000 yearly. It subsidises various other charitable institutions all over the country at an annual expense of Rs. 8,262. For the preservation of cattle and for breeding purposes it spends yearly Rs. 8,430, and for the delectation of the public it has kept up a menagerie and *philkhana* at an expenditure of over Rs. 12,000 yearly. The Burdwan water-works owe their existence to the munificence and liberality of the Raj. Much of the credit for this wise and liberal administration of the Burdwan Raj is due to Raja Bon Bihari Kapur, the natural father of the present minor Maharajah of Burdwan. Appointed sole manager in 1891, he has since very ably and wisely steered the ship of estate through troublous and tempestuous seas, winning fresh laurels for his industry and capability every year and the golden opinion of everybody who came in contact with him. We all sincerely wish the young Maharaj Kumar long life and prosperity. When he comes of age, may he follow the noble example of munificent liberality and beneficence which his illustrious forefathers have set before him!

I close this article with the following details of the works of public utility constructed by the zemindars of the Hooghly district:—

1. Tribeni bridge (masonry)—by Frankissen Halidar.
2. Metalled road from Ghyretty to Chandernagore—Kasinath and other Banerjees of Teliniparah. Surya Mohan Banerjee founded two scholarships for the Hooghly College.
3. Iron suspension bridge of Satgaon—Raja of Burdwan and other zemindars.
4. Iron suspension bridge, Mogra—Raja of Burdwan.
5. Smyth's ghât—Chakuram Singh and other zemindars.
6. Gholghât—Ranikumar Roy, zemindar.
7. Old Benares road to Janai—Ram Naryan Mookherjee, zemindar.
8. Buxagori road to Balagarh—Bhogobatty Charan Bose, zemindar.
9. Hât Bahadurgung to Jirat—Madan Dutt, zemindar.
10. Magra to Bhastrara—Chakuram Singh, zemindar.
11. Iron suspension bridge, Nanserai—Raja of Burdwan and other zemindars.
12. Nanserai to Culna road and two bridges—Raja of Burdwan.

13. Hooghly Branch School—Burdwan Raj, Dwarka Nath Tagore and other zemindars (with a zemindari scholarship of Rs. 8 monthly for the same).
14. Road from Jonai to Saraswati and Connagore—Zemindars of Jonai.
15. Road from Baidyabati to Govindpore. The same zemindars of Jonai.
16. Feeder road from Haripal to Bunderhatty—By Nri-shingha Chandra Addy at a cost of Rs. 15,000.
17. Kholsini road—By the sons of late Nil Rotton Bose of Chandernagore.
18. Road from Mohiri to Howrah—By Annoda Prosad Kundu Chowdhury at a cost of Rs. 20,310. He also maintains a school and an alms-house at Mohiri.
19. Kyekala H. C. E. School—By Brindabon Chandra Bose, zemindar, and solely maintained by him.
- 20.—Andul H. C. E. School—By the Raja of Andul, who also maintains an *atithsala* in Andul.
21. Rajgung and Andul road—By the Andul Raj at a cost of Rs. 8,000.
22. Saraswati Bridge at Andul—By the Andul Raj.
23. Road from Burdwan to Culna extending over 30 miles—By the Raja of Burdwan.

There is hardly a single road in the Hooghly district which has not been constructed by the zemindars. They have also materially assisted Government in the construction of the following roads :—

- (1) The road from Baidyabati to Haripal ; (2) from Chinsurah to Dhoniakhali ; (3) from Hooghly to Dwarbasini ; (4) from Pandooah to Culna ; (5) from Howrah to Jagutbullabpore. It is these communications which have given so great an impetus to the growing trade and prosperity of the district, and they have all been made, most of them entirely, and some partly, at the expense of the landholding class. It is not only in the district of Hooghly, but in others as well, that the public spirit of the zemindars has been manifest in this way.

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ART. VIII—THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA.

“INDIA possesses,” says Sir William Wedderburn, “the conditions of almost boundless agricultural wealth. In her vast domain she has climates suited to every known product. She has a fertile soil and an unfailing sun, with abundant labour, skilful and cheap. Give the ryot that, on reasonable terms, so that he may be able to command a proper supply of water and manure, and he will produce in perfection every valuable crop known to cultivation. But unfortunately at present the ryot as a class has no capital.”

India is a vast country, almost a Continent, full of inexhaustible natural resources. Her poverty is mainly due to ignorance, prejudice, and want of enterprising spirit on the part of her people to develop and utilise these resources and thereby bring out her potential wealth. Instead of joining in an indiscriminate rush, either towards the learned professions, which have ceased to be lucrative by reason of overcrowding and keen competition, or to Government service, the scope of which is too limited to afford employment to more than a few, they would do well to cultivate the growth of local industries. These are mainly the construction of Railways, Canals and Irrigation Works, roads and bridges, the reclamation of marshes, the provision and regulation of a local water-supply, and a better method of conducting agricultural and manufacturing operations. The last two fall within the scope of private enterprise ; the rest are largely dependent upon Government aid.

Of the three principal elements for the production of wealth, land, labour, and capital, India possesses a unique advantage as regards the first two. She has an abundance of fertile and culturable land and available cheap labour. The deficiency of capital can be remedied by means of Joint Stock Companies which, if well organised and conducted on economical principles, would afford the means of turning to good account small capitals belonging to several individuals. Small capitals, which, if separately applied, would do little towards the production of wealth, are brought together by Joint Stock Companies and accomplish industrial works of the utmost importance. A thousand individuals who have saved Rs. 1,000 each, may not have the time, capacity or inclination themselves to employ the money in business. If each of these individuals subscribed his Rs. 1,000 to one common fund, a capital would be created sufficient to work a large Manchester manufactory, and they

would become proprietors and promoters of a great commercial concern, annually employing many hundreds of labourers.

All the available means of enriching India being at hand, how is it that she is getting poorer and poorer day by day? Why are vast areas of land lying fallow for want of cultivation? Why are local industries gradually dying out and giving place to foreign enterprise? Why, notwithstanding many local advantages, are the people of India being beaten hollow in the contest for commercial supremacy? The reason is not far to seek. They lean too much on State support. They have a mistaken notion that everything must be done by Government for the people and nothing by the people, forgetting the golden principle that God helps those who help themselves. The principles of free-trade have been pronounced by competent authorities to be more beneficial than those of protection. State aid clogs and hampers private industry instead of fostering it.

Then, again, the middle class gentry, though poor, labour under a narrow prejudice against agricultural or commercial pursuits, which they are in the habit of treating as menial, ignoring the important truth, that no avocation, so long as it is an honest means of gaining a livelihood, is ignoble. Prejudice against sea-travel has also a considerable share in keeping the people of India ignorant of modern improvements in the arts of agricultural and manufacturing industry. The reason why the native handicrafts have been to a great extent supplanted by European industries conducted with the help of machinery is that the Hindus who constitute the bulk of the Indian population cannot overcome the popular prejudice against visiting foreign countries to obtain scientific knowledge, without which it is hopeless to carry on these pursuits successfully in competition with European skill and machinery. They ought to know that travelling by sea to foreign countries for the purpose of acquiring useful knowledge is not against the principles of Hindu religion. According to the authority of the Mahabharat what is beneficial to mankind is in conformity with religion. As useful sea-travel is beneficial to mankind, it is perfectly allowable although not sanctioned by the Dharma-Shastras. The Hindu religion, as inculcated in the Upanishads and the Geeta, is liberal in its provisions. In case of conflict between these original Scriptures and the Dharma-Shastra, which is a later compilation, the authority of the former should prevail. There is no conflict between true religion and *shanatan* (everlasting) Hindu religion. Sea-travel as it is beneficial to mankind is consistent with true religion and, therefore, consistent with Hindu religion irrespectively of the provisions of the Dharma-Shastras.

Let us now see what are the best methods of developing the local industries in India. These industries are mainly two, agricultural and manufacturing.

AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

India is purely an agricultural country, nearly 83 per cent. of her population being agricultural. When so large a proportion of the people are engaged in husbandry, they will fare badly unless it undergoes considerable improvement. "No doubt the margin of cultivation," says Mr. T. N. Mukerji, "has rapidly expanded on all sides. Where formerly the roar of the tiger broke the stillness of the sleeping jungle, the busy hum can be heard of the multitude reaping the golden harvest. A more careful cultivation has also enabled valuable to take the place of less valuable crops." But our peasants are ignorant of agricultural science even of an elementary character. Their imperfect knowledge of the nature and properties of the soil, of the best means of manuring it, of the choice of seeds, and their inability to protect their crops from the ravages of birds and insects, prevent them from obtaining the best available outturn.

The nature of the soil is different in different parts of India. Some soils are low, others high, some moist and marshy, others hard and rocky, some waste and sterile, others arable and fertile. How to improve the soil, to know what particular soil is adapted to the growth of a particular crop, or how many different crops can be annually raised without impairing the fertility of the soil, in these and other divers matters the husbandmen are guided more by a sort of instinct than the principles of agricultural science. They can deal only with the limited cases coming within the range of their experience, and when anything unusual turns up, they are out of their element. If to their natural sagacity they added the advantage of agricultural knowledge of a scientific nature, much benefit would be derived.

The outturn of crops is materially affected by the ignorance of our peasantry of the best method of manuring the soil. What sort of manure is adapted to particular soils, when, how, and in what proportion to use it, cannot be satisfactorily known without some knowledge of chemistry. The result is that the capital and labour bestowed upon land often go for nothing. It is high time that steps should be taken to teach the husbandmen the art of manuring so as to reduce the chance of failure of crops to a minimum.

The want of a proper knowledge and choice of seed has also its share in the failure or scanty growth of crops. The husbandmen, on account of their necessities, consume or dispose

of all their paddy and wheat, keeping little or nothing for seed. This is either advanced to them by the landlord or has to be obtained by borrowing. Seed secured under such difficulties cannot be expected to be the best, or such as the tenant requires. The choice is often left to the landlord, who, in most cases not having seen the land and not knowing its nature and properties, is in a worse position than the tenant to make a proper selection. The agricultural knowledge of a scientific nature, so needful in these matters, should, under existing circumstances, begin at least with the land-holding classes, from whom, by a natural process of filtration, it will gradually permeate to the cultivators of the soil.

The art of agriculture has retained its indigenous character in India, and is susceptible of much improvement. For instance, the ploughing machine may be so constructed as to be capable of being drawn by one bullock instead of two as are necessary at present. A similar alteration in the machine may, when worked with two bullocks, be made to form two furrows at a time instead of one. The English plough, no doubt, turns up more earth and makes a deeper cut than the implement used by the Indian peasant, but if we calculate the comparative net profits after deducting the expenses of cultivation by means of the two implements, the native method is more remunerative. While the use of simple tools is indispensably necessary, the opinion of experts may be advantageously availed of with a view to introducing the use of such English implements of husbandry as are simple, fit for using with bullocks, and productive of larger profits than are derived by the use of native tools.

Some knowledge of Botany is necessary to improve our horticulture and agriculture. As our preservation and healthy existence depend upon a knowledge of medical science, so those of the vegetable kingdom depend upon a knowledge of Botany. Inability to protect their crops from the ravages of birds and insects is another cause why our peasants cannot reap a full harvest. It has been stated on good authority that through the ravages of the weevil in the grain of India, no less a sum than half a crore of rupees is annually lost to the country. By counteracting the ravages of this insect, this amount could be secured and the wealth of India correspondingly increased.

An objection may be raised that our husbandmen are so ignorant that it would be difficult to give them even an elementary agricultural education, but it should be borne in mind that they have practical knowledge of the subject sufficient to enable them to understand and profit by the kind of theoretical knowledge which they require.

A primitive system of husbandry which sufficed to meet the wants of a scanty population when there was abundance of land available, no longer suffices now that the demand for human food has become so great and so large an area of poor soil has to be tilled.

Sir James Caird, probably the highest agricultural authority in England, says: "The agricultural system, except in the rich and irrigated lands, is to eat or sell every saleable article the land produces, to use the manure of the cattle for fuel, and to return nothing to the soil in any proportion to that which is taken away. Crop follows crop without intermission, so that Indian agriculture is becoming simply a process of exhaustion."

The test of agricultural success lies in making the land yield not only a greater quantity, but a better quality, of crops than is ordinarily produced. This can be done only by a better system of manuring the land, and by those improved methods of cultivation that have been pointed out in the preceding pages. The various superior specimens of country produce shown in Exhibitions establish the fact that the soil is capable of producing a superior quality of crops, if only the requisite amount of skilful labour is bestowed on it. There are certain fruits which greatly improved when produced in certain localities, such as the oranges of Sylhet and the mangoes of Bombay and Maldah. Experiments should be made in order to produce such superior fruits in other parts of India. Similar experiments should be tried on potatoes and Indian corn.

Gradually the experiment should be extended to foreign produce. Cabul fruits of various description are remarkable for their excellence. Has anybody tried the experiment of introducing their cultivation in India? No doubt English fruits and vegetables are grown in India, but we should not stop short until we have succeeded in producing these exotics as excellent as they are in the country of their origin. For this purpose a knowledge of the nature and properties of the soil is indispensably necessary. There are instances in which Europeans have made considerable fortunes by taking on lease vast areas of what had hitherto remained waste and successfully cultivating a particular crop or discovering mines. Europeans have opened our eyes not only to the wonderful capabilities of the soil, but the excellent properties of many plants and vegetables which we formerly regarded as useless. For instance, wild tea grew in this country; but nobody knew its uses until European planters began its cultivation here. The tea industry has attained a great development, especially in Assam. But, like many other local industries, it has been monopolised by foreigners. British capitalists have sown and

are now reaping the harvest hundred-fold. Yet for the last five seasons the tea of Mr. M. L. Haldar, Manager, National Tea Company, has secured the highest prices in the market. It is not lack of capacity, but lack of enterprise, which stands in the way of native progress in the development of the local industries in India.

THE COTTON INDUSTRY.

The cotton industry of India, which had almost died out, shows signs of revival, at least in Bombay. Mr. Jansetjee N. Tata, a public-spirited gentleman of Bombay, who has recently established a handsome endowment for the encouragement of original research, published, some time ago, a valuable memorandum suggesting experiments on a large scale in the growth of Egyptian cotton in India. "The present state of our cotton industry in India, is," he writes, "a subject of great anxiety not only to the capitalists who have invested very large sums in the erection and purchase of buildings and machinery but to all who have the well-being of India at heart. Our greatest reliance is at present on a foreign country, China. But there is an awakening of the nations of the farthest East. The new infant prodigy Japan is advancing in all the arts and sciences with leaps and bounds, and the old giant China seems to be just awakening from her sleep of ages. Then Germany, Austria and Belgium have seriously come forward to compete with England in the effort to stuff us with their manufacturies. Under these circumstances it has become an obvious necessity for us all to consider how our young industry is to be saved from threatened destruction."

If we look at the statistics of our foreign imports, our attention is at once riveted by the enormous amount of grey, dyed and printed goods we receive at our four principal ports. The sum of these imports totals up to an average of not less than thirty crores of rupees per annum. These are principally superior classes of goods made from foreign cotton. Some passable wefts of the coarser grades may be made from our home-grown cotton; but for the higher classes of goods the use of exotic cotton is more or less necessary. If India were enabled to grow for herself the long-stapled varieties she would derive immense benefit in three different directions:—

- (1) Her agriculturists would have an additional and probably more paying crop to handle.
- (2) The country would gain by having so much less foreign produce to import and pay for.
- (3) The State would gain immensely in its exchange operations if India were not under the necessity of

importing goods to clothe her people to the extent of very nearly 30 crores per annum.

If the cultivation of Egyptian cotton proved at all feasible, it might be the means of solving one of the greatest problems of the generation.

THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

The sugar industry of India is being gradually developed. The area under sugarcane has enormously increased during the last quarter of a century; while the task of extracting the juice has been cheapened and simplified by the introduction of the portable roller mills which India owes to the enterprise of Messrs. Burrows, Thompson & Co. The immense home-production has not, however, sensibly affected foreign imports. Almost every tropical country is laid under contribution. Mauritius, the Islands of the Spanish Main, South America, even Germany compete to supply an ever-growing demand. And yet it admits of no dispute that the consumption of sugar would be still vaster, but for the suspicion with which orthodox Hindus regard the refined article. For most people know that the snowy color so much admired in the higher grades is the result of filtration through layers of animal charcoal made by calcining the bones of animals both clean and unclean. The people of India must overcome the prejudice against the use of sugar refined by the above process before they can be expected to improve the sugar industry of the country. In most countries the opportunity of catering for a population twice as large as Russia would long since have been seized upon by capitalists. Here, in spite of the contagion of foreign enterprise, it is only within the last few years that an attempt has been made to exploit this untrodden field.

The Cawnpore Sugar Works, a limited company with a capital of six lakhs, largely held by Indians, is engaged in turning out daily 15 to 20 tons of refined sugar of absolute purity. Cawnpore has been selected as the sphere of its operations, because it is the greatest railway centre in India, has an abundance of cheap labour, and is already an important market for crude sugar. "At present," says Mr. Skrine, late of the Indian Civil Service, "the company's sugar is largely bought by brokers who insist on supplying their own bags and who dub it by whatever name stands highest for the time in the market. Now the old proverb 'good wine needs no bush' certainly does not apply in modern commerce. He who wishes to succeed must 'boom' his wares. The company would be well advised if they inserted on every bag a certificate in several languages, signed by a Hindu of high caste, and great repute, testifying to its purity. The contents should be

secured by a leaden seal bearing the sign of Saraswati, which might also be stamped very legibly on each bag. Agents should be appointed for the vend of this special product at all the great centres of population. With these precautions the Cawnpore Sugar Works would soon become a household word in millions of Hindu families, and its wares would be in equal request with all who value purity in the great sweetener of their existence."

THE MINERAL INDUSTRY.

The mineral wealth of India has to some extent been developed. The soil in any place is chiefly composed of underlying rocks which largely determine its value and show its capabilities. There is, therefore, great reason for acquiring a knowledge of the geology of the country. India is rich in good iron ore, but without coal it cannot be smelted on a large scale. For a number of years scientific men have been engaged in the Geological Survey of India, and already several valuable coalfields have been discovered. The East Indian Railway uses Bengal coal costing only Rs. 2 per ton, while imported coal costs Rs. 15. The saving to the company in 1885 alone amounted to upwards of 30 lakhs. Nor is this the only gain. Mr. T. N. Mukerjee estimated that through the coal and coke brought to Calcutta no less than 50 lakhs a year was saved to that city and its neighbourhood.

"By the introduction of coal and coke the land formerly covered with firewood trees has been relieved for the cultivation of rice. Not only have those lands been made available for a more valuable crop, but by the substitution of an underground product, the whole of the present underground product is so much new wealth to the country."

The principal art of production of wealth lies in this, that every country should mainly produce that for which it has the greatest natural advantages. England is rich in coal and iron the great requirements of modern manufactures. It is, therefore, most profitable to England to import food and raw produce giving in exchange manufactured goods. India has plenty of iron ore, but it has only scattered patches of coal without which the former is of little avail. It is also only recently that these patches have been worked. On the other hand India has fertile plains with brilliant sun-shine, favourable to the growth of cotton, grain, indigo, &c. While manufactures should be encouraged, India must remain chiefly agricultural.

FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Steps should be taken to improve foreign commerce, for it has proved a great incentive to the production of wealth.

The husbandman of Bengal formerly grew almost everything for himself. A holding then, upland or low-land, with clayey or sandy soil, was forced to produce all manner of crops whether the soil was favourable or not for the growth of a particular crop. Now, with money in his pocket to buy oil, one finds it pays him better to grow paddy on land on which he formerly grew oilseeds; while another at the same time finds it more lucrative to sow oilseeds where formerly he sowed rice. Jute had no exchangeable value before; it has been converted into gold by the mere touch of foreign trade. Some years ago myrabolams could be seen rotting in the jungles; foreign trade has turned them into valuable commodities.

It is gratifying to note that foreign commerce has increased from 2 crores a year to 190 crores. Mr. T. N. Mukerjee says :—

“The vast increase in our exports and imports, that has taken place of late years, signifies that our increasing purchasing power is being utilised for the purchase of articles which we now consider necessary for the satisfaction of our wants. The increase in our purchasing power has taken place owing to the following reasons :—

(1) The readiness other countries have expressed to exchange their goods for our goods; (2) the facilities afforded for this exchange by a settled Government and the improved means of inter-communication between different countries; (3) the increase in the quantity of our wealth by increased production; (4) the increase in the value of our wealth compared with foreign wealth with which it is exchanged.”

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves. False ideas with regard to labour should be given up. Educated young men in India should be willing to engage in any occupation that offers an honest livelihood. “The sooner the idea that Government employment is the Ultima Thule of education is scooped out of the heads of our youths the better. The wielding of a spade or the driving of a plough, or the treading of a watering lever in one's interest, is not a whit less honourable than scratching foolscap by goose-quills, taken by itself.”

Side by side with agricultural improvement there should be development of the manufactures of the country. One thing which struck Sir James Caird was the number of idle people in India.

“In no agricultural country that I know of are so many people to be seen stalking idly about during the hours of labour

as in India. The streets and court-houses and yards are full of idlers ; the roads are never empty, and the railway stations and native railway carriages are crammed with people. Entering a village at any hour of the day you are surrounded by idlers. Much of this arises from the absence of other occupations than agriculture."

The Famine Commissioners begin their report by saying : —

"We have elsewhere expressed our opinion that at the root of much of the poverty of the people of India, and the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and that no remedy for the present can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such support."

Sir William Hunter thus pointed out the necessity of using every means for improving Indian manufacture. "There is no use in disguising the fact that India has to compete with other countries in her industries in a way which she has not done before. India has to compete with Australia for wheat, with China for tea, with California and other countries, and she will only be able to do this if she gives her children the same kind of education as the people of those places have. That lies at the root of all technical education. We wish that our agriculture shall beat the agriculture of other countries ; that our artisans in metals shall beat the artisans of other countries ; that our employes in cotton mills shall beat those of other countries ; and if you are to enable them to go so far, you must give them the education of those in the other countries, and I sincerely hope that the country will take hold of this feeling."

Among the articles or processes may be named the manufacture and refining of sugar ; the tanning of hides ; the manufacture of fabrics of cotton, wool and silk ; the preparation of fibres of other sorts and of tobaccos ; the manufacture of paper, pottery, glass, soap and candles. We should not forget the old saying current in our country that commerce is the abode of the goddess of wealth. Some of these arts are already practised with success at Government establishments, such as the tannery at Cawnpore, which largely supplies harness for the army. The resolution of the Government of India, that in all cases where Indian manufactures can be obtained as good in quality as imported articles and not dearer in price they shall be substituted for them, is an encouragement to their production.

The plan proposed by the Famine Commissioners is as follows :—

“In treating of the improvement of agriculture we have indicated how we think the more scientific methods of Europe may be brought into practical operation in India by help of specially trained experts, and the same general system may, we believe, be applied with success both to the actual operations of agriculture and to the preparation for the market of the raw agricultural staples of the country. Nor does there appear any reason why action of this sort should stop short at agricultural produce, and should not be extended to the manufactures which India now produces on a small scale or in a rude form, and which with some improvement might be expected to find enlarged sales and could take the place of similar articles now imported from foreign countries.”

KAILAS CHUNDRA KANJILAL, B.L.

ART IX.—LORD LYTTON AND THE AFGHANS.

LADY BETTY BALFOUR'S pious labour has recalled the memory of a national tragedy which has been somewhat hidden from the present generation by more recent anxieties. But the events of 1878-80 have not passed away without leaving permanent marks upon the fortunes of British India. Pollock and Pelly are gone—the two men who could have told most about the genesis of the trouble. All the protagonists, Nemesis, with her sinister smile, has swept into her bag; Sher Ali in exile and despair, Colley and Cavagnari in bloody tumult, Lord Lytton himself—all have disappeared; and it is left to us to review their doings and take note of the lessons they have left. Lady Betty has done her work with intelligence and zeal; and two of the few competent survivors, Sir J. Strachey and Sir A. C. Lyall, have given help. Other matters—famine, finance, etc., have come under notice; but no doubt can be felt, but that the chapters of deepest actuality are those which relate to the Afghan nation and the war.

As the first duty of critics is to criticise let us get that part of our task over by pointing out two objections which can be easily met in a second edition. The one is to the form and bulk of the work. It weights $2\frac{3}{4}$ pounds avoirdupois, and it may safely be wagered that the fair author has never attempted to read it on her sofa. The other is the inattentive proof-reading which has led to printers' errors unusual in a work issued by the house of Longman. Of these the drollest is at page 53, where the word "khureeta" is made to mean the name of a place, instead of what we all know—or should know—to be its true signification. "Sir L. Pelly will be accompanied by Dr. Bellew and Major St. John, for the purpose of delivering at *Khureeta* a letter, etc." Slips of this kind ought to be corrected by a careful and competent reader, whose attention might also be drawn to errors of detail such as that on page 18, where Lord Dalhousie is represented as making a treaty with the Amir Dost Mohammed in 1357, more than a year after he had laid down his office and gone home to die. As for the shape and size of the book—which is at present a sore obstacle to its enjoyment—an improvement could be made by dividing it into two parts, war and Administration, and issuing it in two handy volumes, of which one would deal with Famine work and Finance, the other being confined to the subject now under notice.

The first Chapter is that in which the direct inspiration of Sir J. Strachey is most perceptible; and the reader will regret

to find that ill-health has caused a diminution of his valuable aid in later portions. It contains, however, important matter, now for the first time made public, which goes far to absolve Lord Lytton from responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities. In earlier days he had sat at the feet of John Lawrence when that advocate of "masterly inactivity" was his neighbour at Bocket: the causes of his conversion are shown here from authentic and hitherto unedited correspondence. The Chapter gives a fair comparison of the Laurentian doctrine with the "forward policy," reducing the differences to a comparatively narrow field. Both Lawrence and his opponents were for maintaining the integrity of the Afghan State; where they differed was as to the method. According to Lawrence the State was to be regarded as entirely independent, to be protected, as an ally: all threats or aggressions from Russia to be at once taken up as *casus belli* against that Empire. The "Forwards" on the other hand, regarded the Amir and his dominions as an informal annexe or dependency—the relation was not clearly defined—, and our action was to be mainly applied to keeping things quiet by the presence and instrumentality of British Agents at Herat and Kandahar. The writers of the 1st Chapter admit that Lord Lytton was appointed and instructed in order that he might carry out this latter scheme, which thus becomes a part of the general policy of the Cabinet of St. James, in which India was little more than a passive implement.

War was probably contemplated from the first. Hostilities with Russia, indeed, formed no part of the original programme; not only because it was an element of the policy to deal with Kabul rather than with Petersburg, but because the Czar's Government had accepted the northern frontier of the Afghan territory as the limit of his influence. But the Amir Sher Ali had long been in a sullen humour; and from the moment when Mr. Disraeli contemplated the possibility of having to interfere on behalf of Turkey in the impending attack by Russia, it must have been clear that trouble would arise for us in Central Asia.

Lord Lytton became Viceroy of India in March 1876, and in November of the same year General Ignatieff presented his famous ultimatum to the Porte; on the 24th April 1877 the Czar declared war against Turkey; and in May the British Foreign Secretary addressed a remonstrance to the Cabinet of the Czar; but by the end of the year the Turks had ceased to offer any valid resistance to the Muscovite advance, which in January 1878 was approaching Adrianople. The British Government lost not a day in making preparations for war, and on the 31st Parliament was called on for a vote

of credit avowedly for that object. In April (during the recess of Parliament) a considerable body of troops was ordered from India to the Mediterranean. This measure was immediately met by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg with an order to the Governor-General of Turkistan to depute a Mission to Kabul.

So far all is plain: the difficulty arises when we enquire how far the coming of this Mission—which reached Kabul in July—was a justification for the steps taken by the Government of India. What Lord Lytton did was was to call upon the Amir to receive a British Mission at Kabul in the same manner. The Amir had two lines of excuse: he had not invited the Russian Mission; and by this time it had departed, or was about to do so. It has since been averred that Sher Ali had even gone the length of causing the death of the Afghan official who had allowed the Russian Mission to pass his fortified station: and Yákub Ali, the son and successor of Sher Ali, afterwards assured Sir F. Roberts that the Russian Mission left Kabul, *proprio motu*, as soon as the Berlin Congress was known to have assembled. Yákub also said—and it is quite confirmed by the book under notice—that General Kaufmann, the Governor-General of Turkestan, had been in correspondence with Sher Ali ever since 1873.

But none of these things were Sher Ali's fault; and the question was at once raised in London, by no less than Lord Lawrence himself, whether it was necessary to regard them as affording the Government of India a just ground for quarrelling with the Amir, or even for exerting any pressure upon his Highness that might amount to a provocation?

But Lord Lytton's mind was by this time made up. He had long formed a very strong preconception on the subject. According to this view, Sher Ali was very much the same sort of man that President Kruger has since been taken to be: "Sher Ali is not only a savage, but he is a savage with a touch of insanity. . . . During the last twelve months he has been arming to the teeth," (page 244.) Again, after pointing out the nature of the opportunity which was now offered, he proceeds—in the same despatch—"one last word I am persuaded that the policy of building up in Afghanistan a strong and independent State, over which we can exercise absolutely no control, has been proved by experience to be a mistake." (246.) He therefore came to the conclusion that the independence of the Afghan Power ought to be absorbed, with a feudatory Khanate on the western border—"the destinies of Kabul itself would then be to us a matter of no importance." (247) Ultimately British India and Asian Russia might become continuous; and with that object in view he proposed the creation of a "scientific frontier" (250).

The first move towards this grandiose design was evidently the destruction of Sher Ali ; and it was with that ulterior object that Lord Lytton urged on the British Government that he should 'not merely propose to the Amir the reception of a European British Envoy in Kabul, but should be authorised to "insist upon it." (page 270). This he did knowing that it was likely, if not certain, that Sher Ali would refuse, as he had already refused to allow such an officer to be even posted to Herat (85-87.)

That Lord Lytton was a man of genius may not be denied ; but two things are clearly demonstrated by the logic of events. The policy was his own in the sense in which the somewhat similar policy of Auckland in a former generation was the policy of that ruler ; and the undertaking has failed in the one case as much as it did in the other. Auckland's attempt on the independence of Afghanistan cost the British Empire fifteen millions of money, and ended in Dost Mahomed becoming stronger than he had been before, and founding a dynasty. Lord Lytton's undertaking, after a vast expenditure of blood and treasure, ended in the establishment of the present Amir, Abdur Rahman, in greatly enhanced power, and left the scientific frontier to be settled by his successors after a dispute with Russia in which the Government of India deserted its ally, and from which it emerged with difficulty and not without humiliation.

These are facts, not opinions. They do not detract from the merits of Lady B. Balfour's book, its calm tone and patient research. Nor ought they to detract from the admiration due to her distinguished parent, who—in constant ill-health and under the opposition of many reluctant colleagues—confronted heavy trials with gentle and unflinching courage. But perhaps he was made for other things than to be an antitype of his father's ballad, from Schiller, descriptive of Pegasus in harness.

ART. X.—THE BARA BHUYAS OF BENGAL.

THE close of the sixteenth century was a very troublous period for Bengal, the severe struggle which the Afghans and the Moguls were then making for supremacy having thrown the country into the utmost confusion. Taking advantage of this disturbed state of things, twelve principal zemindars, who are known as the Bâra Bhûyas, took up an attitude of independence. The status of these Bhûyas is not easily determinable. In fact, very little is known of the Bengal landholders before Akbar's reign. But this much is certain, that, about the year 1541, Sher Shah divided the districts of Bengal among a number of officers who were independent of each other; and that a few years afterwards Islam Khan abolished all former regulations regarding jagirs. Both history and tradition inform us that the twelve Bhûyas were independent of each other, that their rank and jurisdiction were hereditary, that they retained armed men and war-vessels, that they remitted to the Governor the revenue of their districts, and that they yielded a general obedience to the ruling power at Delhi. In some respects they were jagirdars and chakladars; but they more closely resembled the zemindars of later times. These Bhûyas ruled in East and South Bengal, and their territories lay in portions of the modern districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Tippera, Noakhali (Bhullooah), Backargunge, Faridpur (Bhusnah) and Jessore.

Of these aristocratic lords, as Purchas calls them, seven were Mahomedans and five Hindus. Some of these Bhûyas were visited by the famous London merchant, Ralph Fitch, and he says that owing to the very unsettled state of the country they were in rebellion against the Great Mogul, Gelaluddin Akbar. Of all the Bhûyas Isa Khan of Khizrpur was the most powerful. He is described by the author of the *Ain-i-Akbari* as the lord of Lower Bengal and as ruler over twelve great zemindars. His father was a Bais Rajput of Oude, who, coming to Bengal during the reign of Hossein Shah, became a convert to Mahomedanism, receiving on that occasion the title of Sulaiman Khan. The new convert was honoured by the king with the hand of a princess who bore him two sons and one daughter. Their father being slain in battle, the two sons were taken prisoners, and sold as slaves. They were subsequently traced to Turan (Tartary), whence they were brought back by their uncle, Kutubuddin.

Like his father Isa Khan also married a princess and rose high in power and opulence. When, after Daud's defeat in 1576, his

scattered forces sought shelter in the Bhati country, he, in concert with Kárim Dad and Ibrahim, took command of them and proclaimed his independence. In 1583 the Mogul General, Shahbaz Khan, attacked Baktárápur, his residence, and, having destroyed it, took possession of his capital Sonárgáon. By this time Isa had probably acquired the position of Bhùya, as he was especially designated "the rich zemindar." After his defeat, he fled by ship to Chittagong, whence, collecting a body of soldiers he returned to Bengal and lay siege to the fort of the Raja of Kuch Bihar. After capturing the fort he constructed a dwelling-house at Khizrpur, which is situated about a mile to the north of Náráyangang. He subsequently subdued a considerable portion of East Bengal and erected forts at Rangamati on the frontier of Assam; at Tribeni, opposite to Náráyangang, and at Egárahsindhu, where the Lukhia branches off from the Brahmaputra.

Sircar Sonárgáon, which was the ninth on Todarmall's rent-roll, and comprehended also some parts of the present districts of Tippera and Noakhali, was, with the exception of pargana Bikrampur, included in his rule. In fact, he was the lord of East Bengal. Ralph Fitch visited Sonárgáon in 1586, and he has described Isa Khan as "the chief of all the other kings and a great friend to the Christians."

When Man Singh invaded East Bengal in 1595, he advanced to Egárahsindhu and besieged that strong fortress. Isa, who was then absent on an expedition, hastened to its relief, and challenged the proud Rajput to single combat. The challenge was accepted, but Man Singh sent in his stead, his son-in-law who was defeated and slain by the brave Isa. Then Man Singh himself entered the lists, but in the first encounter he lost his sword; whereupon the generous Isa offered him his own sword. Man Singh, without accepting it, dismounted from his horse. Isa also did the same and dared his adversary to a wrestling bout. Instead of acceding to his wish, the noble Rajput, struck with the chivalrous conduct of the man, embraced him in the sacred name of friendship. Thus matters ended happily.

Isa accompanied Man Singh to Agra, where the Emperor, being informed of the remarkable combat at Egárahsindhu, conferred upon him the titles of *Dewan* and *Masned-i-Ali* and made him a grant of several parganas in Bengal. After this we hear nothing of Isa. He appears to have died in 1598. His grandson, Masum Khan, was present at the siege and capture of Hooghly in 1632. The Bhùya rule in Sonárgáon was followed by the rule of the Mahomedan Kazis.

What Isa Khan was in East Bengal, Pratápáditya was in South Bengal. Pratáp was a Bangaja Kayastha, and was the

son of Vikramāditya. The latter was the grandson of Ram Chandra Ray, who was employed in some Government office under the Mahomedan Viceroy of Sâtgaon. The former seat of the family was Raigarh, whence Pratápāditya removed to Jessore, so called from its having stripped Gaur of its glory. As the possessions of Pratápāditya principally lay at the mouths of the Ganges, he was styled the hero of the Sundarbans. Purchas describes him as the "king of Candecan." "Candecan" (Chandkhan) was probably the name of the pargana of which Jessore was the capital.

Pratáp's daughter was married to the young Raja Ram Chandra Ray of Chandradwip, while his son married into the noble house of Sripur. But, though he bore such close relations to those two renowned families, he was anything but friendly to them. He quarrelled with the chief of Sripur; and, as for his son-in-law the Raja of Chandradwip, he attempted to kill him for the sake of his vast estates, which he always viewed with a longing eye. Ram Chandra narrowly escaped from the trap which had been laid for him, and the natural consequence was that the son-in-law became a mortal enemy of the father-in-law. In this quarrel Ram Chandra's wife suffered the most. She lost the love of her husband, went to Kasi and died broken-hearted at that sacred city. While residing in the vicinity of Bakla, in anxious expectation of being taken back into the Chandradwip palace, she established a market at that place which still goes by the name of *Buothlakurani's hát*.

Pratápāditya, as his name implies, was very powerful, and his forces were pretty considerable. He, it would seem, lived chiefly by piracy. Elated with pride, he defied the authority of the Emperor and stopped the payment of revenue. Steps were taken with a view to bringing him back to obedience, but all to no purpose, until in Jehangir's reign Man Singh, besieging him in his fort at Jessore, took him prisoner. Pratáp died at Benares while he was being taken to the Imperial presence. The capture of Jessore and the defeat of Pratápāditya formed the subject of Bhárat Chandra Ray's admirable poem called *Man Singh*.

Chand Rai was only second to Isa Khan in power in East Bengal. His ancestor, Nim Chand Rai, came from the North-West, and settled at Phulbaria in Bikrampur, which then lay on the west of the Ganges. Chand Rai was well versed in Persian and Arabic. His fame for learning having spread far and wide, he was sent for by the Emperor Humayun, who, being pleased with him, appointed him civil Judge (*Dewan Ahlikar*) of the Carnatic. He was the first *Bhúya* of Bikrampur, which title, it is said, was afterwards made hereditary in

the family by the reigning sovereign. Chand Rai, with all his learning, was, however, not a popular ruler. In fact, he ruled with an iron rod, and his oppressions were such that the author of the *Bhaktamāla* did not hesitate to condemn him as the chief of robbers.

When Chand Rai was only twenty years of age, he had a son born to him who was named Kedar. The father soon showed his great love for the infant by building a splendid house which he called Kedarbari. Kedar proved a worthy son, and he and Chand Rai were the Bhūyas of Bikrampur in the reign of Akbar. The two Rais had a very powerful rival in Isa Khan, whose principality lay on the other side of the river, and it was not unoften that they raided into each other's territories. In one of his successful incursions Isa Khan carried off Chand's only daughter, Sonamani, and married her.

The capital of Chand Rai was Sripur, which stood at the confluence of the Ganges (Kirtināsá) and the Megna, and was only three leagues distant from Isa's capital, Sonárgaon. Sripur was visited in 1586 by Fitch, who describes its king as "Chowdéry," and says that he, like some other lords, was in rebellion against the Great Mogul. Chand Rai's influence was confined to Bikrampur, within which he was the monarch of all he surveyed. The ravishment of his daughter by Isa Khan so worked upon his spirits that, entrusting his son Kedar with the management of his estates, he retired altogether from the world. Kedar proved an able ruler and added to his paternal possessions. Purchas states that he had acquired the important island of Sandwip, though he afterwards lost it to the Portuguese early in the seventeenth century. Like the father, the son, too, did not acknowledge the authority of the Mogul Viceroy.

Kedar was the head of the Kayastha community of Bikrampur. Both he and his father were *Saktas* in the worst sense of the term, and their bigotry was such that, not satisfied with sacrificing goats and buffaloes, they killed even cows and Brahmans. Their spiritual guide was Bhrahmanda Giri, who was said to have possessed the rare power of working miracles.

Fitch thus writes about Sripur: "From Bacola I went to Sreepore, which standeth upon the river Ganges; the king is called Chowdéry. They be all hereabout rebels against their king Zebeldin Akbar: for here are so many rivers and islands, that they flee from one to another, whereupon his horsemen cannot prevail against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here." Sripur has since disappeared in the river, leaving no trace behind.

Kedar Rai built, near Karticpur, a house which he named

Kedarbari after him ; and he also founded a city, Kedarpur, which appears as "Chedderpur" on Bronche's Map.

Kedar's works have all been washed away by the Ganges (Kirtinásá), except the "Rajabari Mot'h" and "Keshermar Dighi," both on the north side of that river.

The Chandradwip House comes next in importance. Bakla, of which Chandradwip is the classical name, was at one time a very large pargana and included almost the whole of the present district of Backargunge. It is mentioned in Todar-mall's Settlement as one of the nineteen Sircars of Bengal. Akbar's General, Monaim Khan, having conquered Gaur, sent Murad Khan on the conquest of East and South Bengal. In 1574 Murad took Bakla, when Jagadananda Rai was the Raja. In 1585 it was overtaken by a storm-wave in which the Raja along with almost two hundred thousand people perished. The Venetian traveller, Cæsar Frederick, also suffered greatly in this calamitous visitation, while going from Pegu to Chittagong.

Jagadananda was succeeded by his son, Kandarpa Narayan, who obtained the title of Bhūya. Ralph Fitch visited Bakla in 1586, and thus describes it : "From Chatigaon in Bengal I came to Bacola, the king whereof is a gentile, a man very well disposed and delighted much to shoot with a gun. His country is very great and fruitful and hath store of rice, much cotton cloth and cloth of silk. The houses be very fair and high builded, the streets large and the people naked, except a little cloth about their waist. The women wear great store of silver hoops about their necks and arms, and their legs are ringed about with silver and copper, and rings made of elephants' teeth."

The original seat of the family was Kachua, close to the modern station of Barisal. Owing to the frequent incursions of the Mugs and the Portuguese, Kandarpa Narayan removed to a place called Madhabpasha, where the Rajas have resided ever since. Abul Fazl states that the Raja of Bakla used to supply 320 elephants and 15,000 infantry for the assistance of the Emperor. This fact is alone sufficient to show that the Raja was very powerful. Kandarpa Narayan died towards the close of the sixteenth century.

Ram Chandra was quite young when he succeeded his father Kandarpa Narayan. He had been married to the daughter of Pratapádityá of Jessore during his father's lifetime ; but the marriage, as we have already stated, proved anything but happy, and the two houses became inimical to each other. The Christian missionary, Fonseca, was in Bakla in the year 1600. He thus describes his interview with Ram Chandra, "The Raja's age is not more than eight years.

He received me with respect and cordiality, and granted me sanad for building a church in the Bakla Raj." From Bakla the good missionary went to Jessore. This appears from the fact that, on being asked by the Raja of Bakla what place he was bound for, he replied that he was going to pay a visit to his Highness's father-in-law, the king of Chandkhan. Du Jarik says that the king of Arracan subdued Bakla in 1602; but the conquest was not of a permanent character. Bakla soon came again into the hands of its king whom we find engaged in contending with Lachsman Manick of Bhullooah, whose estates lay on the other side of the Megna. These two neighbouring Rajas were often at feud. At last, Lachsman was taken prisoner to Chandradwip, where, in a fit of anger, he was murdered by Ram Chandra.

Ram Chandra died during Jehangir's reign, after Dacca had become the capital of Bengal.

In 1630 Sir Thomas Herbert describes "Bakal" (Bakla) as a flourishing city on the banks of the Ganges (Megna). In Bronche's Map also Bakla is noted down as a chief city, thereby showing that even in the latter half of the seventeenth century it had not lost its glory. Afterwards, it was plundered by Amar Manickya of Tipperah. Its present condition is simply deplorable, the once rich and powerful family being now reduced to very great straits.

Lachsman Manick was another of the Bhūyas. He was the lord of Bhullooah (Noakhali), which is situated on the east side of the Megna. The family of which Lachsman was the most distinguished member traced its origin to one Bissumbhar Rai, who first settled in Bhullooah. Lachsman was the seventh in descent from Bissumbhar. He was a contemporary of Kandarpa Narayan Rai whose principality lay on the other side of the river. After Kandarpa's death his minor son Ram Chandra became the Raja of Chandradwip. The Bhullooah Raja used to speak contemptuously of his young neighbour. This coming to the ears of Ram Chandra, he, with a body of armed followers, crossed the Megna in his war-vessels and anchored off Bhullooah. Lachsman, not suspecting any foul play, went on board to welcome Ram Chandra, unaccompanied by any guard. He was at once seized and carried off to Chandradwip, where he would have been immediately killed by his captor, but for the intercession of the Dowager-Queen, who warned her son against committing such a black deed. Lachsman was long kept in confinement. One day Ram Chandra, having gone to see him in the prison, was severely reprimanded by him for his perfidy and cruelty; and Ram Chandra, losing his self-control, ordered Lachsman to be put to death, which was accordingly done.

Lachsman possessed great power, which is best proved by the fact that, though his territories adjoined the dominions of the Raja of Tipperah, he was not molested by him nor pillaged by the Mugs and the Portuguese who committed ravages at the mouths of the Ganges during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The third son of Lachsman was Bejoy Manick, whom Dr. Wise identifies with the Bejoy Manick of Abul Fazl. It is very probable that about this time Bhullooah was annexed by the Raja of Tipperah to his dominions.

Mukunda Rai's title to Bhūyaship is not undisputed, but the probability is that he was one of the number, having Bhusnah for his principality. Towards the close of the thirteenth century the portion which adjoins the districts of Faridpur and Jessore on the south and east respectively came to be known as Bhusnah, a name which still lingers in a small village. The "Kali-Ganga," which since the close of the seventeenth century has ceased to be a flowing stream, passed by it. At one time Bhusnah was a flourishing city. In the fifteenth century it was the capital of one "Sangram Shah." The Afghans, however, could not hold sway over the territory for a long time. In the troublous times which followed the death of Daud they probably lost it to Mukunda Rai, who, it seems, possessed considerable influence in the neighbourhood. Munkunda had a very powerful neighbour in Pratápāditya; but there is nothing to show that he ever paid homage to him. Rivals they were and rivals they remained all their lives. It is said that a Mogul officer, being charmed with the beauty of a daughter of Mukunda, attacked Bhusnah and took possession of it; but he soon met his end at the hand of the fair princess. Chur Mukundia in Faridpur is the only relic left of the power and greatness of Mukunda Rai. The Madhumati river now waters the portion which was formerly called Bhusnah.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Sitáram Rai flourished in Mahmudpur, Abu Torab was the Fouzdar of Bhusnah. Sitáram killed Abu Torab and took Bhusnah. Upon this the great Nabob, Murshid Kuli Khan, sent a large army against the Raja of Mahmudpur, who was defeated and taken prisoner. Thus Bhusnah again became a part of the Mogul Empire.

That at one time Bhusnah was a noted place is evidenced by the *setal-pati*, stone-like earthenwares and sugarcane molasses which are still manufactured in this part of the country. The cotton of Bowalmári was much prized by the East India Company. In point of learning, however, Bhusnah cut a very sorry figure and "a Bangal of Bhusnah" is only a cant expression for a fool.

Most of the rent-free lands which are held by Brahman and Kayastha families in the vicinity of Bhusnah were granted either by Mukunda Rai or by Sitáram Rai.

The jungly tract which lies on the north of Dacca, extending towards the Garo Hills, was, in the sixteenth century, administered by a family known as Ghazi. The Ghazis traced their origin to one Palhawan Shah, who lived in the fourteenth century. His son, Karforma Sahib, who was a very holy man, having received as jagir Pargana Bhawal, settled at Chaurá, near Kaligunge on the Lukhia. The eighth in descent from Karforma Sahib was Fazal Ghazi (erroneously called Jona Ghazi by Rouse), who was one of the Bhúyas when the armies of Akbar entered Bengal.

According to tradition the principality ruled over by this family consisted principally of three parganas which are now known as Bhawál, Talipábád, and Chánd Pratáp. Bhawál, which includes Capassia, the home of *carpas* (cotton), was ruled by Fazl Ghazi, the most celebrated member of the family: Talipábád was administered by Tala Ghazi, and Chánd Pratáp by Chánd Ghazi. Though Fazl Ghazi was the head, all these three Ghazis were independent of one another, and each assumed to himself the title of *Bhúya*. It would seem that there were three others of the family who, though possessed of comparatively small estates, did not hesitate to take upon themselves the high title of *Bhúya*. The Ghazis were defrauded of their property by their Hindu servants. The descendents of this once rich and powerful family now live upon a few acres of charity land. Such is the instability of human greatness!

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

ART. XI.—THE NECESSITY FOR SPECIAL TRAINING OF SELECTED MISSIONARY STUDENTS.

(Independent Section.)

MY remarks apply solely to India, Further and Nearer, China, and the Extreme Orient. The simple, God-fearing, earnest, Missionary will, for another century, be sufficient to preach the Gospel among the uncultured races of Africa, Oceania, and North and South America, and in the wilder parts of India, China, and Japan ; a practical knowledge of Christ and His Gospel will be sufficient to those Missionaries who labour in the rural Districts.

We must remember in starting, that the great races of Eastern Asia are of no mean capacity : although the English found them to a certain extent fallen intellectually some eighty years ago, they are the heirs of a much older civilization than any nation in Europe or North America, and their ancestors have left a literature in many languages equal to that of the Greeks and the Romans. My primary interest in, and acquaintance with, India induces me to place these remarks on paper. The secular schoolmaster has been abroad with the usual result, that in the cities and places of education, among the cultured classes, analogous to those trained in European Universities, the younger generation has awakened as from a dream. There is unrest : " there is a sound of a going in the forest : " the various Sabhas, and Somajes, which are forming, indicate this. The Hindu knows that he has a grand past of many hundred centuries, upon which to look back. How will this movement end ? With the men of this generation from the West the issue will rest.

I have for more than half a century studied the religions, and languages, of India, living among the people, speaking several of their languages as my own, and frequenting their places of worship. I have also studied their religious books, and secular literature. For more than twenty centuries they have inhabited the same regions, have erected gigantic monuments, founded mighty kingdoms, written wondrous volumes in prose and verse, and are still in the same country, while the dwellers in the Nile-Valley and Mesopotamia have long fallen from their greatness and been forgotten, and the little tribe of the Hebrews, of which there has been so much talk in Mediæval Europe, never had any greatness to fall from. The new Missionary must lay aside insular and egotistic ideas of the great races of the Orient being savages, or even barbarians ; they may indeed wonder how it has happened

that, under the Divine Dispensation, no Apostle or Prophet ever visited them, though so long as we believe that God loved the *whole* world, hated nothing that He had made, and would not that any one should perish, we can only be silent and wonder why these great and noble races had never until this century the chance of being converted. The instructed Missionary should banish from his mind all feeling of contempt and hatred, and consider the problem how, after so many years of torpor, the cultured members of these races are asking, What is the Truth? and How is a man to be saved after death?

The Missionary is supposed to have acquired, or to be in the way of acquiring, the vernacular of the people: he must now study their religious and social customs, not from the prejudiced books of narrow-minded writers of the last generation, but from the full accounts now available, and the books themselves. If he knew Latin and Greek at school, he will find no difficulty in acquiring Sanskrit and Arabic at college, and will be thankful in after life to have done so: but translations of the Sacred Books supply to the younger generation that knowledge which their predecessors had to work out in the original, or to live on in ignorance.

The object to which the Missionary has devoted his life, is to convert souls to a belief in Christ Jesus, and to obedience to His precepts. Let him satisfy himself by reading these excellent books written on the subject, that that form of religion known as Christian is not only the best, very best, because it happens to be the religion of *his own particular* country and people, for this is merely prejudice, and the Hindu and Mahometan think the same with regard to their own form of belief; but it is the best, the very best, because, after a careful examination of the religious tenets of all the book-religions of the world, the calm and unprejudiced judgment comes to the conviction that it is the only one that meets the *wants of the whole Human Race*. Christ Jesus came, in the fulness of time, at a period in human History, when the portion of mankind whom He addressed, were no longer barbarians or, lower still, savages. He came to a world which had past experience of many forms of religious belief. There were the Nature-Worships, or, as they are called scientifically, 'Animistic Conceptions'; the great Book-Religions with hereditary Priesthoods; and in some cases the curse of extreme intolerance, lending itself to the bitter persecution of those who could not agree.

Let me illustrate my meaning by a story well known in my youth. A Scotch Missionary of great power and faith allowed himself to utter words to this effect to an assembly of Indian

people : " You are an ignorant degraded people, and you do "not know what you worship : the form of religion which I "bring to you is that which is accepted by all the learned "and wise people of Europe, and, if you are well advised, you "will accept it." I myself heard a Missionary of a few years' experience tell a crowd in the streets, that "their gods were only dung, the dung of the streets." How different was the mode adopted by Paul the Apostle in addressing the people of Athens ! What an ignorance did these English Missionaries show of the secret fibres which wind round the human heart, and bind it to the religion of former generations ! A humble-minded Hindu would admit, "it is possible that my form of religion is not the best, but I learned it at the feet of my parents and grandparents." Let no words of abuse of the form of religion of ancient races pass the lips of the true servant of God : reserve abuse for moral lapses, and heinous sins, and when such lapses and sins are intertwined with an ancient religion, be pitiful and merciful. Nothing but the action of the Holy Spirit can work a conversion of the soul.

I pass under review the subjects on which the selected Missionary should be instructed by courses of lectures or private reading.

ANCIENT RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD STILL LIVING REPRESENTED BY SACRED BOOKS.

- I. Brabmanism.
- II. Zoroastrianism.
- III. Judaism.
- IV. Buddhism.
- V. Jainism.
- VI. Confucianism.
- VII. Taouism.
- VIII. Shintoism.

On all these forms of worship or dogma there are available excellent manuals. Of course a Missionary's particular region for his life-labour is selected for him by the Parent Committee, and this will include only a certain number of the religious conceptions entered in this list. Of these, Buddhism and Confucianism are practically atheistical, and to Buddhism must be conceded the honour of being the first Universal Religion of the human race. All others were restricted to a particular race or country. It is strange that Judaism should not have expanded, but the Jews never, in past, or present, times sent out Missionaries for the purpose of conveying knowledge on spiritual things to their neighbours : they cared only for themselves.

The doom is written on every one of these ancient religious conceptions : they belonged to another epoch of the human race ; they have lost whatever spiritual vitality they may have had centuries ago, and are mere empty forms. But in their place all over Asia are springing up new forms of religious conceptions, with which the Missionary student must make himself acquainted. There are two categories :

The old religious conceptions purified, refined, and adapted to the environment of a civilized society.

- I. Islam, with its latest Evolution, Bábiism.
- II. Neo-Judaism.
- III. Neo-Hinduism.
- IV. Neo-Zoroastrianism.
- V. Neo-Buddhism.
- VI. Neo-Confucianism.

None of these are precisely in the same state in which they were before they came into contact with European culture, but they are essentially conceptions built on old conceptions belonging to an earlier period of the human race. The contact with Europe has saved them from the fate of the older religions of the world which I now enumerate :

- I. Egyptian.
- II. Babylonian.
- III. Assyrian.
- IV. Greco-Roman.
- V. Teutonic, Keltic, Slavonic.
- VI. Etruscan.
- VII. Old Semitic.

The thoughtful Missionary, who recognizes the solemn importance, and overwhelming difficulty, of the conversion of souls, which is his life's object, may find serious room for reflection when he examines the lists supplied of extinct religious conceptions, and reformed religious conceptions, showing unmistakably that there is evolution of the human intellect, which has to be dealt with ; but what will he think when he examines the list of modern religious conceptions, the creatures of the Nineteenth Century ? I give them below :

- I. Mormonism.
- II. Theosophy.
- III. Hau Hau, Te Kooti, Tu Whiti, of New Zealand.
- IV. Brahmoism.
- V. Positivism, or Comteism, the Religion of Humanity.
- VI. Agnosticism.
- VII. Unitarianism.
- VIII. Theism.

The relation of the soul of man to God is one of the deepest interest, and ever must be, and a vast series of phenomena have developed themselves since history began. The enlightened Missionary has to consider this, and despise no fellow-creature for feeling after God, if haply he can find Him, for unless the Gospel-Message, as delivered by Christ in His short sojourn of three years, is accepted *ex animo*, the poor foolish human race must grope on in darkness, or go after some shadow, or fall into some such delusion as is represented in the last list of modern religious conceptions. It will not escape notice that these are accompanied by the highest morality, and as a rule the fact of the "Silence of God" since His Son appeared in the world in the form of man has never received attention. No pretences are held out now of miracles, prophecy, augury, theophanies, Divine voices, visions, dreams, Angels, or messages from the dead, thunder and lightning, and comets. This change indicates a prodigious advance in the religious Idea; and betwixt the date of the appearance of Jesus Christ and the preceding ages there is a vast gulf, marking an epoch in the annals of the human race.

We must recollect that the Godless State-Colleges of British India, which are a necessity of our political position in that country, make a clean sweep of the religious idea in any form, though not in any degree of the morality which is the outcome of the more elevated forms of religion. The late Archbishop of Canterbury once remarked in my hearing at a great religious gathering, that we should take heed not to drive the conception of the supernatural out of the young of any non-Christian people before we were ready to plant a substitute in the place of the old and worn-out and imperfect conceptions. Hundreds of young men annually leave the State-College with their intellect as entirely swept clean of the supernatural as cold History, stern Logic, and Physical Science, can make it.

Clever young men, pious middle-aged men, holy and reverend old men, stand up and make the most astounding statements in favour of some of the new religious conceptions, sometimes in the English, sometimes in the Native Languages, neither violent, nor abusive, nor immoral, and there are not wanting English women who feel themselves called upon to do the same. They use no hard words, nor make use of the familiar expressions of "teaching of Satan," etc., etc.; for, the age of miracles being past, it is a matter of pure reason, and we require Christian champions trained for such contests, full of faith, uttering words of wisdom, of reason, of love, and pity.

The English may lose India, but it does not follow that, in consequence of a political change, the people of India should lose Christ, if only we give timely freedom and independence to the Native Churches, and set the old Native pastors free from the control of the young white Missionary fresh from Europe. It may be a dream, but, looking forward into the Twentieth Century, I seem with the eye of faith to see, studying in one of the State-Colleges in British India, a lad reserved to make a mark in the Christian Church of India.

“Non sine Diis animosus infans.”

Sanctified, like Jeremiah, to be a Prophet unto the Nations, he will be learned in all the accumulated wisdom of his Hindu forefathers, their wealth of ritual, philosophy and poetry; their feeling after God during the course of many centuries, if haply they could find Him; their tangled maze of Divine Incarnations, to save mankind; their mystical Triads, their doctrine of judgment after death, and salvation by the power of a Saviour through the great instrument of Bhakti, or Faith; their sense of the great delusion, or Māya, which occupied all human affairs; their mystery of Metempsychosis, or Second Birth; their aspirations after holiness: their dream of a remote and dim future when all would be absorbed in one great Essence.

By the aid of those excellent Missionary Associations which send out qualified men to grapple with the educated classes, as they leave the State-Colleges, this coming man will have studied the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in their original languages, and made them his own; and have compared with the originals the Translations into five or six vernaculars of British India, spoken by millions, and into Sanskrit itself: he would not in his studies have made use of the spectacles of European mediæval prescription, but he would have absorbed into his intellect and conscience the *ipsissima verba* of Him who spake like no other man; and he would have pored over the wise, though human, utterances of Paul, who knew nothing of his Master's earthly pilgrimage, and of John the beloved, who accompanied Him from Jordan to the Cross and Mount Olivet.

He will have heard nothing of all the folly and wickedness of the Romish Church from Damascus to Leo X, and would wipe gently off the slate of history, in sympathy and pity, all the inconsistencies of German, Anglican, and Swiss Reformers, who could not get clear of the meshes of past ages, and who knew nothing of the world beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, and its Keltic and Teutonic Colonies.

The world is now opened geographically, intellectually, and spiritually, and we know that there were great men, through

whose mouths a power beyond that of men had spoken in sundry times and divers manners before Moses. The Father of Mankind did not forget any of His poor children during those dreary centuries: He would not that any one should perish, for He so loved the world, *the whole* world, that in the fulness of time He sent His Son to redeem them. Paul unmistakably felt this in his address at Athens and Lystra, but for him Buddha, and Kong-Fu-Tsee, and Zoroaster, and Socrates, and Plato, had lived, and given forth their immortal utterances in vain, and added nothing to his sum of human knowledge, which was that of a Pharisee and a Pharisee only.

But the youth whom we figure to our eye as holding the great fort of Divine and human knowledge in the Twentieth Century, will, in his armed intellectual strength, based on Oriental as well as Occidental knowledge, have passed beyond the miserable limitations of the Schools of the Asiatic and European Brahmins; will have marked how the great lines of spiritual thought, after wandering through those ages, had converged and settled in the Christian conception, as given in the Gospels, and illustrated in the Epistles. Unassisted human wisdom could create nothing equal to, or desire anything better than, what was there propounded.

To his enlightened vision the resemblance will be evident, though historically and intellectually entirely independent, betwixt the Tablet of Asôka, the Noble Way of Buddha, the precepts of Kong-Fu-Tsee, and the Sermon on the Mount, inasmuch as they are all based on Altruism as opposed to Egoism, and on unbounded love to our fellow-creatures, and to the Creator no longer unknown.

So also (I speak with reverence, and with bare feet standing on holy ground) he will ask whether, and why, his own great race, counting by millions, were left since the earliest centuries out of touch with their Creator, who hated nothing that He had made. He will find a new meaning in the celebrated Hindu book, the "Ocean of Love," or *Prema Sâgara*, where he identifies the word with the Greek word *Ἀγάπη* of Paul. He will cease to wonder at the Sanskrit myth of the *Avatâra*, or Incarnation of the Supreme Deity, Krishna, becoming the object of love to thousands, while each individual imagined that he or she was the sole beloved of the Deity. In the wonderful *Bhakti*, or Faith, which was felt in that person of the Triad called the Preserver (*Salvator*), he will realize the meaning given by Paul to *Πίστις*, Faith in One who could save beyond the grave.

Is it too much to believe that, as there has been a Greek and Latin and Teutonic Christianity, agreeing in essentials, differing in details, so there shall come into existence an Oriental

Christianity, and Oriental Theology? This idea has been suggested by high authority. Our youth, a Hindu, can proudly look back to centuries during which he had remained the same even to this day. Two thousand years ago pious Chinese Buddhists crossed the frontier to visit India, and collect documents connected with Buddha : even then the Hindu conception had given off a branch, which developed into Buddhism, the most numerous in the world, while the Hindu temples and worship remained unchanged. Centuries later Islam had invaded India, and held it in subjection for centuries, but there was no change of the great Brahmanical conception, into the folds of which thousands of the non-Arian Pagans voluntarily enter, as a great step up in the world of culture and civilization. Can it be, he would ask himself, that this mighty phenomenon of a religious conception, lasting thousands of years, came into existence *without the Divine Will and Permission*? He finds in History that the conceptions of Zoroaster and Kong-Fu-Tsee go back to the same remote period, and are still alive. But he hears that the ancient Egyptian conception, with its Isis and Osiris, had disappeared two thousand years ago, and its sacred books had vanished from human handling, and contact with human intellect. He hears that the ancient conceptions of Mesopotamia had also totally disappeared under the soil, while the great Brahmanical conception, strengthened rather than weakened by its sects, still numbered two hundred millions. He reads the burning lines in the "Bhágavad Gita," in which Krishna reveals to Arjuna great mysteries in majestic and harmonious verse. He ponders over the contents of the wondrous "Ramáyana," which tells of a Prince who abandoned a throne to please his father, and enable him to keep his oath ; who went into the wilderness alone, except with his faithful wife, to contend against the enemies of the human race, and save mankind. He is described as pure, holy, chaste, with the great gift of self-sacrifice in the cause of duty ; and year by year the great story is acted, as an undying pageant, in every large Indian town, amidst smiling and weeping crowds.

All these wonderful Sacred Books and Sacred Poems have survived the wreck of ages, and are available to us in our language, and to the educated classes of India in their languages : they are dimly known now, but in the Twentieth Century, an epoch of enlightenment, and education, Public Press, and meeting together of Natives, they will be taught in the Schools, and talked over in the market-place : it cannot be but that a new Socrates, a new Paul, a new Hypatia, will appear, and the humble and impartial observer will recognize the presence of God in all the ages, at some periods unseen,

at others only dimly seen, or seen through false intellectual lenses, but in these last days seen through His Son, when the great Plan of Universal Salvation was worked out.

The ordinary Missionary, unless he wishes to remain a dumb dog, acquires the vernacular or vulgar dialect of the people. I have often listened to sermons in the Native language, and no member of the European community equals the Missionary in command of the vernaculars, though I have, to my disgust, met dumb dogs after a residence of several years. It may be broadly stated that any language in the world can be mastered for speaking purposes, where too much grammatical rigour is not required, in twelve months. I speak from experience, and such extent of knowledge by no means indicates a scholar, but a competent Evangelist *as far as speaking goes*. But something more is required of the trained Missionary, whose ideal I have before me : he must have some fundamental idea of linguistics in general, and some detailed idea of the languages of his particular region, the characteristics of their family, the mechanism of their structure, and the written characters adopted. The Specimen-Volume published by the British and Foreign Bible-Society annually will supply that amount of knowledge, but of certain languages he must know more, and command a knowledge of indigenous literature. He may not be gifted with the art of writing, or contributing to publications, but he must be, if not a scholar himself, a scholarly man. If he is acquainted with the literary treasures of the Hindu nation, his words will carry more weight in argument. There is no lack of wisdom and holy thoughts in those Sacred Books of the Hindu, and the Hindu Sects, the Jain and the Buddhist

Think of the crass stupid ignorance of the Keltic savage, the Briton, when Julius Cæsar, about the date of the Christian era, invaded Britain. Think of the dense fog obscuring the intellect of the noble barbarians who invaded England from Scandinavia, and the very scant knowledge of the Norman-French conquerors, and compare the state of affairs in England then with the colossal literature of the Hindu people, and their culture and knowledge, and the grandeur of their buildings ; and yet the ordinary narrow-minded Missionary, fresh from his Chapel, or Conventicle, or Church, with his Shibboleth of Predestination, or Prayers for the Dead, or Ritual worship, according to the brush with which in his youth his Christianity has been tarred, talks contemptuously and insultingly of this great Nation, which by the will of the Creator has for so many centuries *lived without the possibility of being Christian*, because those who had the light, did not until this century care to carry the light to millions sitting in darkness, and thus fulfil

the Lord's parting command. The fault is imputed to the Indian which belongs properly to the European ; and even when he does preach the Gospel, it is so mixed up with human, national, and occidental, accretions, that all that the Hindu wants, " Let us see Christ and hear His words," is forgotten amidst the the confusion of forms, and ceremonies, and days and weeks, and white surplices and black gowns, and the essence of the Message is lost or obscured.

Another branch of knowledge, to which I would invite the attention of the selected Missionary, is the study of the customs of the people. As it is now, it is a case of " Damnan, quod non intelligunt." Such ancient institutions as Caste, Polygamy, marriage in childhood, and others, which shock the narrow-minded denizen of a Scotch or English market-town, are not without a cause for their existence and some compensatory advantage ; at any rate, the Hebrews, who are considered the pattern of all excellence, practised all three, in addition to to circumcision, than which, as a test of Religion, nothing can be more degrading. Our special good fortune is, that in the Religion of Christ we have the perfection of all wisdom, suitable to every time, every clime, every degree of human culture, and every bad custom insensibly disappears under its influence.

A fuller knowledge of the ancient religions of the world, as illustrated by their Sacred Books, to those who study them deeply, will be the opening of a new world : it is only the grossly ignorant who stoop to abuse. Plato, and Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster and Kong-Fu-Tsee, and the Hindu Sages, were men of exalted intellect, to whom all subsequent ages bow with respect : they would have rejoiced to see the fulness of time, if they had been permitted, but they were forerunners in point of time of the great *Λόγος*. and, when carefully studied, many of their sentiments gave evidence of pure holy thought, on the human side at least.

It is of no use denying it, that systematic intolerance, and merciless persecution, were the outcomes of the Christian religion, as it settled itself in the Roman Empire, with the establishment of sacerdotalism. The old Greco-Roman superstition, the conceptions of Buddha, of Zoroaster, and the Hindu, were free from it ; if left alone themselves, they would leave others alone. Islam followed the example of Roman Christianity, and even now there is always a danger of good, pious people, who are *quite sure, that they are in the right, and all the rest of the world wrong*, using the arm of the Flesh to carry out their own views. The highly instructed Missionary, who has followed the course of history, and understands the problem of the relation of the Soul to God, will see the folly and wickedness of such a policy.

Besides, the great Creator tolerated the existence of these gross substitutes for true religion for centuries. By a mere expression of His Will He might have destroyed the Nations, or breathed into their souls a right judgment in the manner of His worship. But in His infinite longsuffering He waited until the appointed time came. Are we to be less merciful than God? Let us tarry the Lord's leisure, and ponder His unfathomable Wisdom in our hearts. He would that all men should know Him; let us at least do our duty, which is quite clear; now is our appointed time. *Sursum corda!* We have to consider the great mystery. The law given by Moses failed to retain the hearts of even the Hebrews, who never attempted to seek out the great races lying in darkness since the Creation of mankind, and yet holy men of all times and climes have sought after God to the extent of their poor limited faculties, and found Him not. And later on if, led by the Holy Spirit, they dared to make a choice (*αἵρεσις*) for themselves, they were called *αἱρετικοί* and put to death as 'heretics.'

But in India there will be a problem to which we have no parallel in past ages and other countries. According to the official Census, there are between thirty and forty varieties of religious sects of the same central Christian Religion, and we may expect that, as different Tribes and Castes come under the influence of the new doctrines, there will be additional streaks of difference. While, on the one hand, one central all-inclusive body corporate is neither possible nor desirable, too great a multiplicity of sections is deplorable. Under the new phenomena of Higher and Lower Criticism there is no longer one and the same Bible to all the different sections; in fact, the views on the structure of the Bible will be an additional cause of disintegration of the Christian body. If those to whom the duty falls of conveying the new doctrines from the West, are wise, they will consider the expediency of dividing what they teach into essentials and non-essentials. The different sections will thus in general society and meetings be drawn together by the great Central Truths which all hold, and be tolerant to each other in matters of ritual, forms, and terminology, in which they differ. Among all Protestants in India this is the practice in their Missionary Congresses, and there is no open war. If individual Natives, or clans of Natives, migrate spontaneously from one section to another, for the sake of peace it must be tolerated. The secular Civil Government recognizes no State-Church.

Another subject worthy of special study by superior men is the "Future of the Church of Christ" in India, both while that country remains under British authority, and after it has passed into the Empire of Russia, or any other European or Asiatic

potentate, or after the Peninsula of India, now consolidated as one Nation, has been broken up in separate kingdoms. Hitherto we have treated India as a kind of appanage of the Protestant Churches of England : if such policy is continued, the Christian Church will pass away with the possible disappearance of the British Empire. The Christian Churches of Western Asia and North Africa have lasted on, with their lamp still burning, under every kind of mundane control, the Armenian, Georgian, Syrian, Abyssinian, Koptic, etc. The only chance of survival is a religious independence, which must be introduced gradually : the subsidies from Europe must cease, and the Occidental vestments, forms of prayer, ritual, etc., give way to the Oriental.

No such problem has history recorded as that which lies before the Christian Church in British India, Further and Nearer, and Ceylon. The religions of the ancient world, Egyptian, Assyrian, quite disappeared with the races which had devised them and believed in them. The beautiful Greco-Roman Idea could not live up to the advance of the human intellect, so it was played out, and there was no younger race to pick up the great truths concealed in the false surroundings, and give them new life.

The Buddhist religious conception sprang out of the decadence of the Brahmanical conception, and gave out the first Idea of a universal conception, which all mankind could embrace, and were invited by Missionaries to do so. This was something very different from the Non-Aryan races of India passing gradually into lower castes of their Aryan Brahmanical neighbours. The Buddhist conception, like its predecessor the Brahmanical, knew nothing of the curse of intolerance, persecution, and the arm of the Flesh. In the fulness of God's time came the universal conception of Christianity : Universal but in its early centuries most intolerant. We have now before us in British India a new conjunction of circumstances : a strong Civil Government ; absolute tolerance ; forward march of education and culture ; contact with other nations ; increasing population ; spread of manufactures and commerce. So much for things of this world. Add to this that it has pleased the Lord, after eighteen centuries of disobedience and torpor, to arouse in the hearts of the great races in the extreme West a sense of their duty, their paramount duty, to carry the Gospel of Christ to Oriental nations, and has given them power, physical and spiritual, to discharge that duty.

The superior class of Missionaries whom I desire to call into existence, must consider this problem and the best methods of solving it. My own generation, into whose hands the task of the administration, Civil and Military, of these vast populations

has fallen, have thought out one problem, and have conceived and put into practice during the Nineteenth Century methods of ruling great Provinces kindly yet firmly, "with the iron hand in the velvet glove," and have achieved a success unparalleled in the annals of any previous Century. What is required of the master mind of the new Missionary is to dip into the future, and think out the problem of Christ's Church during Twentieth Century. If the army of Christ has been enlarged, the army of Anti-Christ has come into existence, and has to be dealt with. Civilization and education without Christ is not a blessing, but a curse. The Civil Power stands aside, and rightly so, for Christ's Kingdom is not of this world : it keeps the lists open, gives a fair field to all comers, and shows no favour or prejudice.

And the agents in this Holy War must make a covenant with their souls to abstain from proud thoughts of the superiority of the ordinary white man to the Indians moving in the same rank of life as themselves, and to abstain from abuse. It is as unjust to form an idea of the religion of a great nation from the sentiments expressed by the lowest classes of the rural population, or the scum of the great cities, as it would be for a Japanese to describe the Christianity of London from the idea formed of it in Whitechapel, or the East India Docks.

Religion has to do :

- I. With the Intellect, in the way of Ideas conceived and expressed on secular subjects.
- II. With the Heart, in the way of sentiments of Love towards the Creator and his fellow-creatures, and emotions of Gratitude.
- III. With the Soul, in the way of thought, word, and deed, according to an unwritten Code called Morality.

I have lived months and years alone amidst my non-Christian Indian subjects and recognize their sterling merits, their great intellectual capacity, their gentle and polished manners, and sense of morality.

And there is one qualification of all Missionaries, as of all public servants of the State, Civil and Military, which is indispensable up to the age of thirty, and longer if possible : this is celibacy. The present state of affairs is scandalous : the Missionary in his youth, with a large family of children, who ought never to have been born, and a burden on the funds of the Parent Society—and I could say further, but forbear : it is not the unmarried Missionaries who have caused a scandal in certain Missions, but young widowers. Let them read what the Apostle Paul tells them.

We have to thank the late Archbishop of Canterbury for the phrase and idea of the "Philosophy of Missions." It is not sufficient to obtain a general knowledge of the round of work in the Mission field, but a real knowledge of the principles which underly the great spiritual movement which derives its motive-power from the Holy Spirit. There is admitted to be a philosophy in History, but the great spiritual movement of the Nineteenth Century is, indeed, a great, the greatest of philosophies. It comprehends the science of conveying an exalted form of religion by the use of language, and discusses the methods, points out the stumbling-blocks, shows the reason why, rebuts the objections and builds up experience and wisdom on the foundation both of past success and past failures. The ordinary Missionary has it not, any more than the Regimental subaltern has the power of the great strategist and tactician, and it is no discredit to him not to have it, for he has other gifts; but the selected men who are brought under notice in this essay, form the Staff-Corps, as it may be called, and their services are required to direct the movement of the Twentieth Century. The Gospel-Message, as delivered by Christ, was intended for all climes, all times, all degrees of human culture, and must not be presented to an Oriental community in all the unknown, misunderstood paraphernalia of an Occidental Church.

Now suppose that the Light which, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Tiberius, lightened the Gentiles in Galilee, and commenced a new era in the history of mankind, had spread Eastward, as it might have been expected to do, among the Semitic races of Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and the Far East, while the Aryan races, Kelts, Teutons, Slavs, and Greco-Roman, had grown up into their present high state of culture under the old forms of religious conceptions, when suddenly, after the lapse of eighteen Centuries, it occurred to some good pious souls in India, or China, or Japan, to send Christian Missionaries to convert those desperate Heathen who occupied Europe and North America. Well and good! their purpose was laudable, and, if we had been left without Christ, grateful we should have been to hear the Gospel-Message, and ready to form ourselves into religious communities; but why should the Chinese Missionary force upon us a pigtail form of Christianity, or the Indian make caste and abstinence from certain foods an essential feature of a devout life? Why not give us the real thing, as described in the pages of the New Testament, which they would have translated into our barbarous dialects, and presented to our wondering eyes? Recognizing the new Gospel as purely spiritual, we should be glad to make it part

and parcel of our National civilization, customs, and ideas : it was intended for all nations, in every stage of culture and progress.

The late Bishop of Japan, at a meeting in London of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, laid down distinctly that there were only four things which the young Church of Japan could share with the Church of England :

- I. The Doctrine of the Trinity.
- II. The two Sacraments.
- III. The Inspiration of the Scriptures.
- IV. Episcopacy.

Perhaps this last may be withdrawn. I am an Episcopalian, and from my knowledge of Oriental Countries believe that nothing of a republican form will work there, and that a chief shepherd is a necessity of good administration Ecclesiastic, as a Governor is of good administration Civil ; yet I cannot place the institution of Bishops, leastways Prelates, among the necessities of the Christian Dispensation. At any rate, the concession made by the late Bishop marks the era of a new departure. If Episcopacy be retained, they must be Native Bishops ; but what will follow ? I am about to tread on delicate ground.

It is not the Church with the longest pedigree of high-sounding names, and self-asserting Priests, but the Church with the purest record, which will produce the true wheat, fit to be scattered in the wide fields of the world. Churches of the far West, look to your own history in past ages, and your present state in the end of the Nineteenth Century. It is the stain of Judaism, Paganism, and Mediæval blindness, which still clings to the Churches of Europe and North America, and renders them uncongenial to Oriental races. Let them keep these customs in their own Churches if they like, say the Japanese, but why force them on us, as if they were Bible-Truths and applied to all times and climes, as part and parcel of the Christian Dispensation, which came to the human race in an Oriental garb in simplicity and purity, as evidenced by the pages of the New Testament. We must in very deed clear our ship of its superfluities before we can expect a welcome in the Extreme Orient. What will these awakening Races say of observances of Days and Weeks, peremptorily forbidden in Scripture, but still inculcated ; names and appellations which mean nothing, but which are still made much of ; Sabbaths not made for man, but man for the Sabbath ; abstention from God's good gifts, instead of temperate use of them ; bloody banners suspended in Churches as records of carnage by Christian men ; thanks rendered to God for wholesale annexation of the country of another people, and bloody victories ;

lust of money and profitable commerce enforced at the mouth of the cannon ; and at the same time the doctrines of Christ preached by Missionaries, Love, Peace, Forgiveness of Enemies, content with a little, etc. What can the Oriental races, with the New Testament in their hands, think of the Christians of Europe ?

I heard a Missionary, on his return home from the field, give an account of his work to his Parent Society : nothing but charges of ignorance, and abuse of the notions of the poor races in a low state of culture. I could not help thinking that such an actual state of Godless ignorance, in which the great Creator had for His own wise purposes left these His poor barbarian children, was better than the state of pretentious knowledge of races in a higher round of culture. The relation of the soul of man to God should be thought of with pity and respect : these poor people could not help being what they were. In the Sacred Books of the Non-Christian World, which are now accessible to all who care to read them, we meet with conceptions of God, His Greatness, Goodness, Holiness, Wisdom, and Power, in words which might be appropriated by a Christian Teacher. We find expressions of Faith (Bhakti), Penitence, and Hope, that might seem to be borrowed from Christian works. We come upon teaching with regard to life and duty which may be equalled, but not surpassed. And why ? "Every good gift, every perfect gift, is from on High." The Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters : He suffered their ignorance for a season, but He sent men like Plato, called by Augustine of Hippo the "Apostle of the Gentiles," Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster, Kong-Fu-Tsee, and the Hindu Sages, and permitted their words to escape destruction, and survive to our age. He did not leave himself throughout the ages without a witness.

Can the Hindu at any stage of his intellectual existence get rid of the two ideas, which seem to underly his belief in anything : 'Máya' and 'Metempsychosis' ? By the one all things in this world are a mere deception to the eye, and non-existent. By the other the soul passes on after death from one body to another, adding to, or reducing, the sum of its Karma. Will not the Hindu be tempted to introduce into his view of Christianity some of the great national facts of his own History, and assimilate them, such as the Avatára of human beings, incarnations of God sent to benefit mankind, and the succession of Triads or Trinities in the Brahmanical Pantheon. As an instance of this tendency, I have a very learned lecture on my table written by a dear departed Hindu Christian friend, in which he maintains that the story of Prajapati is a type of the Mediatorial Sacrifice of Christ. All European Christians will

of course resent, and decline to accept, such analogies. To them Jesus Christ is the completion and fulfilment of the Mosaic Law. No early Christians would have presumed to quote a Story of Osiris in Egyptian Mythology as an analogue or type of Christ's mediatorial work, though there is an obvious resemblance.

Is there not a corresponding danger on the other side. It cannot be expected that the great nations of Eastern Asia will condescend to bow to the extremely minute tribe of the Hebrews, who were a mere drop in the broad river of Asiatic nations, which the Western Nations have somehow or other contrived to make the basis of their Religion. To the Hebrew mankind owes nothing in the way of Art, or science, or culture : its only claim is the Old Testament, and the fact that Jesus Christ was born of a Hebrew Virgin. Then, again, they will admit, if they pretend to be Christians in more than name, the inspiration of the writers of the Old and New Testaments, the impregnable foundations of our Faith, but will not their belief end there? They will read that imperfectly instructed Priests of Christianity laid down, in the third century after Christ, certain doctrines of the most important character, not without opposition of a minority, but with some show of force of the arm of the flesh on the part of the majority. They must feel, as all feel, that in the course of ages the human intellect grows clearer and human ideas grow wider. We have given to the Hindu physical science, based upon actual proof, with one hand, and with the other, dogma, the decision of men, who believed that the sun went round the earth, which was a dead flat. The philosophy of ecclesiastics has from time immemorial been at war with the actual proofs of the scientist.

While, on the one hand, it is exceedingly unwise on the part of Europeans to introduce the forms of Western architecture into the places of worship of the Indian Churches, as being too expensive, and unsuited to the climate, it would be deplorable to see the Hindu Temple, or Mahometan Mosque, turned into a place of Christian worship, but inevitable. But above all things, the introduction of ecclesiastical ornaments, pictures, and statuary, are to be deprecated, as also vestments of the Ministers. An Oxford Professor lately visited India, and in a Roman Catholic Chapel was shown a statue of the Virgin and Child, by a Native Artist, the execution of which was worthy of commendation. In the adjoining street he found the same statue erected to represent Devaki and Krishna in a Hindu Temple. Then, again, the vain repetition in the order of Service in some Christian Churches, and the musical performances, are equalled, if not parodied, in the places of non-

Christian Worship. In matters connected with Religion, good and wise men seem to lose all sense of propriety, and do and tolerate things in matters ecclesiastical which their common-sense would reject as impossible in the affairs of ordinary life. There is extreme danger in such practices in a great country like India, in the period of its passing through a great change of opinion upon important subjects.

The selection of portions of the Old Testament to be read in places of worship, and the teaching of the same in Schools, is a subject, which has been brought to notice by a great and respected religious organ, *The Guardian*, and the contribution printed is from the pen of the Head Master of a great English School. Now if this subject is of importance in England, how much more must it be in India? All who think at all, must feel the difficulty, especially those who have to give instruction in the Old Testament. Is it wise or prudent to ignore all that physical science, and knowledge of history, geography, and archæology, have done for the interpretation of the Scriptures? A Chinaman lately in the Bible House in London protested against the circulation among his countrymen of such stories as that of Lot and his daughters. Is not the time come to circulate among Natives or Oriental countries selections from the Old Testament, and never to read aloud in places of public worship such narratives as decent people could not with propriety read aloud in their own family circles?

I have discharged my task, and placed on paper the results of the experience of more than half a century. Supporters of Missions have been in the Nineteenth Century content with a surface-knowledge of the difficulties of the great enterprise: they have not thought out the problem of the introduction of the Christian religion among the great nations of the East, and have been totally ignorant of the great religions of the Ancient World. It is not so now. I address those whose work lies before them in the Twentieth Century, who will have to deal with Native Churches of several denominations, not with individuals converted from non-Christian religious conceptions.

It has always been a delight to me to make myself acquainted with the mode in which God is worshipped by His poor creatures, and by reading and study to find out the nature of the relation of the souls of particular tribes and nations to their great Creator. I have a firm belief that there is nothing better in itself than Christianity, and that in the end it must triumph, not by the arm of the flesh, but by its own superior suitabilities to the wants of mankind. It is not the merits of any particular section of Christianity that we are discussing, but of the great central doctrines promulgated in Palestine

in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, as recorded in the New Testament. I have often discussed the subject with valued friends of the different Churches of Europe and North America, whether Greek, Romish, Protestant, or Members of the smaller Asiatic and North African Churches; and have had ample opportunities of interesting conversation with Mahometans, Parsis, Hindus, and Buddhists. With the Chinese and Japanese I have not come into contact : my knowledge of them depends on books alone. But I have had the privilege also of intimate acquaintance with holy native converts in India and Africa, not always wise in things of this world, and have heard their opinion of the great problem upon which I have here attempted feebly to dwell.

ROBERT N. CUST.

LONDON, *March* 15, 1900.

ART. XII.—THE BANTS OF THE TULU NAD.

TEL sol, tel produit. This has long since been established as a scientific truth. Not only observation, but experiments conducted in various countries, have conclusively shown that biological development is inseparable from geological development, and that the conditions of soil, climate, scenery and situation play a most important part in the physical, moral and intellectual evolution or deterioration of human races. Take the case of China. Has it not been demonstrated that south of Peking, where the soil has undergone its latest elaboration, the best type of the Mongol is met with, while in the northern parts of that immobile empire, where the soil was formed at an earlier epoch, the physical characteristics of the people are more allied to those of monkeys than of men? And in India itself, go where you will, is not abundant evidence existing to show that, while the jungle and hill tribes who inhabit the primitive marshy and miasmatic regions, are scarcely distinguishable from the lower animals, on the other hand, in the same latitudes, where the soil is of modern formation, and where Nature has been lavish of her gifts, the people are superior not only in limb and colour, but even in civilisation, arts, language and general characteristics. I have often noted with deep interest how this law of co-ordinate geological and biological development has operated to produce, in certain physically favoured regions in Southern India, Dravidian races of a type so well developed as to offer some apparent justification for the pretensions to Aryan ancestry seriously urged by modern members of these races, who tell you, without moving a muscle, that their first ancestors, by some long-forgotten series of adventitious circumstances, came over the snow-clad Himalayas, and, pressing further south and breaking away from the main Aryan stream, came to settle down permanently in the midst of South Indian aborigines, forfeiting thereby the proofs of their exalted pedigree. I have met such pretenders among the Nairs, the comely people who dwell in the historic wave-fringed, palm-shaded country of Kerala, represented, as I have remarked in a previous paper, by the British district of Malabar and the Native States of Cochin and Travancore. I have also met with them among the Bants who are at the present day limited to what was once known as the Tulu Nád and now comprises the districts of North and South Canara, the former being a portion of the Bombay Presidency and the latter of the Madras Presidency.

At a remote period in history, the Nairs and the Bants formed practically one great military guild or organisation, the baronial clans of a kingdom that, for all practical purposes, was a republic—a democracy in which the ruler lived for the people and by the people's sufferance. Although the story of how Parasurama, by casting his wand into the sea, recovered the littoral strip of beautiful country lying between Gokarnam on the north and Cape Comorin on the south may be only a fanciful myth, there is certainly enough of internal and circumstantial evidence to bring to the bar of history for the purpose of showing that the great colonist and pioneer fetched his settlers from the banks of the Kistna and founded a new home for them in the Tulu country, which, as routes went in those days, was far easier of success than the more southerly parts of the miraculously-recovered littoral. Later generations of these settlers naturally crossed over to Malabar, afterwards felicitously called "the land of the mountains and the waves."

The Malabar Nair chieftain of old had his *Nád*, or barony, and his own military clan; and the relics of this powerful feudal system still survive in the names of some of the taluks of modern Malabar, and in the official designations of certain Nair families, whose men still come out with quaint-looking swords and shields to guard the person of the Zamorin on the occasion of the rice-throwing ceremony which formally constitutes him the ruler of the land. Correspondingly, the Bants of the northern parts of Canara still answer to the territorial name of *Nád Bants*, or warriors of the *Nád*, or territory. It is necessary to explain that, in both ancient Keralam and Tulu, the functions of the great military and dominant classes were so distributed that only certain clans were bound to render military service to the ruling Prince. The rest were lairds or squires, or gentleman farmers, or the labourers and artisans of their particular community, though all of them cultivated a love of manly pursuits.

At the present day, the Bants of Canara, like their brethren of Malabar, are largely the independent and influential landed gentry, some would say, perhaps, the substantial yeomanry, of their respective districts; but whatever in the way of racial emasculation centuries of peace have been able to do in other countries and among other peoples, it is decidedly noteworthy that the Bants still retain their manly independence of character, their strong and well developed physique, and they still carry their heads with the same haughty toss as their forefathers did in the stirring, fighting times when, as an old proverb had it, "the slain rested in the yard of the slayer," and when every warrior constantly carried

his sword and shield, and vendettas, which passed on from generation to generation and were more cruel than those of Italy or Afghanistan, were the order of the day.

Both men and women of the Bant community are among the comeliest of Asiatic races, the men having high foreheads, well-turned aquiline noses and a general shape of head and face which may with much reason be likened to the Caucasian cast of features. The women are of shapely proportions, symmetrical of limb and feature, supple of waist, the matrons generally showing a tendency to what can only correctly be described by the French expression *embonpoint*, for although in Byron's phrase, we certainly have the thing in English, there is no name for it in our peculiar and conglomerate tongue. The Bant women have lovely dark eyes, beautifully pencilled eye brows, the low, narrow forehead, which the ancient *Maestros* loved to give to their pictures of fair and beautiful women, and a wealth of soft, glossy raven hair, that in many cases hangs down almost to the knee, in showers of "rippled ringlets." They bestow the greatest care upon it, with the happy result that age takes a long time to tell upon its glossy hue. In colour, these women are of that soft non-descript tint which has sometimes been erroneously described as lemon-coloured. The shapely Grecian foot, with its slightly arched instep, its second toe longer than any of the others, and the slight hollow on either side above the heel, are common among these Bant beauties. It is the foot, in fact, over which Sir George Birdwood, one of the greatest western exponents of Indian art, is so apt to go into raptures.

There should be no cause for wonder, in the light of the parallelism between biological and geological development to which I have already drawn attention, that the Bants should be physically so well favoured, for they dwell in a highly fertile region, amidst cool, shady groves, and, what is no less important, in roomy houses which are always kept scrupulously clean. Men, women and children religiously preserve their cleanliness of person and reap, in the shape of health and longevity, the fruits of their adherence to the simple and inexorable laws of hygiene. In fact, water is so frequently essential to every ceremony, that these interesting people would find themselves almost helpless in a country where there were fewer streams, tanks and wells than in Canara.

The houses of the well-to-do are, as a rule, roomy and well-built and thatched with palm, which keeps them cool even in the hottest weather. They are generally prettily situated, with beautiful scenic prospects stretching away on all sides. The woodwork is often richly and artistically carved.

Canara with its great mountain forests, yielding an abundance of ivory and a wealth and variety of timbers that readily adapt themselves to the most delicate needs of the carver, was at one time the home of the most deft, skilful and artistic wood-carvers, whose descendants, in all probability, are the Guddigars, who at the present day are found scattered in Goa, Honavar, Mysore and some other tracts of South-Western India. These hereditary carvers, I may note parenthetically, had a *shastram*, or science, of their own, which, with wonderful exactitude and nicety and the keenest botanical knowledge, defined and described the various kinds of wood suitable for rough or delicate carving, the age, season, locality, in which these woods ought to be felled, those species which require to be used alone, those that would answer when used conjointly with other varieties, etc.

The art is practically lost, but the traces of it that still remain are sufficient to indicate that a great degree of civilisation must have been attained by these children of the old, eastern world, centuries before the impact of the Occident with the Orient.

Originally, the Bants, like other South Indian Dravidian races, were undoubtedly followers of that form of demonology which is still so very much alive all over the Peninsula, notwithstanding the influence of Brahminism, perhaps, from one point of view, in consequence of the exclusive spirit of Brahminism. To-day the community is divided into demon-worshipping Hindus and Jains of the sky-clad denomination, but, as among the Nairs and Tizyas of the neighbouring district, demonolatry and the belief in *Bhutas* still exercise considerable sway.

The system of inheritance is known as *Aliya-Santana*, or sister's son's lineage. Obviously, this system of metronymy, like the *marumakkatayam* or matriarchal inheritance law of Malabar, originated in the ancient feudal conditions under which the men had to be constantly separated from their womenkind, in order to be fighting the wars of their prince, leaving the door thus open for unchastity to enter, which could only result in doubt as to the paternity of offspring. Moreover, as in ancient Athens and Etrusca, maternity was a more potent force than paternity, and it was appropriately acknowledged that the sister's son had a greater right than the wife's son to succeed to a man's estate. In fact, this view was entertained by the late Mr. Justice Muthuswami Iyer of the Madras High Court, who, in tracing the origin of the *marumakkatayam* law of Malabar, wrote that "comparative ancient history suggests that the social system was probably organised at a time when relationship was derived from the mother, and

when a child did not know its father and the father his child, or at all events when paternity was regarded as uncertain." That was, it is needless to say, at a very early stage in the history of family relations, at a time, in fact, when society rested on a foundation similar to that which held up the social fabric in the palmiest and most heroic days of the Hellenic republic. But, on the other hand, there are authorities who offer the theory that the system of *Aliya-Santana* could not have been introduced into the district earlier than about the thirteenth century. Be this as it may, the Bants still have a fanciful tradition to the effect that their law of inheritance was introduced about the year 77 A. D. by a despotic prince, called Bhutal Pandya, until whose time *Makkala Santana*, or inheritance from father to son, generally obtained in the country. It is said that the maternal uncle of this prince, called Deva Pandya, wanted to launch his newly-constructed ships with valuable cargo in them when, Kundodara, king of demons, demanded a human sacrifice. Deva Pandya asked his wife's permission to offer one of his sons, but she refused, while his sister Satyavati offered her son, Jaya Pandya, for the purpose. Kundodara, discovering in the child signs of future greatness, waived the sacrifice and permitted the ships to sail. He then took the child, restored to him his father's kingdom of Jayantika and gave him the name of Bhutal Pandya. Subsequently, when some of the ships brought immense wealth, the demon again appeared and demanded of Deva Pandya another human sacrifice. On the latter again consulting his wife, she refused to comply with the request and publicly renounced her title and that of her children to the valuable property brought in the ships. Kundodara then demanded the Deva Pandya to disinherit his sons of the wealth which had been brought in those ships, as also of the kingdom, and to bestow all on his sister's son, the abovenamed Joya Pandya, or Bhutal Pandya. This was accordingly done. And, as this prince inherited his kingdom from his maternal uncle and not from his father, he ruled that his own example should be followed by his subjects and it was thus that the *Aliya Santana* Law was established on the 3rd Magha Sudha of the year 1 of the era of Shalivahana, called Ishwara, about A. D. 77.

The Bants are split up into nearly twenty sub-divisions, and king caste is still a despotic ruler in their midst, though Mammon asserts his influence also. For instance, whereas the Bants are admittedly Sudras, there is a wealthy and influential section known as the Ballals, who wear the Brahminical thread, and in certain other respects, notably as regards abstinence from animal food, live very much like the twice-

born, and claim to be socially superior to the common Bant. An appreciable number of the community belong to the Jain denomination, apparently having been influenced by some mediæval wave of conquest or of peaceful immigration, and will not touch a morsel of food after sunset, being also strict vegetarians. The divisions known as Pattams and Heggades, who also wear the sacred thread, follow the hereditary profession of temple functionaries and keepers of the demon shrines that are dotted all over the picturesque district. Time was when these functionaries wielded the enormous powers and influence that have always been associated with temple service in a priest-ridden country like India.

The Bants have two distinct forms of marriage, and both are of such a nature that they save the chief social institution of the community from the charge of being nothing more than a fugitive connection, a *liaison* so capricious and elastic as not to deserve the definition of a sacramental and binding institution. The union between a bachelor and a spinster is known as *Kai-dhare*, that between a widower and a widow as *Budu-dhare*. The parents of the contracting parties having through the kindly intervention of mutual friends arranged a marriage, a day is fixed upon for the formal betrothal. On the appointed day the relatives and friends of the bridegroom go in procession to the residence of the bride's parents, where they meet the relatives and friends of the latter and take part in a sumptuous entertainment. After the banquet the elders of both families formally declare their intention of celebrating the marriage, whereupon plates of betel and nut are exchanged, and the betel and nut are partaken of by both parties. On the marriage day, the interesting ceremonial begins with the bridegroom taking his seat under a specially-constructed and decorated pandal, where he submits to being operated upon by a tonsorial artist. He is next taken to the well and bathed with much pomp and show. The bath over, bride and bridegroom are conducted by a large party to the pandal. They walk thrice round the seats that have been prepared for them, and then sit down. One of the elders steps forward, takes the bride's right hand and places it upon the right hand of the bridegroom. A silver goblet containing water and covered with a cocoanut, on the top of which are some flowers of the areca palm, is placed on the united hands. The leading witnesses present all touch the goblet, which with the united hands of the now blushing couple is then waved up and down thrice. This pretty, if strange, ritual completes the ceremony and makes the Bant youth and maiden one. The relatives and friends press for-

ward and the young couple are deluged with congratulations and with the frequent expression of the wish that they may become the parents of twelve boys and twelve girls, truly a liberal idea of the Psalmist's quiverful. The excitement over, one of the elder ladies of the house pitches out two plates, one being empty, the other containing rice. The guests forthwith scramble for the rice which they throw for luck over the married pair. Into the empty plate, each guest drops a little money-present. The bridegroom after this makes his own money-present to the bride. In the event of a divorce, owing to the infidelity of the wife, this money has to be returned to the injured husband. The bride, subsequent to the marriage, is taken to her husband's home, where she has to formally serve him with food in token of being his slave and helpmate. She receives another present from him and the consummation of the marriage may then take place.

Among the Bants of certain clans the chief feature of the ceremony consists in water being poured from a height on to the united hands of the contracting couple. In fact, this is said to have been the common form of marriage in olden days. Bant marriages are exogamous to the extent that between certain allied intertribal clans, or *Ballis*, unions are prohibited. Should the husband be in a better position than the wife, the latter takes up her abode with the former's family, but in the event of the wife's family holding a better position in society the wife continues to stay in her own ancestral home. The Bants are generally in favour of monogamy, but, as with the Burman, the slightest possible restraint is placed upon divorce, and the popular American plea of incompatibility of temper finds favour in Bant land. Widow marriage is generally limited to young women who have had no children, and, as a general rule, widows find husbands among widowers. The marriage ceremony merely consists in joining the hands of the couple with the strange detail of a screen being placed between the parties.

The Bants practice cremation of the dead. Funeral obsequies are performed with much pomp and ceremony on the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth days, when people are fed. Of late years a custom has sprung up among the Jain Bants of distributing cocoanuts on the third, fifth, seventh or ninth day after the death. Once a year, a feast corresponding to the Christian All Souls is celebrated, when the spirits of deceased ancestors are propitiated. The festival is held in October. In this respect the Bants merely resemble the rest of non-Brahmin Dravidians of the West Coast who have so rigidly and jealously preserved their ancient forms and doctrines of deimonolatry.

Buffalo racing, cock fighting and native football are among the outdoor pastimes which are popular with the Bants. The outsider cannot fail to be struck with the tremendous excitement that attends a village fair in South Canara. Large numbers of cocks are laid out for sale, and groups of excited people may be seen huddled together, bending down with intense eagerness to watch every detail in the progress of a combat between two celebrated village game-cocks. I doubt if even the happy-go-lucky Burman, or superstitious and excitable Malay, takes such an absorbing interest in this cruel pastime, as the Bant does, though it is superfluous to say that the Jain Bants, true to the religious principles which they have imbibed, view a cock fight with abomination. In the more southerly district of Malabar, the warrior Nair, once the most conservative of Indian communities, now displays a remarkable aptitude for civilising forces and influences which are distinctly fatal to the perpetuation of his primitive social laws and regulations. Similarly, the growing contact of Canara with outside forces is already resulting in material changes being introduced into the social and political fabric. And in view of the manner in which these changes are working, I see some reason to hope that the Bants also will shake off the lethargy which has grown on them, and make the most of the great Indian transition of the closing years of this present century. Of course, owing to its more isolated situation, social, political, and educational reform in Canara has been proportionately very much below that which has been carried out in the less isolated district of Malabar, and the Bant yeoman and gentleman farmer have not yet taken to any appreciable extent to western education. The number of Bants in the public service is exceedingly limited and it must be attributed to the *otium cum dignitate* which, in Canara as elsewhere, has always been associated with the profession of agriculture. However, western civilization is a most solvent and insinuating force, and as it creeps up his country, it will surely and steadily influence the conservative Bant and teach him to widen the horizon of his ambition. At present, he is still a part of the old world which the West found when she first visited her elder sister the East.

ART. XIII.—THE DOCTRINES OF JAINISM.

MOKSHA (SALVATION), MOKSHA MARAG (THE WAY TO IT) AND MOKSHA PHAL (ITS CONSEQUENCES).

I PROPOSE, in the following lines, to set forth the Jain view of *Moksha* (salvation); of the way which leads to *Moksha*; and, of the results of *Moksha*. In the first place, I shall point out what, according to Jain principles, *Moksha* is; then, the means by which it can be attained; and, in the end, the benefit which the soul derives from entering into the estate of *Moksha*.

Moksha is, briefly, the attainment of pure *Parmatum sarup*, that is, the attainment of Godhood. The means by which soul can attain to *Moksha* is the adoption of the Three Jewels, that is, right knowledge, right belief, and right conduct. And the fruit of *Moksha* is that soul, when it has entered into that condition, becomes Pure, Perfect, All-knowing, All-seeing, All-powerful and All-happy.

Now, as regards the *Parmatum sarup*, it should, in the first place, be stated that, according to Jainism, Parmatma has not the attribute of creating or causing death; punishing or rewarding—in brief, the attribute of Kurta Hurta; but is Bitrag, that is, devoid of love or hatred, and has no concern with or desire to do anything. And, as this doctrine leads people to speak of Jainism as teaching atheism, it is advisable that, before proceeding to deal with the principal subject, I should clear away this misunderstanding.

First, then, I venture to say that it is a gross mistake to include Jainism under atheism. Atheists are those who do not believe in the existence of Parmatama (God), whilst Jains believe in His existence, without, of course, ascribing the attributes of Kurta Hurta to Him. Now not to ascribe a particular attribute to a thing is not the same as to disbelieve in the existence of that thing. Besides this, those who believe in the existence of soul, must necessarily believe in that of God, because the final goal of soul must be in Him; while, on the other hand, atheists do not generally believe even in the existence of soul. Thus it is highly improper and illogical to call Jainism an atheistic system.

In order to put the point in a clearer light, I shall, in the following lines, try to show that belief in the existence of God as Kurta Hurta involves many contradictions and objections; imputes several defects and imperfections to God, and contributes but little to the virtuous conduct of man and his salvation.

Those who hold God to be Kurta Hurta are chiefly divided into two classes: (1) Those who regard three things as eternal principles, namely, God, souls and matter, and say that out of the latter two, God makes the world. (2) Those who hold God only to be an eternal principle. This latter class is again divided into two sub-sections: those who believe that God has created the world out of nothing, and those who hold that He has created the world out of Himself.

With reference to the first-class, who believe that, besides a Pure and Perfect Isvara, other souls and matter also are eternal, it may be remarked, that, if they hold souls and matter to be eternal, they should hold their attributes and conditions also to be eternal, because no being can exist without its attributes and conditions. If there is an entity, it must have some attributes and conditions to constitute it; and, if souls and matter, with their attributes and conditions, are eternal entities, they are, by their mutual interaction, quite sufficient to make the world, and there remains no need of any interference on behalf of Isvara.

Again, if Isvara is Perfect and All-happy, why should he have created the world? Creation requires action on His part, and no intelligent being acts without having some desire. But if He has desire, He cannot be Perfect and All-happy, because desire is an unmistakeable indication of some want in him who is affected by it and is admittedly the root of all unhappiness and inquietude. Thus, by imputing creation to God, we destroy two of His essential attributes.

It is admitted on all hands that soul, in this transmigratory state, suffers pain and distress, and that release from this state can be attained by acting on the precepts of God. Then, it may be asked, why did Isvara first put the soul into this wordly condition and then afterwards send down the Vedas for its release? Could a man who himself placed a thing in a bad condition and then framed rules for its betterment, be called wise? If it be said that God put souls into this worldly condition only to see which of them would be able to get released from it, then this shows want of knowledge on His part. If He is All-knowing, He must have known all this beforehand. Those only who have limited knowledge, stand in need of testing; but an All-knowing Being has no necessity to resort to testing. Thus the inevitable consequence of holding God to be the creator of the world, is that we are driven to impute want of wisdom and knowledge to Him, and this can be avoided only by believing that souls are in the worldly condition from eternity.

If God is perfectly Good and Pure, why do we find evil and impurity in His creation? No worldly ruler desires bad

actions to be committed in his country ; but, as worldly rulers are not all-knowing and all-powerful, they do not fully succeed in their endeavours to prevent such actions from being committed ; and, as God is All-knowing and All-powerful, no evil deeds ought to be committed in His domain and He should not even give anybody capacity or power to commit such deeds. If it be said that God gives power to do good as well as bad actions in order to see which of His creatures will be so wise as to abstain from exercising the latter power, then this shows a defect in His knowledge. An All-knowing Being, as I have already said, has no need to test ; He must have known all this from the first. Thus to attribute to God the creating of the world is to attribute to Him what is inconsistent with His goodness and purity, and this cannot be helped unless we believe God to be Bītrag (devoid of affection or hatred).

Again, why do we find sorrow, pain, disease and poverty in God's creatures ? If it be said that they are the result of the evil deeds of those creatures themselves, then I ask why did He give power to do or permit them to do, such deeds ? Observation shows that when a father becomes aware that his son is about to commit a bad action, he tries his utmost to prevent him from committing it, although, owing to his limited knowledge and power, he may not succeed in doing so. But the heavenly Father is All-knowing and All-powerful, He ought not, in the very beginning, to have permitted such evil deeds to be committed. What would one think of a father who, seeing his son about to commit some evil deed, and although he had power to prevent him from committing it, took no action towards that end and afterwards punished him for committing it ?

Moreover, the theory of those who believe that God has created the world out of nothing is incapable of being supported by any proof or argument. Nature does not, in any way, show us that this world has come into existence out of nothing. We do not see anything come out of nothing. Everything which manifests itself, has, somehow or the other, its previous state. Nor do we find anything to pass over into nothing. Physical science sufficiently proves that something cannot come out of nothing, nor can it be reduced to nothing. But those who hold that God has created the world out of nothing, and that, in the end, it will again be reduced to nothing seem to believe that being can be converted into non-being. Now, God is also a being and upon their own theory it follows that He can also be reduced to nothing. Thus they worship a God who has the potentiality of being converted into nothing, and consequently they worship a non-being.

Again, I ask whether being and non-being are contradictory terms or not. If it be answered that they are, then they cannot be converted into each other. But if it be said that they are not, then all such things as virtue and evil, truth and untruth, purity and impurity, &c., &c., are the same, and it is useless to speak of following the path of truth and virtue.

Thus the doctrine that God has created the world out of nothing and can reduce it to nothing whenever He pleases to do so, does not stand to reason or observation, and is altogether unsupported by natural law and scientific truth.

Apart, again, from scientific proof and logical argumentation, this doctrine is repugnant to common sense, and the intuitive faculty which unconsciously dictates that being and non-being cannot be converted into one another.

With regard to the theory that God has created the world out of Himself, or, in other words, that He has Himself taken the shape of the world, it may be asked how God, who Himself is a Pure and Perfect Being, could convert Himself into this impure and imperfect world. If the nature of God is purity and perfection, how could He be converted into the very opposite of these. Either there must have been, from the very beginning, the germs of impurity and imperfection in Him, or the work of creating the world cannot be attributed to him. Moreover, we find non-intelligent things in this world, so that the further question arises, how God, who is All-intelligence, could have changed Himself into non-intelligence? Are intelligence and non-intelligence not contradictory terms? If the answer be that they are; then the world could not have come out of God, who is a pure Intelligence. But if the answer be that they are not contradictory terms, then what more is there to be said of this theory than that it makes all virtue and evil, truth and untruth, &c., &c., alike, and leaves no room for the practical operations of the world any more than for salvation. In short the phenomenon of the world can be explained only either by believing that God is both intelligence and non-intelligence, which is an absurdity, or by admitting the existence of some other entity besides God.

• The advocates in India, of this theory, who are called Vedantists, hold that Brahma is a non-active, pure intelligence, and so far their view is in conformity with the Jain doctrine of *Bitragta*. But they also hold that, when Brahma associated Himself with *Maya*, He became Lower Brahma and created the world. But here the question arises whether this *Maya* is a separate entity, or an attribute of the *Sakti* (power) of Brahma? If it is a separate entity, then the theory of

there being only one eternal principle falls to the ground and they resort to dualism ; if, on the other hand, it is an attribute of Brahma, then it must always be with Him and He cannot be regarded as pure intelligence, but must have the elements of non-intelligence, impurity and imperfection in Him.

Again, it may be asked, why did Brahma associate Himself with *Maya* ? If Brahma associated Himself with *Maya* at some particular time, then there must have been some cause for it,—either He must have had some desire or motive, in which case He cannot be called a pure, perfect being, and if He of His own accord did not associate Himself with *Maya*, but the latter forcibly attached itself to Him, then He must have been in subordination to it.

Of course, the *Maya* of the Vedantists' is something like the *Pudgal* of the Jains (subtle matter), but the difference only is this, that the former hold that Brahma associated Himself with *Maya* at some particular time and thus became the cause of *sansara* (the world), while the latter maintain that *Jiva* and *Pudgal* are intermingled with each other from eternity and thus are the cause of *sansara* (the world).

According to Jainism, *Jiva* and Brahma are, with regard to their real nature, one ; but so long as *Jiva* is associated with *Pudgal*, it is in the worldly condition, and when it becomes released from *Pudgal*, it becomes Brahma. And as they are intermingled from eternity, there can be no question of cause, because the question of cause can be raised only in the case of an event happening at some particular time. As soul and matter are intermingled, the latter produces in the former *Rag Dwaish* (love and hatred) which, having become the cause of good and bad actions, attract new matter towards soul. Matter, having given pleasures and pains to soul, becomes detached from it ; and as, through enjoyment of pleasures and suffering of pains, *Rag Dwaish* is produced in soul, new matter is attracted towards it. This sequence of matter and *Rag Dwaish* (love and hatred, including all the various passions and affections) has continued from eternity and will continue till soul has purged itself of the latter. When soul succeeds in freeing itself from *Rag Dwaish*, new matter ceases to be attracted towards it, and the old matter, having produced its result, which, owing to the destruction of *Rag Dwaish*, no longer influences soul, becomes detached, and the soul, going unto *Nirvana*, becomes Brahma.

The great argument which the Kurta Badecs bring forward is that they find beauty, regularity, order, uniformity and skill in the world, and that this cannot be explained except by the assumption of one intelligent cause. Now, in the first place, it is not correct to say that we find only beauty, re-

gularity, etc., in the phenomena of the world. Do we not find also ugly men and ugly things in the world? Have we not sometimes rain at irregular times? If it be said that, in thus causing rain, there must be some beneficial object in God's view, then I humbly answer, that He, being All-knowing and All-powerful, could attain that object without having recourse to irregularity and without causing the slightest injury or inconvenience to His creatures. Have we not sometimes disorder by storms, volcanoes, etc.? If it be remarked that God, with some beneficial purpose on the whole, has sometimes to resort to exceptional courses, then I reply that He, being Omniscient and Omnipotent, could accomplish that beneficial purpose without the least disorder in His creation. In short, we find both beauty and ugliness, regularity and irregularity, order and disorder, unity and variety, skill and unskilfulness in nature. But even granting that only the former are found, it is a too bold assertion to say that the phenomenon of the world can be explained only by one intelligent cause. Of course, an intelligent cause plays a prominent part, but an effect composed of both intelligence and non-intelligence, can hardly be said to arise from only intelligence. They say that uniformity must result from intelligence, but a little consideration will show that this is hardly the case. Observation proves that an intelligent being can be influenced by various inclinations and desires, and is more susceptible of making change than a non-intelligent being. A non-intelligent being, on the other hand, will proceed according to its fixed nature and will continue to do so until acted upon by some other intelligent or non-intelligent cause.

This world is, according to Jainism, the effect of both intelligent and non-intelligent causes. Intelligent cause is only of one kind called *Jiva* (soul), the characteristic of which is *Gayana* (knowledge); while non-intelligent cause is of five kinds, namely, *Pudgal* (matter), *Aakash* (space), *Kal* (time), *Dharma* and *Adharma*. The characteristic of *Pudgal* is *Saparsh* (tangibility). *Ras* (taste), *Gandh* (smell), and *Barun* (colour); that of *Aakash* is to give room to, and contain, all other *Drabas*; that of *Kal* is to bring on changes; that of *Dharma* is to help *Jiva* and *Pudgal* to move; and that of *Adharma* to help them to cease to move. Thus, these six entities, with their nature, attributes, and conditions, are the cause of the world. But it is not that they have made the world at some particular time, they have been making and sustaining it from eternity. Of course, condition only changes, which causes us to speak of creation and destruction.

But cause is always of two kinds,—*Upadan Karun*, that

is material cause, and *Nimit Karun*, that is, operative cause. Here it may be said that, these six entities being only the material cause of the world, there must be some other operative cause. But the Jains deny this, and hold that, as these six entities act also upon one another, and thus become the cause of various changes, they are the material as well as the operative cause of the world.

People say that God creates, sustains, destroys and pervades the world. This seems to be something like the *Satta* of Jainism, which lays down that there is a subtle essence or power called *Satta*, underlying all the six *Drabas*, which is the cause of their existence and modifications. But this power is not, according to Jainism, a separate entity existing outside the six *Drabas*; it is a power inseparably dwelling in them. This power is not an extracosmic, individual person, creating and controlling the universe, but it is the general *Suabhava* (attribute) of all the *Drabas*. It is neither an intelligent nor a non-intelligent being, but the general essence constituting both.

Jainism does not like to call this all-pervading power, or the sum of all the powers, attributes, and effects of all the *Drabas*, by the name of God and worship it, because to do so would not benefit the *Sansari Jivas* (worldly souls) in any way. To worship, and to meditate upon, a *Kurta Hurta* God can neither contribute to virtuous conduct in the world, nor lead the soul to its final goal *Moksha*.

There are five great principles of virtuous conduct which are recognised by almost all religions. The first great principle is *Ahinsa*, which, briefly, means not to kill, or inflict pain or injury on, any living being; the second is *Satya*, that is truth; the third is *Astai*, that is, not to steal; the fourth is *Brahm Charya*, which means, in brief, having control over the sexual desires and not committing adultery; and the fifth is *Afrighrah* which shortly means not being addicted to sensual pleasures.

The notion of a *Kurta Hurta* God leads people to think that God has created all things for man's use, and that, if man does not use them, he is ungrateful to God. Hence we find that *Kurta Badees* (followers of the belief of God as *Kurta Hurta*) do not much act upon the first, fourth and the fifth of the above-mentioned principles, and the violation of these three often leads to that of the other two also. We practically see that they show little care to avoid killing living beings and generally indulge in the free use of flesh and wine.

Almost all religions agree that, for the attainment of salvation, the suppression of the passions and desires and the

severance of worldly connections are most essential, and these conditions cannot be fulfilled unless the above-mentioned five principles of virtue are first adopted. Besides, people may argue that, when God has created, and gifted them with, various passions and desires, why should they not make use of them and why should they try to suppress them? And when He has Himself sent them down into this world, why should they seek to sever their connection from it?

Thus neither virtue nor salvation can be attained by worship, and meditation upon, a Kurta Hurta God, and hence the Jains regard Him as *Bitrag*. *Parmatma* has, according to Jainism, infinite knowledge, infinite seeing, infinite power, infinite happiness, infinite goodness, infinite *Shudhta* (purity); and is *Bitrag*, *Nirlep* (having no cover or plaster), i.e., free from *Karamas*; unadulterated soul, only an embodiment of knowledge; *Amurteek* (bodiless); *Abyabadh* (undeclinable); *Agar Laghu*, that is, neither heavy nor light, and consequently needing no throne or chair to sit on; *Avagahan* (unobstructible). He is above all the colours, all the tastes, all the smells, and all the sounds; tangibility cannot touch Him; He is free from birth and death; is *Niranjan* and *Thitanand* (having no adulteration, an All-happy Intelligence); He is free from passions and desires and consequently from matter; and is the most Exalted. He is beyond the senses; mind cannot reach Him; and is within the *Shudha Gayan* (pure knowledge) of soul.

RICKHAH DASS JAINI, B.A.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

In the *Calcutta Review* for January last we published a reply from our valued contributor, Rickah Das Jaini, to an editorial note on his explanation of certain points connected with the doctrines of Jainism which had appeared in the previous number. The note in question was to the effect that the writer had made no attempt to explain the way in which non-soul, or matter, acts upon soul, and it was remarked that this was not surprising, inasmuch as the difficulty referred to was the rock upon which every dualistic theory of the Universe necessarily split, and inasmuch as, further, Jainism was, from the nature of the case, obviously debarred from having recourse to any such facile hypothesis on the subject as that embodied in the Cartesian doctrine of "Occasional Causes," or the cognate theory of "Pre-established Harmony" of Leibnitz.

In his reply to our Note, Rickah Das Jaini claims that he had not left the point wholly untouched, though, as it relates "not to gross, but to fine, matter," what he said might be unintelli-

gible to many. He then goes on to remind us that, in his article in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1898, he had said that *diaba karma* were assemblages of the atoms of matter, and that, as he had further pointed out in the explanation already mentioned, the nature of matter was to produce *Rag dwaish*, i.e., passion, and *Moh*, i.e., illusion in soul. As to the way in which matter and soul act on one another, he added : "There is an undeniable principle that, when two things having different attributes combine, each tends to produce its own attributes in the other, and they form a combination which is something different from either. Now the attribute of soul is its power of knowing, while that of matter is its power of attraction and repulsion. As Sansari Jiva (worldly soul) and Pudgul (matter) are in a state of bondage, matter tends to produce attraction and repulsion in Jiva, and the result is that Jiva (soul) manifests love and hatred."

Further on he says that, though soul and the atoms of matter are invisible to us, and so we cannot see their action, still we find that, as a matter of fact, "gross matter (objects surrounding us) do produce love and hatred, pleasures and pains, in us."

It must be obvious, we think, from this reply, that the writer misapprehends the real nature of the difficulty under discussion. In the first place, it is to be noted that his argument from analogy, based on the fact that, when two material things with different attributes are combined, each tends to produce its own attributes in the other, and the combination formed by them differs from either, is inapplicable to the case under consideration. For, except on the supposition that soul is merely a subtle form of matter, which is contrary to the Jainist view of its nature, we are not in a position to reason from what happens in the case of interaction between different kinds of matter to what may be expected to happen in the case of the interaction of matter and soul, which belong to wholly different categories of being.

It must, we think, be further obvious that, in bringing forward this argument from analogy, Rickah Das Jaini is confounding two distinct questions, *viz.*, the question of the effect produced by the interaction of soul and matter, and the question of the way in which the effect is produced. However that may be, and this is the point on which we wish specially to insist, for light on either of these questions, as they concern the interaction of soul and matter, we must look elsewhere than to our experience of the interaction of matter and matter.

Rickah Das Jaini does, indeed, refer us to the testimony of our consciousness, for proof of the fact of the interaction. We find, he says, that objects surrounding us do produce love and

hatred, pleasures and pains, in us. Here, however, he is plainly reasoning in a circle. If it were certain, not only that both matter and soul exist, but that the "objects surrounding us" belong to the former, and the subject, or ego, to the latter, category, then, although we should still be as far as ever from an answer as to the *how* of their interaction, we might be content with the testimony of our consciousness to the fact that they do interact, and that the result of their interaction is those affections of our consciousness which we call love, hatred, pleasures, pains and the like. But matter and soul are not given in consciousness. All that is given in consciousness is its own changes. Justifiably or not, we infer from those changes the action of a *non-ego*. But it is a long step from that inference to the conclusion that the *non-ego*, or any element of it, is matter, *i.e.*, *non-soul*.

With reference to our observation that the difficulty as to the interaction of matter and soul is the rock on which every system of dualism splits, it may, perhaps, be replied that it is no less difficult to understand how soul can act on soul. But, while this may be admitted, it does not affect the fact that consciousness affords us no warranty for differentiating Being into two orders of entities, matter and soul.

The *non-ego*, which includes the whole sensible world, we do not know, and are for ever precluded from knowing, otherwise than *objectively*. The ego, on the other hand, we do not know, and are for ever precluded from knowing, otherwise than *subjectively*. The conditions under which alone we could compare the two do not, and cannot, consequently, exist ; and, without comparing them, we are obviously not in a position to know whether they belong to different orders, or to the same order, of Being. If we could affirm, on the one hand, that the *non-ego*, or that element of it which we cognise as matter, possesses no subjective side, or, on the other hand, that the *ego* possesses no objective side, this difference in itself might conceivably warrant our placing them in two distinct and opposite categories of Being. But, from the nature of the case, we are not, and cannot be, in a position to affirm either of these propositions.

ART. XIV.—AMTHAL-UL-ARAB.

(ARAB PROVERBS IN THEIR RELATIONS TO FOLKLORE,
HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.)

Yadhribu'llahu'l amthála lin-nasi.

God propoundeth parables unto men.—*Suratun Noor* (Light).

PROVERBS in conversation are like axioms in philosophy, maxims in law, and postulates in mathematics.

Four things are to be found in a proverb which are not to be met with in any other form of speech—(1) brevity of expression ; (2) accuracy of thought ; (3) beauty of comparison ; and (4) quickness of wit.—*Ibraheem*.

Mr. Henry, in his commentary on the Book of Proverbs, says that the Hebrew *Mashal* מִשָּׁל, here used for a proverb, comes from a word that signifies to *rule*, or to *have dominion*, because of the commanding power and influence which wise and weighty sayings have upon the children of men ; he that teacheth by them doth *dominari in concionibus*, —‘rules his auditory.’ It is easy to observe how the world is governed by proverbs. “As saith the proverb of the ancients” (1 Sam.), or as the vulgar express it, “as the old saying is,” goes very far with most men in forming their notions and fixing their resolves.

But although in Arabic also the root *m, th, l*, conveys, among other ideas, the idea of “ruling or commanding,” the Arab *savants* derive *mathal* (proverb) from another significance of the same root—“Wise sayings, the truth of which is present in thought, are called proverbs (*amthál*) because their pictures *stand* in thought ; derived from *mathool*, to stand.”*

Proverb has been defined as the remnant of the philosophy of the ancients preserved from destruction by its *brevity* and *utility*. Teaching by proverbs was an ancient way of teaching. It was the most ancient way amongst the Greeks. The seven wise of men of Greece had each of them some one saying that they valued themselves upon and that made them famous.

It was a plain and easy way of teaching which cost neither the teachers nor the learners much pains, nor put their understandings or memories to the stretch. Long periods and arguments far-fetched must be laboured ; while a proverb which carries both its sense and evidence in a little compass, is presently apprehended and easily retained.

Much of the wisdom of the ancients has been handed down to posterity by proverbs, and some think we may judge of

* Ibnus Sikkeet ; al-Mubarrad ; Ali.

the temper and character of a nation by the complexion of its vulgar proverbs.

Indeed, the vast collection of Arab proverbs is a true mirror in which the Arab life is vividly reflected. It is in their bald and naked proverbs that we catch glimpses of their manners and customs, their mode of living and of warfare. Their proverbs breathe the freshness of the desert, and we may say with equal truth that "*Proverbs* are the register of the Arabs"—*Innal amthāla divānū'l Arab*.

Great as was the tendency, among primitive nations in days before the invention of writing, to give utterance to proverbs and pithy sayings, the Semitic mind was specially prone to do so. We have the Proverbs of Solomon and the vast collection of the Proverbs of the Arabs.

Though it is not an easy task to quote at random a large number of proverbs and to classify and arrange them in logical or chronological order, I give a few typical specimens of each class;—*ab uno disce omnes*.

The vast collection of Arabic Proverbs naturally falls into two broad divisions—moral and non-moral. By non-moral proverbs I mean those which are connected with some historical incident or personage, or throw light on the manners, customs, social life and surroundings of the Arabs, and which embody their beliefs, notions and superstitions. In other words, those which convey no moral idea, but which are not necessarily *immoral*. By moral proverbs I mean those which are pregnant with some deep philosophical meaning, which have some ethical purpose in view, which contain, in a crystallized form, the wisdom of the ancients, or some great truth.

I may fairly call, without being far away from the truth, the non-moral and moral proverbs as pre-Islamic and post-Islamic.

I

NON-MORAL PROVERBS.

A.—(a) Connected with some historical incident, or with the life and adventures of some hero or heroine of old.

1.—*Sahīfatul Mutalammis*.

This phrase, which is equivalent to the classic *litteræ Bellerophantæ* had its origin in one of the most celebrated incidents of early Arab History—the treachery of Amr, King of Hira, which caused the destruction of the young poet, Tarafah, and nearly involved in the same fate Tarafah's uncle, Mutalammis. Tarafah was the most perfect type of the wild and dissolute, but gifted, poets of the Ignorance. From early youth his genius for poetry, and his license of tongue, were remarkable. One day, when he was playing with the children

of his age, his uncle, Mutalammis, was reciting a poem which described, as was common among the Arabs, the rare qualities of a camel. He said—"I mount a dark red male camel ... or else a she-camel, etc."

2.—*Kadi'stanwaka'l jamalo.*

"See the he-camel transformed into a she," exclaimed Tarafah, and the phrase became proverbial to express a sudden inelegant transition. Mutalammis, much offended, told the boy to put out his tongue. Tarafah did so; it was dark in colour, and Mutalammis said: "That black tongue will be thy ruin." When Tarafah grew up he surpassed all his contemporary poets in debauchery, and addicted himself completely to love, wine and gambling. His great poem (one of the Moallakáts) was composed on the occasion of the loss of the herd of camels belonging to himself and his brother, which was carried off by a hostile tribe while he was spending his time in pleasure. At length, thoroughly ruined, Tarafah left his kindred and, accompanied by Mutalammis, repaired to the Court of Amr 'bn Hind, King of Hira. Amr appointed them to attend on his brother, Kaboos. Kaboos was a boorish prince, and treated the two poets with great indignity. The passionate Tarafah made some satirical verses upon him. These verses were brought to the ears of Amr by Abd Amr, Tarafah's brother-in-law and a favourite of the King.

Now this Amr'bn Hind was a most ferocious and vindictive prince. He had burnt alive ninety-nine men and one woman of the tribe of Tamim, in accordance with a vow of vengeance he had made to destroy a hundred of the race. This deed had gained for him the appellation of *al-Mubarrik*, the Burner.

3. Of the proverb,—*Innū'sh shakiya wáfidu'l Barájim.* (Ill fated is he of the Barájim, i.e., Tamim, who approaches.) He now determined to destroy both Tarafah and Mutalammis. Sending for them, he asked them if they desired to leave his Court. They answered in the affirmative; and he then told them that he would give them letters to Abu Kárib, Governor of Hajar. Taking the letter, Mutalammis and Tarafah set out. Mutalammis suspected treachery, and, as neither of the poets could read, he presented his letter to a young man on the way, and asked him what it contained. It was a request to the Governor of Hajar to put the bearer to death (cf. Hamlet). Mutalammis destroyed his letter, and implored Tarafah to fly with him into Syria. Tarafah obstinately refused, and continued his journey to Abu Kárib, who arrested him and caused him to be buried alive.

Amr ibn Hind was afterwards slain by the poet-warrior, Amr ibn Kalthoom, author of the Moallakah, in revenge for an

insult offered to his mother by Hind, the mother of Amr; whence the proverb,

4.—*Aftako min Amr t' bne Kalthoom—*

“Quicker to slay than Amr ibn Kalthoom.”

5.—*Ka nadmānay jazimata mawaddatan.*

“Like the two boon-companions of Jazimah in love and friendship.” This was Jazimatu'l Abrash, the famous king of the Arabs of Irak, and celebrated for his pride and grandeur in the popular legends. It was the custom of the Arabs to associate by threes in their feastings, so that each man had two boon-companions. But such was the pride of Jazimah that he would drink with none of mortal race, but declared that the *Farkadan* (name of a double star) alone should be his boon-companions; and to these stars cups were filled whenever the king caroused, and liquor was poured out as if they had indeed drunk. But it came to pass at last that the king's nephew, Amr ibn Adi, was lost in the *Samaweh*, or Syrian desert. This Amr was the son of Adi and Rakash, the king's sister. Adi, a youth of princely blood, was one of the king's pages, and, he and Rakash having mutually fallen in love, she persuaded him to ask the king's consent after he had been well drunken and then to consummate the marriage at once. Adi the next day found Jazimah so angry at what had passed that he sought safety in flight. Rakash gave birth to a son, whom Jazimah adopted, since he was himself childless. The boy Amr used to go out with the king's servants to gather mushrooms (Arab *Kam'al*; Persian *Samdroogh*) and it happened that, whenever the servants found fine mushrooms, they ate them and brought back only the worst kind to the king, but Amr brought back the best he could find, and one day, in presenting them, he uttered this verse

6.—*Házá janáyá wa khayárohu fih, Iz külle jánin yadohu ilá jih.*

“This is my collection and the best of them are there,

When the hands of all the pluckers to their mouths repair.”

These last words became proverbial. At last Amr, who was eight years old, was lost in the desert. Jazimah caused a thorough search to be made, and offered to grant the wish of anyone who would bring him news of Amr, but to no avail. At last two brothers, Malik and Okayl, sons of Farih, who were journeying to the king with presents, met a young man with his hair and nails grown long. They said to him: “Who art thou?” He said, “Son of the Tanukhi” (Jazimah reigned over the Tanukhites). The adventure which followed is not worth relating. In the end they brought him to the king who

offered them whatever reward they chose to ask. They asked that Jazimah should take them as his boon-companions as long as he lived. The king consented, and the three dwelt together for forty years until death separated them.

Amr was called Amr of the Collar, for, when he was brought back, his mother, in accordance with a vow she had taken, left on him the collar he had worn in infancy, on which Jazimah said "Amr has outgrown the collar."

7.—*Kabord Amrun anit towke*

which became proverbial in speaking of a thing that is no longer fitting.

9.—*Le amrim ma jada'a kasirun anfahu.*

"For some purpose did Kasir cut his nose off."

10.—*Jada'a anfahu be yadihi.*

"He cut his nose off with his own hands."

11.—*Ath'aru min Kasirin.*

More revengeful than Kasir. These are three of the series of proverbs which connects itself with Jazimatu'l Abrash, Queen Zebba and Kasir.

The Kasir in question, Kasiru'bue Saad'il Lakhmi, was the freedman (*nowla*) of Jazimatu'l Abrash. When Jazimah was treacherously murdered by Lebba, Queen of al Jazirah (Mesopotamia), Kasir, in order to avenge his master's death, cut off his nose himself and sought refuge with Queen Zebba, saying that Amr ibn Adi, Jazimah's nephew, had punished him for advising Jazimah to listen to the Queen's overtures. He soon became a great favourite and the confidant of the Queen and was several times sent by her to the Irak for purposes of trade. In the last of these commercial trips he communicated with Amr ibn and, accompanied by him, returned to Mesopotamia (*al Jazirah*). Under the pretence of sending presents to the Queen, he introduced a hundred soldiers, concealed in strong boxes, into the palace. At night they threw open the lids and attacked the Queen. She tried to escape by a secret passage known only to her and to Kasir. When she found the entrance to the passage guarded by Kasir and Amr ibn Adi, she licked the poison concealed in her ring and died exclaiming—

12.—*Be yadi la be yaday ibne Adi.*

"I die at the hands of me, not at the hands of the son of Adi."

13.—*Lailatu'l Farazdaki wa'l Halfa.*

Farazdak was a nickname which the famous satirical poet,

Hammám ibn Ghalib (better known as Farazdak), received on account of his dark complexion, the word being a corruption of the Persian *parázdeb*, which means a piece of burnt dough. He was a dissolute Moslem and gave rise to the proverb, "A night of Farazdak and Halfa," which signifies a night spent in debauchery. With other rakes, he penetrated into a Christian convent and passed the night with a nun named Halfa, drinking wine, eating pork, and dressing up in the nun's habit.

14.—*Ka fáqe-in ainayhe amúá.*

"Like one who puts out his eyes deliberately."

Farazdak's adventure with his wife, Nawar, is very celebrated, but is told by different writers with certain discrepancies. Farazdak had been commissioned to ask her in marriage, but, becoming enamoured of her, he took her for himself. She afterwards forced him to divorce her, and he pronounced the necessary words in the presence of witnesses. When he found that the parting was irrevocable he exclaimed—

Nadimto nadámata'l Kosa-ee-i lamúá

Ghadat anni mutallakatan Nawáru

Wa kánat jannati fa kharajto minhá

Ka Adamá hlúá akhrajahuz Dhiráru

Fakunto ka fáqe-in ainayhe amda,

Fa asbahá ma yúdhéo lahun naháru.

"I repented the repentance of al-Kosa-ee when Nawár became divorced from me; she was my Paradise, and I came out of it like Adam when expelled by the Angel az-Dhirár. I am like one who puts out his own eyes deliberately. No more does the day-light shine for him."

15.—*Nadimto nadámata'l Kosa-ee.*

"I repented the repentance of al-kosa-ee." Al-kosa-ee had found a fine *nabá* tree, of which bows and arrows are made, and had fashioned a bow for himself. He took his stand in the night to shoot wild asses; he shot and pierced one, but the bow was so strong and good that the arrow went through the body, and struck on the rock behind. Al-kosa-ee, hearing the sound in the darkness, thought he had missed his aim. Another troop came by, and he shot again with the same seeming want of success. At last, after shooting five times, he broke the bow in a rage. When morning dawned, he found that five asses lay dead, pierced with his arrows. His repentance at having destroyed so excellent a bow passed into a proverb, and it is said—

16.—*Andamo mina'l Kosa-ee.*

“More repentant than al-Kosa-ee.”

17.—*Raja'to be khuffay Honain.*

“I returned with the two boots of Honain.”

18.—*Akhyabo min Honain.*

“More disappointed than Honain.”

Honain was a shoe-maker with whom an Arab of the desert haggled about the price of a pair of shoes. At last the man would not purchase, and they parted angrily. Honain resolved on revenge; so he went forward on the road by which he knew the Arab must pass, and threw down one of the shoes. The Arab, when he came up, said: “How like this is to one of Honain’s shoes; if the other were with it, I would take them.” In the meantime Honain had gone on and thrown down the other shoe, and then hidden himself near. When the Arab came to the second shoe, he repented that he had not picked up the first; and, tying up his camel, he returned to fetch it. Honain at once mounted and rode off, having thus gained a camel in exchange for a pair of shoes. When the Arab went back to his tribe, they said to him: “What hast thou brought from thy journey?” He said: “I have brought back nothing but Honain’s shoes,” which became proverbial for a bootless errand.

19.—*'Alâ ahlchá tajni Barákisho.*

“Barákish sins against her people.” The name Barákish is variously explained as that of a bitch which betrayed the place of a tribe’s retreat by her barking; as that of the wife of a king who allowed her damsels needlessly in jest to kindle the signal-fire for the assembling of the troops; and thirdly, as that of a wife of Lokmán of Ad who persuaded her husband to eat the flesh of the camel, so that through the voracity of himself and his people the camels of her own tribe were destroyed.

20.—*Jammil w'ajtamil.*

“Camel us and camel thyself.”

It is related that her husband’s tribe did not feed upon camel, but a son of hers by a former marriage, going to visit his mother’s family, brought back a joint of camel, which Lokmán, tasting, pronounced to be good food. Barákish, hearing this and desiring to partake of camel, said to her husband: “Give us camel to eat and eat it thyself,” which words became proverbial.

21.—*Doona Gholayyána khartu'l katád.*

This proverb is connected with the famous war of al-Basús. When al-Basús raised a hue and cry against the

outrage done to her neighbour's camel by Kolayb, Jessás, her nephew, in order to pacify her, said to her: "Be tranquil, tomorrow shall be slain a male-camel whose houghing shall be a greater deed than this wounding of thy neighbour's she-camel." By this he meant that he would slay Kolayb; but the prince suspected nothing, and when he heard the threat of Jessás, he said to himself: "He intends to slay my camel stallion Gholayyán; but *less than Gholayyán is the stripping of the katád, i.e., to kill Gholayyán*, would be a more difficult task than to strip the thorny tragacanth with his naked hand. This phrase became proverbial, and is used when one attempts a task above his powers. Jessás watched his opportunity, and one day, when Kolayb went to the field unarmed, he followed him accompanied by one Amr. Jessás ran at him with his spear and broke his spine and went and stood over him. Kolayb, in agony, said to him: "Give me a drink of water."

22.—*Tokhatta clayya Shobaythan wa'l Aháss.*

"Thou hast passed by Shobayth and al-Ahass," said Jessas, alluding to two water-sources which Kolayb had prohibited to the Banoo Shaybán. These words became proverbial and are used when one seeks a thing where it is not to be found. He then left him, and, Amr going up, Kolayb asked him also for water; but Amr got off his horse and despatched him, so that "to ask help of Amr in need" is a proverb meaning to supplicate a merciless person.

(b). Proverbs connected with the manners, customs, beliefs and superstitions of the Pagan Arabs.

1.—*Khairu'l ghaẓā-e bawdkrohu Wa Khairu'l ashā-e bawdsrohu.*

"The best morning meals are the early ones, the best evening meals are those that are clearly seen," *i.e.*, that are taken before dark. The Arabs believed that meals taken after dark would cause indigestion (cf. the Buddhist belief).

2.—*Tabā-udu'z dhabbe 'an'n noon.*

"The distance of the lizard from the fish."

The lizard was supposed not to drink; but, when thirsty, to open his mouth to the wind (cf. Hamlet. "Chameleon's dish.") So the Arabs said:

3.—*Lā yakúno zá hattá yaridu'z dhabb.*

4.—*Lā af-'alo záliká hattá yahúnnaz dhabbo fi atharil ebelis Sádira.*

5.—*Arwá minaz dhabbe.*

"I will not do so and so until the lizard goes to water;" and the phrase "quenching thirst more easily than the lizard" became proverbial.

6.—*Taqdtmu'l harame mindn ne-am.*

7.—*Dafuu'l bandt mina'l múkremdt.*

8.—*Ni'ma'l khatenu'l qabr.*

"To send women before (to the other world) is a benefit." "The burying of girls is a generous deed." "The best son-in-law is the grave." These proverbs, it is needless to say, show the prevalence of the inhumation of female children (*wa'd*) and the belief of the Arabs that it was praiseworthy.

9.—*Tárart bihim'l auká.*

The Arabs say of anyone that is lost "The Auká has flown off with him." The Auká, the Persian *Simurgh*, is a fabulous bird which is supposed to dwell on the Káf.

10.—*Lahika bi'l kárizain.*

"He has joined the two gatherers of *karaz* leaves." The two gatherers of *karaz* leaves here alluded to were two persons of the tribes of Anzá and Namir who had gone out to gather *karaz* leaves, but were never heard of afterwards. Hence it is proverbially said of a person who is not expected to return, "he has joined, &c."

11.—*Aharro min dam'i'l maklát.*

"Hotter than the tears of one who has lost her children." The Arabs believed that the "tears of sorrow" were hot and the "tears of joy" were cold.

12.—*Atwalo min zilli'l kandt.*

The Arabs compared a long day with the shadow of a spear. They believed that the spear threw the longest shadow. So they speak of a short day as

13.—*Aksaro min ebhdmi'l katát.*

Shorter than the thumb of *kala* (a bird).

(c). Uttered by famous persons on important occasions.

1.—*Anjaza hurrin ma wa'ada.*

"The honourable performs what he promises." This saying was first uttered by al-Harith al-Kindi to Sakhr. Harith had said to Sakhr: "Shall I show thee booty on the condition that I receive the fifth part of it?" "Yes," answered Sakhr. Harith then directed him to a caravan from Yemen. After Sakhr had plundered the caravan, Harith claimed his share and uttered these words, which passed into a proverb.

2.—*Fatan wa lá ka Malik.*

"A knight, but not like Malik." The meaning is that the person spoken of was not equal to Malik in bravery or goodness. This Malik, whose name has thus passed into a proverb,

was Malik ibn Nowairah, who was put to death by Khalid ibn al-Walid, the famous Moslem General. His brother, Mutemmim, mourned his death for a long time, and when people, in order to console him, told him of other brave men similarly killed, he used to say : "A brave man, but not like Malik."

3.—*Ilanna kidhun laisa minha.*

"The arrow sounded ; it is not one of the right sort," became a proverbial expression in reference to a false pretender ; the words having been used by Omar, on the day of Bedr, in speaking of Walid ibn 'Okbah, who had exclaimed that he was of the Koraysh.

4.—*Sadagani sinna bakrohi.*

"He told me truly his camel's age." A man who was about to sell a camel assured the purchaser that it was *bāzil*, i.e., it had cut its *nāb*, or tusk, and had consequently entered its ninth year and attained its full strength. At this moment the camel started away, and the seller inadvertently called out to it, *Had'a, had'a*, the cry by which young foals are called back. The purchaser thus found that he was being deceived, and exclaimed : "Thou hast now truly, &c."

5.—*Mā ward'ke yā Asāme ?*

"What hast thou left behind thee, Asāme ?" Al-Harith ibn Amr, King of Kindah, desired to wed a young lady of whose charms he had heard ; but, being a cautious prince, he first sent an old woman, Asāme, to learn from actual inspection whether she deserved her reputation. When she returned, the king questioned her in the above words.

6.—*Talloba atharan vada ainin.*

"Seekest thou the trace after the substance." These words were first spoken by Malik ibn Amr al-Amili when he slew the King of Ghassan. Roused by his mother to take vengeance for his brother, who was slain by the king, Malik watched his opportunity and fell on the king when he was journeying with a small escort. The attendants offered Malik a hundred camels, the usual indemnity for a murder, if he would spare the king. He said : "I will not seek a trace (shadow) after the substance," and at once killed the king.

7.—*Innan nisā' lahmun alā wadhami.*

"Women are like meat on a butcher's board." The phrase "like meat on a butcher's board" is an ancient proverbial expression signifying the being weak and helpless, or exposed to danger. The proverb, "women are like meat on the tray," is derived from a saying of Omar ibn al-Khattāb.

8.—*Hāla'l jaridh doona'l qaridh.*

"Choking hinders the verse;" *i.e.*, stops the way of the verse. A father forbade a poetical son to recite until the youth saddened and fell into an illness. The father then relented, but it was too late; and the son, in his last moments, uttered the words of the proverb—

9.—*Inna'l asā gore-at le zi hulmi.*

"The staff is struck for the wise," Amr ibn az-Zarabe was the first man "for whom the staff was struck;" *i.e.*, whose garrulity and wandering in old age were checked by his daughter's striking, at his request, a staff on a shield. The Arabs used to consult him on disputed points, and whenever he erred in his judgment on account of senility, his daughter warned him by striking the rod. According to another authority the rod was first struck by Saad ibn Malik in order to warn his brother Amr ibn Malik, who had incurred the wrath of the King No'man.

10.—*I's Saife dhayyayle'l laban.*

"During summer thou spoiledst the milk," said by Amr ibn 'Odas to his wife Dakhtenoos. Dakhtenoos had compelled Amr to divorce her on the ground that he was too old to be her husband. Unfortunately her second husband was so poor that she was obliged, on one occasion, to send to Amr (her former husband) for milk, when he replied in the words of the proverb.

11.—*Uāz'a fasdi and.*

"This is my bleeding, mine." This proverb is attributed to Kā'b ibn Mā'meh, the Sir Philip Sidney of Pagan Arabia. While a prisoner among the tribe of Anazab, where he had voluntarily placed himself in bondage in order to free a man who had invoked his succour, he had been told by the mistress of the house to bleed the camel, to make blood puddings for the guests. Indignant at this stinginess, he had killed it, and, when rated by the housewife, he uttered the above saying: But this story is also told of Hatim, with the addition that the lady slapped his face, whereupon Hatim exclaimed—

Law ghairo zāle scwārin lalamatni.

"If any other bracelet-wearer had slapped me.

ART, XV.—TO AN INDIAN MOON.

Pale orb of night,
Divinely bright,
That ridest on the southern skies,
Manifest Queen !
Whom, dimly seen
In our far misty northern clime,
While fairies peep thro' leafy screen,
Lovers invoke,
As thou dost rise
'Twixt the gnarled boughs of some hoar oak
On summer-eve at trysting-time ;—

Was't in disdain,
Or part in pain
For ruth of thine Endymion,
Where he lay drown'd in deathless sleep,
From Latmos' steep
Thou cam'st to weep
Here, leaving there a phantom cold
A shade, a ghost,
As some have told
That Helen's wraith in Ilion
Mocked Paris and the Grecian host ?

For thee, for thee,
O list ! the sea
Heaves all its myriad moaning waves,

And bids them rear
White hands of spray
That fade in fitful gleams away ;—
Then, sunk to lowly sobbing lanes
The placid beach,
If it might teach
The rhythmic pebbles melody
To draw thee from thy crystal sphere.

Beneath thy wand
The trancèd land
In slumber lies, her languorous hush
Scarce stirr'd by airs
Whose fragrant prayers
Through balmy bowers whisper bland :
The palm-tree sways his dreaming plumes,
And in the tangle
Of creeper lush
And scented shrub each firefly spangle
Its beacon-light of love illumines.

So now ! the clouds—
Their pearly shrouds
Steal o'er thee, fleecy soft caresses
Woosingly laid
About thy tresses—
And is thy vengeful armoury spent ?
Nay, let them fear thee, Heavenly Maid !
Thy bow is bent,
And, swiftly torn,

They part, their flying shoulders sprent
With steely flashes of thy scorn !

We mortals gaze :
Our hymns of praise
Roll up : thou heedest not, nor stoopest.
But trailing still thy starry zone,
In splendour lapp'd,
From thy high throne
On our wild eyes, too fondly rapt,
With icy spires
Of fruitless fires
Freezing the flame of mad desires,
Thy bright benumbing sceptre droopest.

W.

ART. XVI.—CURTIUS.

(A Fragmentary Lay of Rome)

On Palatine the holy Square
 Gleams in the moonlight still,
And the Capitol of Tatius
 Stands on the northern Hill :
But in the midst the valley makes
 A wide and level street
Where citizens and Sabines
 By day were wont to meet :
Now, night has brought a portent ;
 Where once the traders came,
A chasm has rent the market-place,
 And all the lately-busy space
Is foul with smoke and flame.

The citizens have left their homes
 And fled in wild affright ;
There was no rest for Romans
 Upon that awful night :
But in the first watch, when the dark
 Was dying in the East,
The people slumbered, spent with care,
 And dreamed of succour least :
When, lo ! from distant Vesta
 A sound that wakened all,
A shout, as when Camillus
 Charged home the wavering Gaul :

And high above the thronging
 A mounted man appears,
Over his head a scarlet plume,
 Behind his back two spears :
Proudly he reined his chafing steed,
 Proudly he looked on high ;

While the crowd turned to left and right,
 As if it fled before the light
 Of some immortal eye.

He took the maiden kiss of Dawn,
 As of an equal power ;
 Men said no man had ever looked
 As Curtius did that hour.

‘ Ho ! Romans and Quirites ! ’

He cried for all to hear,
 Have ye no dread, the word hath sped,

“ The auspices are clear ;

“ Rome owes— so says the augury—

“ To three good gifts her force,

“ And here I bring them at her need—

“ Arms, and a man and horse.”

With that he smote his charger’s flank
 And shook his iron bit,

The noble beast flung up his head,

And leaped into the pit :

And, on the spot where Curtius

Sank down, a water lay

Which people call “ The Curtian pool ”

Unto this very day.

* * * *

More than two thousand years are gone

Since then. Again has burst

A chasm in Rome that threatens

More mischief than the first.

To heal that danger to the State

And quench those fatal fires

A Hero and a sacrifice

The Forum still requires.

THE QUARTER.

FOR Englishmen, wherever placed, the history of the past Quarter, like that which preceded it, has meant practically the history of the War in South Africa. The record, happily, has been one of almost uninterrupted success. When we closed our last retrospect, on the 10th March, Cronje had surrendered, Ladysmith had been relieved, and Lord Roberts had inflicted a severe defeat on the enemy in the neighbourhood of Ofontein and was in full march on the Free State Capital. Subsequent events seem to show that the surrender of Cronje with his army, and the rapid advance by which it was followed, must have completely demoralised the Boers, whose resistance has since been for the most part of a very faint-hearted character.

Any attempt at a detailed account of the operations which resulted in the occupation of Bloemfontein on the 13th March, Kroonstadt on the 12th May, Johannesburg just 18 days later, and Pretoria on the 5th June, and the relief of Mafeking on the 17th May, would be superfluous here. It is enough to say that the action at Ofontein, in which our casualties were relatively insignificant, was followed by another at Driefontein, on the 6th March, which also resulted in a complete victory for our troops, consisting mainly of General Broadwood's brigade and General Kelly Kenny's division. The further advance of the force towards Bloemfontein was unopposed, and three days later that place surrendered at discretion after General French had threatened to bombard the town, Lord Roberts, who entered at noon, receiving what is described as a tremendous ovation.

On the 15th March General Gatacre crossed the Orange River and occupied Bethulie, and the following morning General Pole Carew, with 2,000 Guards and two guns, started from Bloemfontein to join him and seized Springfontein junction, thus securing the railway communications of Bloemfontein.

At Bloemfontein a pause of some six weeks occurred in the general advance, the delay being due partly to lack of remounts for the cavalry and partly to the renewed activity of the enemy to the East and South-East, where some of the severest fighting of the campaign took place in the interval, the net result being the retirement of the Boers on Kroonstadt. On the 30th April, Lord Roberts having in the meantime been re-inforced

by the newly arrived 8th Division, a further advance was made by General Wavell's, General Bruce Hamilton's and General Maxwell's brigades in the direction of Brandfort, and on the 3rd May that town was occupied, the Boer army under General Delarey retreating to the North-East, and the mounted infantry immediately pushed forward to the Vet river. On the 6th Winburg surrendered to General Hamilton and the entire force advanced to the Vet river drift, which was carried, without serious opposition, after a severe artillery duel, apparently intended to cover the retreat of the enemy. On the 7th the force occupied Smaldeel junction, and on the following day General Hamilton, with the mounted infantry, occupied Fourteen Streams. On the 9th the main body advanced to Welgelegen on the Zand river. It was expected that the enemy would make a determined stand on the North bank ; but, though they occupied a strong position, the opposition encountered was of the feeblest, and the river was crossed by the entire force on the morning of the 10th with slight loss.

Pushing on at daybreak of the following day, the headquarters, with General Pole Carew's Division, marched twenty miles, to within fourteen miles of Kroonstadt, the Boers occupying an entrenched position at Boschrand, about six miles in advance.

The same afternoon, General French seized the drift across the Valsche river. During the night the enemy evacuated their first line of entrenchments, and at 1-30 P.M. Kroonstadt was occupied without opposition, President Steyn having fled to Heilbron, the previous evening, after issuing a proclamation constituting it the future capital of the Free State. Though the President's efforts to persuade the Burghers to defend Kroonstadt were unavailing, it was anticipated that the enemy would hotly contest the passage of the Vaal river. Lindley was occupied on the 17th by General Broadwood, and on the same day Lord Methuen, to the west of the main line of advance, occupied Hoopstadt.

The advance from Kroonstadt began on the 21st May ; and on the 23rd the force crossed the Rhenoster river, the enemy having fled during the night after slight resistance. On the 24th the advanced guard crossed the Vaal near Parys, the main body crossing three days later, just in time to prevent the destruction of the coal mines, our casualties in the operation being only four. On the 28th the force made a magnificent march of twenty miles and arrived within eighteen miles of Johannesburg, the enemy abandoning their positions one after another with the utmost precipitation. On the 29th, the outskirts of Johannesburg were reached, and the Clerksdorp railway junction connecting that place with Natal and Pretoria was seized.

The following day the town surrendered and it was occupied on the 31st after a respite of 24 hours, and the annexation of the Orange Free State under the name of the Orange River Colony proclaimed. The same day a portion of the force pushed on to Hatherley; thus severing the railway communication between Pretoria and Delagoa Bay, but too late to prevent the escape of President Kruger. On the 2nd June the bulk of the force encamped near Pretoria, General Wavell's brigade being left at Johannesburg, where the mines were found uninjured, to prevent disorder. On the 4th June it was announced that Pretoria had been invested after severe fighting at Six-mile Spruit, and that the Burgomaster was prepared to give up the town on a formal demand being made. The following day the town surrendered unconditionally and Lord Roberts entered it at 2 P.M. A Reuter's telegram, dated 6th June says: Just before dark yesterday, the enemy were beaten back from all positions, General Hamilton's Mounted Infantry pursuing them to within 2,000 yards of Pretoria. A flag of truce was sent, demanding the surrender. General Botha proposed an armistice for the purpose of settling terms; but Lord Roberts intimated that the surrender must be unconditional, otherwise our troops would march into the town at daybreak. General Botha replied that they had decided not to defend Pretoria, and trusted that the women, children and property would be protected. Three of the principal civil officials met Lord Roberts at 1 o'clock in the morning and stated their wish to surrender the town. Few of the British prisoners have been removed. Over 100 officers are in Pretoria.

The only serious reverses that occurred in the course of these operations were the partial destruction of a convoy despatched, with his baggage and batteries, by General Broadwood from his bivouac near Thabanchu towards the Bloemfontein Waterworks, which was ambushed in a deep nullah and lost six guns and 435 men, killed, wounded and missing, and the surprise and capture of five companies when marching from Reddersberg to Smithfield.

Mafeking was relieved on the 17th May by a composite force of about 2,300 men under Colonel Mahon, who had effected a junction with Colonel Plumer at Jammāsibi, two days previously. A most determined attack had been made on the garrison on the 13th by a body of 250 Boers under Commandant Eloff, who succeeded in penetrating into the heart of the British camp. In the struggle which ensued and which lasted all day, half the little band got divided and surrounded and the survivors finally surrendered. The Boers left 10 dead, 19 wounded and 108 prisoners, including Eloff himself and nine officers, with seventeen Frenchmen and Germans. The relief

ing force was stubbornly opposed by 1,500 of the enemy some nine miles from Mafeking on the 16th, but drove them from their positions after five hours' fighting. After the relief the garrison and the relieving force attacked and routed the Boers under General Snyman, and Colonel Plumer has since occupied Zeerust.

It is somewhat difficult, from the fragmentary accounts that have appeared from time to time in the daily papers, to gain a clear and connected view of the operations in Natal subsequent to the relief of Ladysmith. After that event it appears the Boers continued to hold the Biggersberg range in force, and on at least two occasions serious attacks were made on our advanced camp at Elandslaagte from that direction, but were easily repelled.

On the 12th May an advance was made from Elandslaagte and Indoda Hill occupied. On the 13th Uithoek Hill was attacked and carried, and on the following day the enemy evacuated Helpmakaar Nek. On the 15th Wessels Nek and Dundee were occupied, and Glencoe on the 16th, the Transvaalers evacuating the entire line of the Biggersberg, a few days later our troops re-entered Newcastle; and on the 19th General Clery advanced to Ingogo and Lord Dundonald to the neighbourhood of Laings Nek, the Boers holding fortified positions from Laing's Nek to Vryheid. On the 30th May General Hildyard occupied Utrecht, the enemy at the same time evacuating Dornberg, while General Buller was encamped on Inkwelo Mountain, which commands the enemy's camp at Pogwani.

The latest news to hand is contained in the following dispatch from General Buller dated 8th June:—

"We have captured positions which, I think, render the Boer position at Laing's Nek untenable. General Talbot Coke, with the 10th Brigade, on the 6th instant, captured Vanwyke's Hill, our casualties being 4 killed and 13 wounded. During the 6th and 7th we posted four big guns on Vanwyke and two guns on a spur of Inkwelo. General Hildyard to-day assailed all the spurs between Botha's Pass and Inkwelo. The attack was well planned and carried out with immense dash. The enemy were outflanked and forced to retire from their very strong position."

"The ably-planned operations by which these results have been achieved have been marred, like those in the neighbourhood of Bloemfontein, by an unfortunate mishap, General Bethune's Horse, which were detached to drive the Boers from Nqutu and Vryheid having fallen into an ambuscade between the former place and Mount Prospect, and lost between twenty and thirty killed and wounded, besides a number captured.

It was at first believed that Kruger had effected his escape

from the country, *vid* Lorenzo Marques, and that he might be expected to turn up next on the Continent, but the account of his interview with a correspondent of the *Daily Express* at Machada Dorp, telegraphed by Reuter on the 8th instant, shows that this impression was premature. His declaration that the Burghers will never surrender while there are 500 armed men left in the country may, none the less, probably, be set down as "bluff." At the same time, the war may be expected to drag on some weeks longer, the probability being that a remnant of the Boers will make a final stand in the difficult country in the N.-E. angle of the Republic, where, however, they will shortly find themselves completely surrounded.

Considerable dissatisfaction has been created in certain quarters in England by the publication of Lord Roberts and General Buller's despatches, or rather a selection from them regarding the Spionkop fiasco, containing certain reflections on General Buller's conduct which is censured as being opposed to good policy and official practice. The public conscience seems to have been specially exercised by a suggestion of Lord Lansdowne's that General Buller should recast his narrative of the operations, which, much to his credit, he refused to do. Lord Rosebery, in the Lords, accused the Government of having impaired General Buller's authority and humiliated him, because they were unable to face a few questions in the House of Commons, and the general opinion of the Press appears to be that the publication of the despatches was unjustified.

Apart from the war in South Africa the most important event of the Quarter from a national point of view is, perhaps, the enactment of the Commonwealth Bill, which was read a second time by the House of Commons unopposed on the 21st May, a compromise having been arrived at on the question of appeals. Under the appeal clause as passed, all questions as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of the Commonwealth and the Australian States, or as to the limits of such powers between the State themselves, are left to the decision of the High Court of the Commonwealth; and in cases of this class there is to be no appeal except with the consent of the Governments concerned. In all other cases the right of appeal is preserved, power, however, being reserved to the Commonwealth Parliament to limit the right of appeal in future with the consent of the Crown. Two out of six colonies, it should be added, together with all the Chief Justices, were in favour of the retention of the former right of appeal in all cases.

A crisis of some magnitude, the ultimate consequences of

which it is difficult to forecast, has arisen in China, where a serious anti-foreign movement in the neighbourhood of Peking, organised by the Boxer secret society and believed to be fomented by the Dowager Empress and her party, threatens to necessitate active intervention on the part of the Powers. So far the Imperial forces have shown themselves utterly unable or unwilling to suppress the rising; the Powers, including America and Japan, who are co-operating in defence of the common interests, have landed a considerable force at Tientsin and twenty-three war ships are assembled at Taku. Many miles of the Peking railway have been destroyed; several Europeans, including an English Missionary, have been murdered, and the situation at Peking is said to be critical. The latest information is that 250 of the Hong-Kong regiment and 200 of the Welsh Fusiliers, whose place is to be supplied by troops from India, have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to the North, while a Russian force is also moving on the capital.

Politically the past three months in India have been wholly uneventful, and, with the exception of a marked abatement of the mortality from Plague in all parts of the country, the domestic situation has undergone but little change.

The Financial Statement, which was laid before the Council by Mr. Dawkins on the 21st March, and which was framed for the first time in sterling, shows a surplus for 1898-99 of £2,641,000, and for the past year of £2,553,000, receipts having improved during the year by £607,000 in spite of a loss of land revenue, amounting to £1,187,000, owing to the famine. At the same time, notwithstanding several large economies, the net expenditure has increased by £676,000, also owing to the famine, which has entailed an outlay of £2,055,000 for relief purposes. The Budget Estimates for the year are made up on the basis of exchange of an 16*d*. An increase of £838,000 is taken under land revenue, as it is hoped famine will have disappeared by September. An increase of £667,000 is anticipated from railways, and of £156,000 from opium owing to better prices in China. Direct famine relief is expected to cost £3,335,000. Allowing for temporary increases due to high prices, and for recoveries, Military Estimates show an increase of £746,000, of which nearly half is devoted to re-arming the Native Army. The surplus for 1900-1901 works out at £160,000. The Secretary of State is expected to have drawn by the 31st March £19,000,000 at an average rate a little over 16*d*., but owing to famine expenditure £1,500,000 of the drawings were met out of Currency Reserve, the gold being held in England.

Next year the Secretary of State expects to draw £16,440,000

and to incur temporary debt of £500,000. The Secretary of State does not expect to raise fresh permanent sterling debt; but it is estimated that a loan of three crores will be necessary in India for Ways and Means. Capital expenditure on railways will amount to £4,872,000 and the Irrigation grant is raised to a full crore.

The gold held by Government under the new Currency Arrangements amounted on the 7th March to £8,570,000, or more by £3,570,000 than the minimum balance which it is considered necessary to maintain in that metal; and it has accordingly been decided to pay out gold in excess of the limit of £5,000,000 to any one desiring it. The gross receipts from railways during the year showed a gratifying increase of £824,000, those from opium an increase of £401,000, which is, perhaps, even more satisfactory, and those from the Post Office, Telegraphs, and Mints an increase of £423,000. It is considered highly satisfactory that during the past year India met all demands for famine and railway construction out of revenue, without recourse to borrowing, and passed to a gold standard through the ordinary operations of trade, without incurring additional debt; but the cost at which all this has been done cannot be ignored and has left an enduring mark on the country.

During the period under review the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure have issued their Report. Their recommendations, while they are very far from meeting the claims of the Indian Government, or satisfying the demands of justice, and while there is nothing in them that can be considered to account for the inordinate delay that has occurred in the preparation of the Report, are important enough to justify the enquiry.

On the question of the efficiency of the financial machinery of the Government their verdict is one of almost unqualified approval. They pronounce it to be well-organised, effectively controlled, and, though the process of ascertaining actual receipts and expenditure is slower than in England, well adapted to the conditions of the country. They, however, think it worthy of consideration whether the financial year should not close on the 31st December, in which case, they remark, the accounts of actual income and expenditure would be practically complete by the time the Budget was opened, and there would be no need for Revised Estimates.

As regards Financial Control they express themselves somewhat more doubtfully. They think the controlling power of the Financial Member of the Council is theoretically complete; but they note a serious difference of opinion on the part of recent Finance Members as to his practical power, and

remark that, as far as the administration in India is concerned, everything depends on the weight attached by the Viceroy to financial considerations. They accordingly think it desirable that the Secretary of State should learn unreservedly the opinion of the Financial Member, and consider the suggestion of Lord Cromer that he should be at liberty to express it in a confidential memorandum, to be forwarded by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State, deserving of favourable consideration.

As regards the sufficiency of the Indian audit their opinion is on the whole favourable, but they are divided on the question whether the terms of appointment and duties of the Comptroller and Auditor-General are a sufficient guarantee of his independence. They make certain recommendations, which need not be detailed here, regarding the form and disposal of the appropriation accounts, and they also think that the Auditor of the Home Accounts should exercise a free-discretion in commenting on the expenditure audited by him; that these accounts, with his Report and a Minute of the Secretary of State on them, should be referred to a Standing Committee, two of the members of which should be unconnected with the India Office and one should be the English Auditor and Comptroller-General, and that the Report of the Committee, with the papers, should be laid before Parliament.

On the important subject of the growth of expenditure, they satisfy themselves with instituting a comparison between 1861-62 and 1895-96, and come to the conclusion that the produce of taxation in the interval increased in a considerably greater rate than the population; and that, while the growth of expenditure outstripped the normal growth of the tax-revenue by Rx. 5,550,000, the expenditure included a sum of no less than Rx. 13,800,000 for increased cost of exchange; so that, but for the charge entailed in India by the fall of exchange, the normal growth of revenue would not only have been sufficient to meet the largely increased demands of Military and other services, but would have provided a large balance available for reduction of taxation.

As to the cost of collecting the revenue, they remark that it is very heavy, but that, barring that of the Land Revenue, it is not much higher than in the United Kingdom.

Turning to cost of civil administration, they arrive at the conclusion that that of the "general administration" was not excessive as compared with 1875 and cannot fairly be considered extravagant. Passing to non-effective civil expenditure, they express an opinion that the Indian scale of furlough or leave pay is not extravagant as compared with allowances of the same kind in the Imperial Diplomatic and Consular

Service, or in Ceylon, and while they point out the heaviness of the burden cast on the tax-payer by the fall of exchange for civil pensions payable in England, and urge that the Government of India should take steps to ascertain the financial effect of the pension regulations, they abstain from pronouncing against the existing scale, "recognising that laborious and responsible service in a tropical climate should entitle a man to "a substantial pension in reasonable time."

In connexion with the expenditure on Defence and Foreign Affairs, they note the large increase, amounting to 47 per cent., between 1884-85 and 1896-97, but observe that if the effect of the fall in exchange were excluded, the increase would probably not exceed 29 per cent. The chief causes of the increase, they add, are the addition to the British force in India, the increase of the native army, the annexation of Upper Burmah, the increased allowances to the native army to meet increased prices of food, increase of recruiting and depôt charges in England, and of non-effective charges, and the grant of deferred pay to the soldiers.

They further remark that the increase of non-effective charges, due largely to the effect of the abolition of purchase, is formidable; that the charge for leave pensions to officers of the native Indian army has increased very greatly, and there is also a large increase in the pensions of ministers of religion attached to the army; and they recommend that an actuarial report should be obtained showing the normal non-effective charge entailed upon the tax-payer by the present regulations and the proportion it bears to effective, as well as a similar report on the charge for military pensions formerly payable from military funds.

As regards the apportionment of charges between the United Kingdom and India for services in which both are regarded as interested, they make a series of more or less important recommendations. Briefly, under the head of civil charges, they recommend that the United Kingdom should contribute £50,000 a year to the cost of the India Office; that the United Kingdom should contribute half the military charges of the fortress of Aden; that the charges for the Legations and Consulates in Persia should be equally divided between the two countries; that India should maintain the Euphrates and Tigris and the United Kingdom the Karun river, subsidy.

Under the head of army services we gather that they do not on the whole consider that the present capitation grant is excessive, or that short service will eventually entail an increased burden on India; they think, however, that the capitation grant should be revised after a further period of five or six years, and that, pending such revision, half the cost of

transport of troops between the two countries might fairly be borne by the United Kingdom.

In respect of payment for Indian Troops employed out of India, they submit for consideration the Heads of a Treasury Minute which, they suggest, might be drafted for allocating the distribution of charges on a geographical basis. These are :

1. That India has not a direct and substantial interest in the employment of forces in Europe ; in Africa, west of the Cape of Good Hope ; in Asia, east of China.
2. That India has a direct and substantial interest in keeping open the Suez Canal, and in the maintenance of order and established government in Egypt so far as the security of the Suez Canal is affected thereby. This interest might extend to the coasts of the Red Sea only so far as to maintain the inviolability of that shore, but not to the Soudan, or further extensions of Egypt up the valley of the Nile or its affluents.
3. That India may have a modified interest in questions affecting the East Coast of Africa as far as Zanzibar, and the African islands in the Indian Ocean, except Madagascar.
4. That India has no direct or substantial interest in the African coast south of Zanzibar.
5. That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Persia, and the coasts and islands of Arabia and of the Persian Gulf.
6. That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Afghanistan and that part of Central Asia which is adjacent to the borders of India or Afghanistan.
7. That India has a sole interest in punitive expeditions on her borders.
8. That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Siam.
9. That India has a modified interest in questions affecting China and the Malay Peninsula.
10. That India has no direct or substantial interest in Japan or countries or islands east and south of China.
11. That special cases may arise giving to India a direct and substantial interest in questions connected with Europe or other territories in which the Minute declares her to have, as a general rule, no interest.
12. That in every case where the two Governments are not agreed, no contribution should be made by India until the sanction of Parliament has been obtained.

“We think” they add, “that in the event of the Governments of the United Kingdom and India not agreeing upon the question of ‘distinct and special’ interest, a committee might be constituted of two members appointed by Your Majesty’s Government, and two members appointed by the Secretary of State in Council, and of a chairman to be selected by the four members. This committee should make a report to the Government which should be presented to Parliament ; and the Government, within a prescribed period, should present its final determination for the satisfaction of both Houses. The Treasury Minute would aid the committee and the two Governments in arriving at a decision.”

As regards Naval charges the Commissioners incline to the view that the sum of £100,000 at present paid towards the cost of ships of the Royal Navy employed in Indian waters is not excessive, but suggest that friction between the two Governments might be removed if ships of the size and number required by the Government of India for coast police were supplied at the actual cost, and the balance of that sum paid over in a lump as the contribution of India to the general cost of the navy.

In connexion with the appeal for liberal treatment submitted by the Indian Government the Commissioners, after going into the arguments on either side, suggest no change beyond that already mentioned regarding a division of the cost of transport of troops to and from India ; but express their concurrence in the views of the Committee of the House of Commons which reported on Indian expenditure in 1874, and with reference to their opinion that payments by India to England should take the form of fixed rates as to which the India Office should be consulted, they observe that there ought to be no instance of a charge imposed upon the Indian Government without previous consultation with the Secretary of State, and that no alterations involving expenditure in India should take effect in India till the beginning of the financial year following their adoption.

As already noted, the mortality from Plague has shown a marked diminution during the past three months, the total number of deaths from the disease in all India having, according to the latest returns, fallen to between seven hundred and eight hundred a week.

The distress in Western India and Rajputana, on the other hand, continues unabated, and the number of persons in receipt of relief has nearly reached six millions. As far, however, as can be judged from present indications the coming monsoon promises to be of at least normal strength, though somewhat later than usual.

Among minor results of the Quarter specially connected with India we may note the institution by the Queen-Empress of a new decoration for local services entitled the Kaiser-i-Hind medal. The decoration comprises two classes—a gold and a silver medal—and is to be given for public services in India irrespectively of class, rank, creed or sex. The first list of medallists was issued on Her Majesty's birthday.

The obituary for the quarter includes the names of the Duke of Argyll ; Field Marshall Sir Donald Stewart, G.C.B., G.C.S.I. ; Major-General Sir E. R. P. Woodgate ; the Earl of Harrowby ; Dr. St. George Mivart ; Mr. Archibald Forbes ; Colonel the Hon'ble George Hugh Gough, C.B. ; Osman

Pasha ; Sir Douglas Maclagan ; Mr. J. G. Cordery, I.C.S. ; Mr. A. H. Gunter, I.C.S. ; Mr. W. Knighton, LL. D. ; Sir W. Priestley ; Mr. W. Duff Bruce ; the Earl of Londesborough ; Sir Francis Marindin, K.O.M.G. ; Sir John Bridge ; M. de Munkaczy ; General J. A. M. Macdonald ; Mr. T. B. Sandwith, C. B. ; Lieutenant-General Pitt-Rivers ; Colonel Ralph Ouseley ; Colonel A. S. Leith Hay, C. B. ; General Lord Mark Kerr, G. C. B. ; Major-General J. F. Richardson, C.B.

June 10, 1900.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Hic et Ubique. Verses written in Idleness. By H. G. Keene, C.I.E. Allahabad, 1899.

THE discriminating reader will hardly lay down this little volume of graceful verses without feeling that, with more abundant opportunity, its author would have taken a place in the front rank of contemporary English singers. It is exclusively to the cultured, however, that Mr. Keene's Muse, unlike that of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, appeals; and under no circumstances, probably, could he have expected more than a limited audience. Even in his more humorous vein, to which he yields but seldom, as in the lines to an Angora Cat, he never ceases to be refined. The lyrical element is everywhere conspicuous in Mr. Keene's poetry, and the dominant note strikes us as a more than usually sad one. Yet few persons, we think, will take leave of *Hic et Ubique* without regret for its brevity or without a sense of gain.

In "Crossing the Street," which we quote below, Mr. Keene is not, perhaps, quite at his best; but it will appeal strongly to many an Anglo-Indian.

CROSSING THE STREET.

DEAR UNCLE DICK! I see him yet,
His Quixote face and white moustache;
The one cheroot he smoked a day,
And how he watched the lengthening ash:
He never talked of what he'd been,
Or all the glory that he missed,
But if you asked about his deeds,
Referred you to the *Indian List*:
There you could see what life was his;
He had ruled and judged and thought and planned,
Had made the name of England blessed,
And civilised an Eastern land:
The Province where he once held sway—
A modern Soldier of the Cross—
Had stretched as far as half our isle,
From Pentland Firth to Solway Moss:

And now he ruled, when all was done,
A two-pair flat in Pimlico,
A stranger in his native land whom no one
Really cared to know.
And all his work was now to march through fog and
snow,
Through wind and sleet,
To read the journal at his club,
And cross with care the crowded street :
Till age came, on, with slow decay,
Unmarked by us, unnamed by him,
The elastic step grew weak and stiff,
The hearing faint, the eye-sight dim ;
One winter night they brought him home,
Crushed in the darkness and the rain,
And laid him on his lonely bed ;
He never crossed the street again.

Four months Besieged. H. H. S. PEARSE, Macmillan & Co.,
London and New York.

IN the avalanche of books, fiction and fact, which owe their origin to the present war in South Africa, it is pleasant to come across one written in the sober and judicial spirit which characterises Mr. Pearse's story of Ladysmith, *Four Months Besieged*. It consists of pages from letters and diaries that, with the exception of two or three of the letters which managed to escape the various accidents that beset the path of the special correspondent, have hitherto remained unpublished. Although, of course, they do not contain an absolutely full account of the siege, the description they give is complete enough to enable any one with the necessary imagination and a faculty for reading between the lines, to follow the fortunes of the sorely tried little garrison from day to day. from the investment in the first week in November to the relief in the last week in February. No praise can be too great for the conduct of the troops, the patient endurance of the citizens and the gallantry and ability of the general during the latter part of the siege ; but even to those least versed in warfare it will be evident that mistakes were made at the outset which, it is hard to believe, did not add greatly to the difficulties of the position. As to whether Sir George White was justified in running the risk of humiliation

by asking of General Joubert that the non-combatants with sick and wounded should be allowed to leave Ladysmith unmolested, or not, there will doubtless always be great difference of opinion, but there can be none, we should think, as to the danger and folly of his permitting Boer escorts, who came to demand an exchange of wounded to enter the town under no military restrictions and not even blind-folded. Among them, we are told, there were burghers who were neither doctors nor qualified in any way for attendance on wounded men. They moved about the town, talked with Boer prisoners, "drank at public bars with suspected Boer sympathisers—all this while they probably picked up many interesting items as to the number of troops in Ladysmith, the position of ordnance stores and magazines, and the general state of our defences, which were chaotic at that moment. One among the visitors was particularly curious about the names of officers who dined habitually at the Royal Hotel mess, and very anxious to have such celebrities as Colonel Frank Rhodes, Dr. Jameson, and Sir John Willoughby pointed out to him. Does anybody in his senses believe that such careful inquiries were made without an object, or that the Red Cross badge was regarded as a sacred symbol sealing the lips of a Boer as to all he had seen and heard in Ladysmith?

When Joubert's artillery began shelling the town their fire was directed on important stores, the locality of which could have been indicated to them only by secret agents, and on places where officers are known to assemble at certain hours. These may all have been merely strange coincidences, but, at any rate, they are noteworthy as showing that in some way, whether by accident or cunning design, General Joubert's gunners were able to profit by the truce that was agreed upon without any exact stipulation on either side as to its duration. The tacit understanding seems to have been that both forces should have time to collect their wounded and bury their dead."

At other times during the siege Boer farmers and others would appear to have been given opportunities for spying out the land, with the result that the plans of the besieged became known to the enemy almost as soon as they were formulated, a state of things which points to an amiability and confidence in the General which certainly amounted to weakness. An interesting chapter headed "A Christmas under Siege" describes the devices resorted to in order to celebrate the great festival in a manner worthy of old traditions. Roast beef for Tommy there was, it seems, plenty, but unfortunately the oxen which provided it were too lean to give also the suet necessary for his plum pudding. But in spite of this drawback the puddings were duly forthcoming. Mr. Pearse however, per-

haps wisely, keeps to himself the secret as to what substitute was found for that important ingredient. It seems strange to read of Christmas trees being got up for the children while shells were screaming over the town, but habit apparently accustoms men even to such startling visitors, and in Ladysmith several of the officers got together the materials and the toys and entertained over 200 children with four trees representing "Great Britain," "Australia," "Canada" and "South Africa" under folds of the Union Jack. One of the pathetic incidents of the siege which forms a striking example of the irony of fate, was the death of Dr. Stark, a "visitor from England with the avowed object of giving medical care to any wounded enemies who might fall into our hands. When Boer shells began to burst about our ears Dr. Stark was the most practical advocate of caution. He would leave the Royal Hotel at daybreak every morning, or even earlier, carrying with him a pet kitten in a basket, and sufficient supplies for a whole day up to dinner-time. When the light began to fade so that gunners could hardly see to shoot straight, and therefore ceased firing, he would emerge from his riverside retreat and return to the hotel. Foresight could not suggest more complete precautions against accident than he took on common-sense principles. But, unhappily, one evening the Boer artillery carried on practice later than usual, aiming with fixed sights steadily at the Royal Hotel, in the evident hope of hitting some staff officers who were supposed to hold their mess there. It was nearly dark when two shells came in rapid succession from the big gun near Lombard's Kop, and the second, passing clean through Dr. Stark's empty bedroom into the hall below, went out by an open door and hit the doctor, who was coming in at that moment. A special correspondent, Mr. M'Hugh, who happened to be standing near, rendered first-aid by the application of a tourniquet; and trained nurses came quickly to his assistance, but too late to save the kindly gentleman, who had been shot through both legs, and whose life-blood was ebbing fast, though he remained alive and conscious of everything that passed for an hour afterwards. The hand of fate seemed there, but whether it was more merciful to him or to those who, having escaped shot and shell, are now stricken by disease in an unhealthy camp, who shall say?"

How hard pressed the little garrison became before that joyful night when the relieving force entered the town, will be seen by all who read Mr. Pearse's book. Even on February, the 7th, it was felt that if relief was much longer delayed, worse things than privation would ensue, for scurvy was added to the other diseases in Intombi camp; and horseflesh, which

for some time had been given out under some sort of disguise and glorified by the name of "chevril," had already been frankly placed on the bill of fare, with the result that many civilians who had doubtless been enjoying it under an assumed name refused to eat it. The book is furnished with illustrations and maps, and should not only be read, but bought by all who are interested in the war and wish to retain a clear memory of the circumstances of this memorable siege.

The Cambric Mask. BY ROBERT W. CHAMBERS. Macmillan & Co., London.

THERE is a lack of seriousness, amounting almost to flippancy about Mr. Robert W. Chambers' last book, *The Cambric Mask*, which will probably surprise those who read his *Ashes of Empire*. This quality, however, makes it very good reading for anyone in want of a book to while away an idle hour. It deals with the schemes and villanies of a lawless community in the States of America, and of the disintegration of a band of moonlighters called the "White Riders," with whom other secret brotherhoods, with their signals, codes and rituals "dissolved into legendry as quietly as they have come into existence." The characters of the hero, "John Sark," who employs his time in collecting entomological specimens, and as some one describes it "keeps hot-houses for to breed silk-worms," and raise new species of butterflies, and his companion, "Mr. Batty," stand out in striking contrast to the scoundrels amongst whom they live, and their several love adventures, if savouring slightly of caricature, form an agreeable interlude between the scenes of coarse American vituperation and the schemes of unscrupulous financiers. Mr. Chambers indeed provides us with sufficiently varied fare, and tells his story with a briskness which forbids his readers to lay the book down unfinished. What part the *Cambric Mask* plays in the plot it is not for us to disclose. We can only recommend those who have not already read the romance to do so and discover for themselves.

Longmans' Readers for Bengal Schools (Anglo-Bengali).
The First Primer. Edited by W. H. Arden Wood, M. A.,
 La Martinière, Calcutta. Longmans, Green, and Company,
 32, Hornby Road, Bombay; London and New York, 1900.

I N this first Anglo-Bengali primer, Mr. Arden Wood has followed the type common in England in which the letters of the alphabet are each illustrated by a representation of some familiar object, the name of which begins with

it, the letter A, for example, being accompanied by the figure of an ape, J by that of a jackal, and so on. A similar device is adopted for impressing on the pupil the meanings of the simple monosyllables used as nouns substantive in the easy sentences constituting the syntactical exercises given in the primer, and, in some cases, the states or action predicated in the sentences. All these illustrations, too, are highly coloured, and would no doubt impress an average English child of two or three years greatly. The intention is laudable, and to the execution there is nothing to object. Indeed, it is often greatly superior to that found in most English primers of the same type. At the same time, we fear that Mr. Wood, or whoever is responsible for the method adopted, has somewhat underrated the precocity of the Bengalee child, which, for the most part, not merely renders it independent of such expedients, but not uncommonly disposes it to laugh at them. The translations are in most cases accurate and colloquial, though the rendering of " *The ox in the pit ;* " " *The dog is thin* " and the like by ঐ ষাড়টী ঐ খানার ভিতরে ঐ কুকুরটী কুশ। and so on, is questionable. Altogether the primer is a painstaking and attractive compilation.

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October 1900.

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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

No. 222—OCTOBER 1900.

ART I.—A RETURNED EMPTY.
(Continued from July 1900, No. 221.)

CHAPTER III.

1885.

THIS year opened on a return to London life, in charge of a Hindu nobleman whom we may identify as "Kumar Sahib," that being his ordinary title. He was what was called a statutory civilian, a species now believed to be verging on extinction. This was an idea of Lord Lytton's, *vis.*, to nominate native Indians of high caste and family, as a sort of civil cadets, to qualify for covenanted service. The present youth had been sent home to pick up a little occidental civilisation, attend Law-Courts, and otherwise fit himself for administrative employ under the Indian Government, and I had to put him into the right paths under the general control of the India Office.

In public affairs the year was the inevitable offspring of the preceding; beginning with a terrible Guy Fawkes affair in Parliament, fortunately before the sitting had opened. News soon came of the practical failure of the Sudan expedition and death of General Gordon : followed by rebellion in North America, under a French Half-breed named Riel, and a serious difficulty on the Afghan Frontier arising out of an attack on the Ameer's troops by a Russian force. Later on Riel was captured and hanged, the last execution on purely political charges that has taken place under British rule for many years ; and peace was patched up with Russia, owing greatly to the Ameer's moderation, and without any conclusion as to the question of the Muscovite General's veracity.

Ere long the Ministry broke down from sheer imbecility, or weariness, as it seemed ; Gladstone resigning (without losing his majority on general questions) in preference to dissolving Parliament. Lord Randolph Churchill now made his appearance as M. P. for Woodstock and soon began his

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brief meteoric career: he had already signalised himself in connection with the foundation of the Primrose League, and was presently made Secretary of State for India. The Sudan expedition was arrested, for the time, on the advice of Sir Redvers Buller; but provision was made for carrying on the railway from Wady Halfa to the Border. In July General Grant—twice President of the United States—died in private life and somewhat straitened circumstances; and Sir Moses Montefiore passed away in his 101st year. The South African Republic of the Transvaal, being unable to meet its liabilities, suspended payment in July, not foreseeing what a change was about to arise in its financial fortunes. In August Mr. Joseph Chamberlain made a speech at Hull in which, while disclaiming revolutionary intentions, he announced his adherence to a scheme of socialist legislation, including a graduated property-tax and an alteration of the death-duties: principles which, in all probability, he afterwards saw reason to modify. Mr. Gladstone issued a strong manifesto in September, indicative of an acceptance of the principle of federal relations with Ireland; Lord Salisbury replying next month in his famous Newport address and charging Mr. Chamberlain with “baseless libel.”

On the 8th November Mr. W. T. Stead was found guilty of taking a girl from her father's custody; and, although given credit for the purest motives, was told by the judge that he had been, “and I don't hesitate to say will ever be, a disgrace to journalism.”* On the 11th Mr. Gladstone addressed a fervid oration to his friends at Edinburgh, claiming a substantial majority at the coming election, to enable him to deal with questions pertaining to Ireland and other matters which could be adequately dealt with only if his government should be in “a position to act independently of the Irish vote.” The surrender of King Thebaw to General Prendergast virtually led to the extension of British rule to the south-west border of the Chinese Empire; and this was the last important event of the year in which our country was concerned.† I resume the extracts from notes recorded at the moment.

* *Wednesday, January 21st.*—Read a paper by Leslie Stephen on Thackeray's writings. The critic is not impartial, but he does not profess impartiality. He has written with good faith and stern earnestness; his great and deserved reputation must ensure respectful acceptance. Yet the question remains: was Titmarsh—as a writer—a cherisher of tender thought and

* The author of these uncompromising observations was Mr. Justice Lopes, afterwards Lord Ludlo: died January 1900.

† The annexation of Upper Burma was proclaimed on the 1st day of 1886.

genuine sympathy? That he could *adopt* such sentiments was certain, and in doing so he certainly obtained for some of his later writings a popularity which was refused to "Catherine Hayes," "The Fatal Boots," and even to that little masterpiece "Barry Lyndon." But the Swift-like sentiments and pictures of human nature with which these works abound, did they not spring from some intrinsic mood that was more inbred and spontaneous; and why do they contain so little that is tender, sympathetic, or reverential? It was no want of workmanship that obstructed the reception of those earlier works, in all of which the *technique* is quite as consummate as in "Pendennis" or "Philip." His contemporary, Charles Dickens, was surely not his equal as an artist; yet his manly heartiness took the world by storm and has held possession without a break ever since.

Friday, 30th.—Went to the Haymarket with Kumar to see "Diplomacy." He unhesitatingly expressed his approval of the Bancrofts, which showed good taste in so complete a novice.

Thursday, February 5th.—On the way to District Station this morning saw placards with the miserable story of Gordon's fate.

At a concert in Elvaston Place saw a curious meeting between Halliday and Wm Tayler*—when I say "meeting," they did not speak. But what must have been their thoughts after an enmity of 40 years!

Wednesday, 11th.—At the club met Col. S., bound for the war in North Africa. A talk about the Sudan, and what was to be done there. S. said it might mean a 2/6 Income-tax for us, and no return to England for two-thirds of them. Let us hope for better luck.

To India Office to speak to F. about my pupil going to the *levée*. He wants to wear European court dress, but the official view is that ill-str-s Personages would not like it. He is a strange being, this Black Buck, unlike any type of educated Hindu with whom one is acquainted. He resembles neither the religious Brahmin of Bombay, nor the scholarly Babu from Calcutta; still less does he display the somewhat sheepish loyalty of the N-W. P. Banya—of whom we see samples reading at Gray's Inn—nor the becoming pride of the highborn Rajput Prince. He is bucolic, yet vain and—I fear—not very truthful. Shall inform him that I can present him only in his own handsome native dress.

Sunday, 15th.—To S. John's Wood, to dine with the Wards;

* Poor T. was Commissioner of Patna during the Revolt of Fifty-seven, but did not please the Bengal Government: died some years back. An accomplished man, who published "Recollections" in 2 Vols.

a good dinner and pleasant evening. Mr. Pigott,* examiner of plays : agreeable man : said the only actor who could deliver blank verse properly was Arthur Stirling, the "Friar Lawrence" at the Lyceum.

Saturday, 21st.—My Oriental Tony Lumpkin much perturbed by a D.O. letter from the authorities asking him why he did not go to the Ripon dinner. Drafted a reply, at his request, which he is to sign and deliver.

Sunday, 22nd.—Took pupil to morning-service at the Temple Church : "Stainer in A.;" anthem by Dr. Croft. Foolish sermon on being turned into pillars of salt if we looked back ; made one wish the preacher had been tempted to turn his head on the way to Church ; no salt about him at present, Attic or other.

Tuesday, 24th.—Took pupil to Privy Council Office to hear an Indian appeal tried. Couch, B. Peacock, R. Collier,† present ; with other councillors unknown For Appt. Leith and Doyne (but no case). For Rspt. J. D. Mayne, not called on for reply.

Wednesday, 25th.—The Kumar insists on going to Messrs. S. with me to order a quantity of coats and waistcoats. Lunch at Athenaeum : a Cabinet Minister, at the same table, said : "How nearly we have the materials of optimism in England, and just a something to defeat it!" He seems very weary of public life : though it cost him, doubtless, much prolonged and strenuous exertion to attain his present position.

Monday, March 2nd.—To St. Jame's Palace with the Kumar, who was gorgeous in drapery of kincob and satin ; not pleased with himself and thought (most mistakenly) that he would have looked much better in knee-breeches ; after I had presented him we went, by his desire, to Mr. Mendelssohn's where he was photographed in many attitudes and "panel" size.

Thursday, 5th.—Called on Surgeon-General O'C. at the junior ; his conversation inspiring and interesting. He is acting as medical officer to the platelayers going to Suakim, and says the line can be laid to Berber in three months from the men's landing.

Friday, 6th.—K. sentimental ; says his brother requires him to return to India : probably not true.

Thursday, 12th.—With K. at Privy Council, to hear Mayne ‡

* Pigott, E. F. S. (1823-1895), accomplished and much-respected man of letters.

† Sir R. Couch and Sir Barnes Peacock, ex. C. J. S., Sir R. Collier, afterwards 1st Lord Monkswell : my frequent and friendly antagonist at billiards ; a fine landscape-painter.

‡ Mayne, J. D. formerly a leader of the Madras Bar, and author of a valuable book on Hindu Law.

argue in a Madras appeal (we are reading M's. *Hindu Law* together). Met F. at Ind. Office, who begged me not to return to Jersey if I could open a class in London for native gentlemen students.

Friday, 13th.—Struck by a remark of S. on Carlyle, whom he characterised as "a strong but not deep thinker, afraid of science." It is so true, though so singular, considering that O. began life as a mathematician.

Tuesday, 17th.—Called on Mr. and Mrs. A. P. S. He said it was not true that an outsider could not get work on the London Press; but afterwards admitted that it was only to be done by "shoving," as of the unemployed at Dockyard Gates.

Thursday, 19th.—Fine weather, cold wind from N.-E. My Hindu Lumpkin sick, sulky, and idle.

An idea for a clever fictionist originated in an afternoon visit. An interesting woman loving two men at once—*scenario* as thus—Husband good, but absorbed in business entailing long absences; the other man an old friend whose opinion she values, yet desires the approval of her husband. Misses the one when he is away, yet becomes restless if she does not see the other for any length of time; never harbours an unfaithful thought, yet does not tell the husband of her friend's influence; rather from shyness than from any wilful deceit. A situation likely to end badly?

Wednesday, 25th.—War expected with Russia.

Friday, 27th.—Lord Granville states that the Afghans were in possession of Panjdeh before Sir P. Lumsden got his instructions.*

Sunday, 29th.—Called at M.'s studio to see his new picture. Met Sir C. Gregory and his charming wife—once the beautiful Mrs. Stirling of the Haymarket Theatre. We talked of *Romeo and Juliet*, in which she had lately played "the Nurse:" on being asked how she liked Mary Anderson's Juliet, she fenced by answering that no one under 60 years of age could understand the character. "Well," said I, "you have delighted us for so many years that I hope I may make bold to ask, when will you undertake Juliet?" To which she immediately replied: "I will play the part whenever you will play Romeo to me." [She came out nearly 50 years ago.]

Tuesday, 31st.—The K. has made a bolt of it!

Wednesday, April 1st.—Read what seems a positive assurance of a peaceable solution of the Panjdeh scare, with honourable security for India.†

* A day or two later the matter was seriously discussed in Conference between Lord Dufferin and the Ameer; but the Russian attitude continued eminently unsatisfactory.

† The Native States offered support; but Mr. Gladstone preferred to

Good Friday, 3rd.—To the C.'s. Met Wills, the dramatist—author of *Claudian*, *Charles the First*, etc.—a pleasant Irishman. He said play-writing was a fearful trade; you never could tell whether a piece would hit or miss with the public. Miss C. announced her intention of painting my portrait and getting it hung in the next show at the Academy!

Saturday, 4th.—Back to Jersey, where the next three months passed in an uneventful way: to London again in July.

Sunday, 12th.—Dined at Ath. with Grote, Sir A. Playre and Don Pascual de Gayangos, an Arabist of distinction, long domiciled in England, and a member of the club.

Saturday, July 18th.—Went to Broadstairs on a visit to old B. I remember going there last about the time of the cholera scare (1832) when my father took me there by river steamer. The little place seemed not much changed.

Sunday, 19th.—Drove with my kind host to Sandwich: A wonderful old place once a seaport, now nearly 4 miles inland though still nominally one of the "Cinq Ports." Visited the old church, St. Clement's; with fine square tower of Norman architecture, dated 1135 A.D. Some early English work in choir; nave with large Perp-windows of Henry the Seventh's time; an old stone altar long used as tombstone of the Spencer family, now restored to its original site and kept beneath communion-table: ancient tiles and brasses. The old fortifications have been converted into smooth promenades, as at Hereford and elsewhere; but there is an old gateway opening on a primitive paved street. One solitary boat lay on the stagnant Stour.

Monday, 20th.—Curious talk with H., a well-known horse-breaker: we discussed the reasons of senility: he attributed it to calcification, and said it might be kept off by eating great quantities of fruit. Also that horses ought to live to 40, but died prematurely from unscientific feeding. They ought not to have so much corn. Satisfactory interview with F. at Ind. Office.

Wednesday, 22nd.—Dined at club with Fergusson.* He praised "an article in the last *Quarterly* on 'the Channel Islands:'" I did not tell him it was mine; but felt the pleasure known as *laudari a laudato*. Pleasant evening in smoking room with Gayangos, Lord. M. and others.

Friday, 24th.—Dined at Queen's Mansions with the dear

accept the olive branch tendered by the Czar. The Russian Government agreed to the neutralisation of the debatable land until delimitation should be concluded, and to refer to the judgment of a neutral State any difference that might be found insoluble.

* Antiquarian and architecture-critic: died 1886.

old Surgeon-General—meeting Colonel T. and P. I. Host told splendid story—in his peculiar way, which in another might be thought over-elaborate—about the encounter of a British gunner and a Sikh swordsman when Lord Auckland met Ranjit Singh in 1838. But the mischief is that this excellent yarn has entirely escaped my memory in writing up this record.

Sunday, 26th.—Back to Jersey, where life resumed its even tenour. I find a note that may be worth preserving, under date *Thursday, 3rd September.*

Went to the old manor-house of the Lempriere family at Maufant; now, and for some generations part of the farm-premises of a Yeoman-race who have bought the property, including the manorial rights of the Seigneur. The old man whom we found in possession was working in his shirt-sleeves, a sort that would have delighted J. S. Mill; a true peasant-proprietor such as must be rare in modern England: handsome, courteous, contented, and somewhat proud, quite ignorant of the world and of books: unable to speak either English or correct French, yet very keen about his own affairs and answering to one's idea of a Scottish Laird of the eighteenth century. He showed us everything and escorted us to the gate hat in hand.*

Thursday, 10th.—Called at Government House and made the acquaintance of my gifted coeval, Mrs. Lynn Linton, whose curious semi-ideal autobiography has just appeared under the title of "Christopher Kirkland." In this the lady has given her experiences of London journalism in the days of Douglas Cooke; but under the travesty of a *male* character. A bright, handsome, well-bred old lady with eyes kind but keen under her spectacles. I made bold to ask her some questions about the curious book above mentioned; to which she was good enough to make some reply. She said she had altered the names of those who had been much mixed up in her life; and pleaded shyness in treating them. The work is therefore of the *Dichtung und Wahrheit* class; the mischief of which is that one cannot say where one begins and the other ends.

Thursday, 17th.—Called on Mrs. Linton at Government House. She thinks Pessimism self-condemned, as a system or school of thought.† The power of criticising and controlling

* I was writing a little semi-historic tale about Jersey during the Civil War, which required some description of this old place.

† These were the halcyon days when people had leisure to be miserable, and when Eduard V. Hartmann's imaginary woefulness was widely relished and enjoyed. Englishmen have tasted the tonic bitter of real trouble since (1900).

the forces of the Planet is exclusively possessed by man, and is a proof and instrument of good. As to the need of belief in a future life to redress the balance of the supposed evil present, she asks: Why not, then, for the wasps that we persecute and kill? Yet they go through their appointed task without audible complaint. I wish I could give her argument in her own dear language. She also holds that sickly people should be kept from marrying by law. [Why not also criminals?]

Friday, September 25th.—With E. and A. to call at L. Manor, a lovely old wainscoted house, well kept and furnished. The mother of the châtelaine, an old Irish woman who had literally risen from the ranks, having been successively married to a private, a sergeant, and a commissioned officer, all in the same regiment. She has extraordinary spirits and a natural flow of witty speech, and told us the drollest yarns. One, about some people who endeavoured to get refined service out of an untrained bog-trotter girl left no details upon the memory; but her account of the cholera at an Indian station where the corps had been quartered is good enough to stand on its merits, without the charm of the narrator's inimitable *verve*. A soldier's wife of her acquaintance, she related, had been to the bazar to get some arrack, which she had so freely sampled as to have quite lost the control of her legs, though her Irish wit was still unsubdued. On her way back to barracks, whom should she meet but the Colonel, riding slowly along with no attendant but his *sais*. She knew that if the C.O. saw her reeling and staggering, he would mark her for condign punishment: so she promptly sate down by the road-side, emitting the most plaintive groans. The Colonel dismounts at once, and to his anxious enquiries receives for answer that the patient has been attacked by Cholera Morbus. To offer his arm and lead her home was the immediate impulse of the kindly commandant; who deposited his burden in the gateway under the unquenchable mirth of the sentries, who had no difficulty in understanding what was the true condition of affairs.

Mrs.—was immediately taken to hospital and put to bed, while an orderly hurried off to fetch the surgeon, who had gone off for a little shooting. He was not, however, very far off or hard to trace; and he promptly hurried back to the supposed case of cholera. The patient was asleep by this time, but the diagnosis was soon made. "A sunstroke," pronounced the medical officer; and ordered the patient's head to be shaved and that she should be kept in bed on tea and toast till his next visit. When he came to pay his morning visit, poor Mrs.—was sitting up with the mien of a Chinese

Joss, and was pronounced convalescent. "Ah, Docthor dear," she cried, as the surgeon approached her couch: "How could ye be so crule as to have me head shaved?" When reminded that she had complained of serious illness, the impenitent Bacchanal made answer: "Sure it was not in me head the cholera was."

Thursday, October 29th.—A lovely day for a great local fête, went to the parade to witness the unveiling of the Don monument. It seems that General Don was Lieutenant-Governor from 1806 to 1813, during which period he did a good deal for the Island, especially in the matter of roads; much against the will (at the time) of a primitive community given to stand upon the ancient ways. He seems to have lived down his unpopularity; and, his fame increasing during the next two generations, a somewhat tardy recognition has taken the form of a substantial vote of £4,000. The result is a poor statue on a monstrosity of a pedestal, and a presentment of the unfortunate hero of which he has been spared the beholding. Such is popular gratitude.

Tuesday, November 3rd.—Went with Sir. A. C. S.* to see the old buildings at S. Ouen, the seat of the historic family of Carteret, for many generations the chief signeurs of the western side of the Island, finally distinguished by the accomplished Minister of King George VI. The house contains much fifteenth century work, and was under careful restoration by the present seigneur, Colonel Malet de Carteret; and the Church, hard by, has had the singular fortune to have been begun in 1130 and finished about seventeen years ago.

Monday, 30th.—Miss Bellis married Mr. Bell.

Great change small incidents display,

The new-made bride can tell,

Whose name—by what the papers say—

Once *Bellis*, now *is Bell*.

December 1st.—Read Sir. H. Maine's *Popular Government*. The learned and brilliant author does not appear quite just to the fact that Democracy after all must be the proper ideal for an educated community, no matter what there may be to say against it in practice. Doubtless, discipline is needed, under any form of Government whatever; but—so far as consists with preservation of due order—an ultimate appeal to the wants of citizens has to be provided: to use the old figure, the Pyramid is best founded on the broadest base. As to the particular form of consultation known as "Referendum," where no law is passed until it has been accepted by a certain majority in the constituencies, it has at least this recommendation, that, wherever it has been tried, it has tended to reduce

* Sir Arthur Cowel Stepney, Bart., formerly M.P.
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the bulk of new legislation. Perhaps Maine, having been for years a professed lawmaker, may not see the advantage; but surely changes in the social organism should do no more than keep pace with changes in surroundings; and a political constitution should grow less by artificial treatment than by natural exigencies and mutual concessions.

Thursday, 24th.—A visit from Rev. R B., a curious type of human nature; learned, archaeologic, even versed in anthropology; yet unaware that the Jewish Scriptures—which he reads in the original Hebrew—are not authoritative on science or history. Made him a present of the *Revised Version* which he had not seen.

Friday, Xmas Day.—A lovely morning; roused by tumult over head of young people examining their stockings, exposed overnight to the benefactions of the curiously named "*Santa Claus*."^{*}

Our Christmas tree was very presentable when lit up at night; but we were boycotted for some imputed epidemic. So, those who were bidden being found unworthy, we pursued the consecrated plan of sending out into the highways; and we had a numerous assembly of the children from adjacent cottages. They were much dazzled at first, but went away in great glee, laden with gifts and goodies.

I find this festive season more of a trial every year; less a season of piety than of mince-piety; and much clouded by various anxieties.

There are few books noted as having appeared during the year of war and excitement thus concluded. But I find a note upon Froude's *Life of Carlyle* (1882-4) which may suggest a not unimportant enquiry. I mean the doctrine about Heroes imputed—quite correctly—to the sage of Chelsea and applied to life in general by his disciple and biographer.

If great men are the creators of all that is good in their respective eras, it is evident that we have only to learn from Carlyle & Co. how to identify them and then let them work their beneficent will.

If, on the other hand, they are only the product and best fruit of their era, then the light that is seen upon their faces is at best thrown from without, and not always clearly visible.

In this latter case all competent citizens have a claim to take part in the direction of affairs; and universal suffrage, with or without Referendum, is only a question of time. When knowledge is becoming general, the time is at hand.

A second point of importance is as to the power of imaginative literature. No doubt it may be argued that, in the hand

* *Qu.*—How can a male Saint be Santa, or in what language was he so canonised?

of a man like Carlyle, the pen idealises all that it touches. His Mirabeau, his Cromwell, his Frederic, what are they? Not photographs, surely : idealisations, rather.

One is reminded of a saying of Hugo's, remarkably profound for a youngster of 22, as he was when he put it on paper. "Below the surface of the actual world exists an ideal world full of glory for those who have learned to see by contemplation the thing that in all things lies beyond."

That is not really a defence of Poetry, as Sidney or Shelley might have put it, but it contains a doctrine of surpassing interest, if only we find it to be true. It may, perhaps, turn out that the Hero, or Great Man, who is represented to us as the creator of his era is rather the idealised product of a mind which has contemplated the era *after* the accomplishment of its facts and shares the *vision* of a truth below the surface, together with the faculty of giving to that truth its appropriate expression. To such, at least, the Hero may seem the incarnation of his Age.

CHAPTER IV.

1886.

This year was principally marked, in the British Islands, by the acceptance of the "Home Rule" cause by Mr. Gladstone and the bulk of his followers. Some of the more prominent of these, however, broke off on this subject ; and and on the last day of May occurred one of the most memorable moments in modern political life. On that occasion Mr. Chamberlain led a band of malcontents, of whom 46 determined that they would oppose the second reading of the Bill to provide "a legislative body to sit at Dublin for the conduct of Irish business." As this is not the place for political controversy, it will only be necessary to observe that this event was the actual commencement of the new party system ; amounting virtually to an approximation of the "right centre" "and left centre," and involving the absorption of the Extreme Right and the temporary ostracism of the Extreme Left which still characterises British politics.* The Bill was rejected in the Commons, and Parliament was dissolved before midsummer. The general election that followed was decided against the Gladstonians owing to the defection of the "Liberal Unionists," as the new party of concentration began to be called. The result being that the Cabinet resigned in July, and a Ministry was formed by Lord Salisbury which was in the nature of a Coalition. Mr. Goschen, however,

* Written in January 1900. Party politics have not yet returned to the old lines of Whig and Tory ; probably never will.

was the only prominent Liberal to take high office : Lord Hartington only offering general support.* Other matters of minor public interest were a riot in Spring, in the West End, with destruction of property—this was attributed to neglect or mismanagement on the part of the Police, whose chief, Sir E. Henderson, resigned and was succeeded by General Sir Charles Warren. In the early part of the London season, too, an exhibition of Indian and Colonial produce was opened by the Queen in person ; and was popularly known as “The Colinderies.”

The diary proceeds ;—touching but lightly on merely personal occurrences, of which some were tragic enough, yet not such as to obscure one’s whole outlook upon the world.

Monday, January 11th.—The Jersey Banking Company stopped payment, and the wildest rumours prevailed. De Gruchy and Co. said to be implicated ; liabilities and deposits—many of poor people’s money—thought to amount to half a million. A great event in a small community ; much indignation expressed against the Managing Director. Truly a “Black Monday” for the Island.

Thursday, 14th.—Marvellous behaviour of a London editor : generally this is a courteous class, though often tried and worried, doubtless. But this man’s conduct is outrageous. After accepting—indeed commissioning—an article and keeping it nearly 14 months, he has made me re-write it, then hacked it to pieces, printed a portion of it, then kept it back once more, and now “hesitates to use it because a short letter on a similar subject has appeared in a weekly paper.” Indignantly demanded return of M.S.S.

Friday, 22nd.—To Oxford by invitation from Sir M. W. to work at Indian Institute. Put up at the Mitre, and went for a walk, looking in at Wadham Quad, where I noticed a bruise on the masonry of a window of my rooms which I seemed to recognise after an absence of 43 years.

The old coffee room of the Mitre, too, seemed very familiar, though the inmates were of a different type. Oneself, old, grey, careful paterfamilias, a pair of bagmen intent on business, and—greatest novelty of all—two cadets from the military college, in smart uniforms, drinking “vintage port,” made in the city about a week ago.

Furious letter from my editor.

Friday, 29th.—Conversazione at Ind. Inst. begun by a Lecture by W. on Indian Buddhism ; not at all lively, I saw some of the audience asleep. The Inst. a pretentious building, by

* Mr. Goschen did not assume office until the first month of the following year, when Lord R. Churchill resigned the Exchequer. Lord Hartington described the situation as a coalition of Party but not of Government.

Mr. Basil Champneys ; it must be a trial for an architect to design a public monument in such a scene. The ground-floor contains material for a museum, and the first floor is devoted to an excellent library of which the nucleus is formed from the gift of a famous scholar, Rev. Solomon Cesar Malan, incumbent of Broad Windsor.*

Tuesday, February 2nd.—To convocation ; defeat of Sir M. W.'s two amendments to Statute on Oriental Studies :—

1. That Persian should not take rank as a "classical" subject along with Sanskrit and Arabic, and :

2. If it were so to rank, then it should be coupled with comparative Iranian grammar.

The second, at the least, appeared reasonable. Modern Persian is no more a classical language than modern Greek : but, taken with the grammar and philology of the Avesta, it would form an interesting branch of Aryan work.

M. W. has hinted a desire to go away for a year leaving the Institute in my hands. It would be pleasant if made worth one's while.

Monday, 8th.—Called on the Vice-Chancellor at Balliol to ask permission to take private pupils.† He was civil, but seemed weary. There are a number of droll stories of him, most of which are public property. He has the cherubic acidity which was such a characteristic of the late Lord Westbury.

Thursday, March, 4th.—Called on Warden of Wadham, who showed me my Matriculation (autumn of 1842). It appeared that, at the age of 17, I had been the first in my batch. He invited me to have my name restored to the college-books.

Thursday, 11th.—Visit from E. C. H. and his handsome son in my office : the young H. is President of the Union—or just vacating—a young man of great promise.‡ After lunch Max Müller called, and, as usual, was pleasant and interesting. M. W. lectured in the evening ; his second on Buddhism : pleased to find him assigning a rational chronology to the sage and his system.

Friday, 12th.—Paid my fees to college and university : elected member of Union. Dr. Tylor was good enough to take me round the University Museum.

Saturday, 13th.—Dined with the Max Müllers.

Tuesday, 16th.—*The Messiah* at Sheldonian : the Oratorio as

* Born at Geneva, 1812, a Prebendary of Salisbury and widely-travelled linguist of, 1891.

† The famous Mr. B. Jowett, who did so much for his College, producing so many able men, of whom some are now serving the country in high places : died 1893. [Known to undergraduates as "Towler."]

‡ The now popular writer known as Antony Hope.

a whole tedious to modern taste. Grand effect of Hallelujah chorus.

Wednesday, 17th.—A concert, at which a violin-solo by a grandson of the Queen's.

Sunday, 21st.—Spent the afternoon at M.'s tobacco parliament. Some talk there with Thorold Rogers.* Prof. Rhys came late, also Prof. Stoddart, an interesting Yankee scholar. Dined with Warden at Wadham: port wine of 1854; wonderfully fruity for its age.

Tuesday, 23rd—Back to Jersey: Bagot Manor, an old house modernised, with a large kitchen-garden and green-house.

April.—Weather cold and showery: garden backward.

Read Greville's new series (1837-f.f.) a valuable record of minor political and social affairs in the early part of Queen Victoria's reign which I only knew as a boy: faded and forgotten party politics; and glimpses of some memorable men. G. an able and fundamentally *modest* man, with a sound appreciation of the great Duke that does him credit: the great Duke, who was a most masculine creature, not always correctly valued. G.'s portraits remind one of Clarendon: that of Lord George Bentinck, in particular, masterly beyond anything of our day. Of course one can't take all the interest in those past politics and personages that they caused at the time; and "the gruncher" appears somewhat in the character of a Resurrectionist. Yet he does make these subjects so interesting that one learns to admire him for the skill and subdued sympathy involved in the feat. And he saw deeper than most English aristocrats of his day into the misery that inspired the discontent of the Irish peasantry.

Tuesday, 26th.—Coming home from the club saw a pretty episode. A poor tatterdemalion was playing the concertina at a street-corner and some children came and gathered round. One of them, about four years old, began dancing to the music in an artless but serious manner, doing steps instinctively without taking her feet off the pavement, with all the solemn, unconscious grace of childhood. The vagrant was touched; and, bending down without a pause in his mechanical and mercenary performance, watched the baby's pretty movement with a smile that quite shone through his squalid surface. It was nought, and yet it was a sort of revelation.

Tuesday, 27th.—Sir George Campbell called, and we took a drive.† He seemed much interested in the old feudal laws and institutions, and I handed him some notes.

* Ex-member for Bermondsey, afterwards Professor of Political Economy in University. A robust intellect trained to deep historical research: died, 1890.

† Sir George was formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, afterwards M. P., an able man with a somewhat tedious voice and manner, which probably handicapped him as a Senator.

Wednesday, 28th.—The Governor and Mrs. W. dined with us, also Lady L., the Vice-Dean, and others. We had a Scottish waiter to assist; who, when we expected him to raise the cover of the soup-tureen, whispered audibly—"Are ye no gawn to say grace?" The Vice-Dean took the hint—Sir George came in after dinner, seeming—as I thought—oppressed by the shadow of a coming dissolution, but showing acuteness and originality in his views of men and measures.

Saturday, May 1st.—Back to Southampton with Campbell and accompanied him to Southwell House, where I was his guest.

Tuesday, 4th.—To Oxford once more: the city and gardens in the full loveliness of a late Spring.

Thursday, 6th.—Grand weather: sate in garden with Prof. Max Müller, who was pleasant and chatty.

Monday, 10th.—Summoned to I. O. by telegram. A critical moment, perhaps.

Tuesday, 11th.—Called on Vice-Chancellor, and ascertained that there was no prospect of any post in the University in connection with my subjects. Sir M. makes no definite intimation in regard to the Institute, and I have no pupils.

Wednesday, 12th.—Went to London and called on—at the I. O. He was out, so left a note. Went to the "Colinderies" and met T. who was showing round two Princesses.* Returning to I. O.; found—who asked if I could take charge of a Hindu noble, from the Bombay side? I agreed to try it for a month. Back to Oxford—rather tired—to take leave.

Wednesday, 19th.—Conversazione at South Kensington given by Pharmaceutical Society. A curious affair: we can't all be Druggists. The only person we knew was T., but there was a band, and the Museum looked its best with lights and crowd.

Friday, 21st.—Rebellion of pupil, who declares that he had promised himself to an older acquaintance and will go back to India if he can't have his own way. There has been a muddle at the office, and I will have no more to say to him.

Monday, 24th.—To I. O. where—was very friendly, and an amicable arrangement was entered into. But some of these Asiatics are very tortuous.

Monday, 31st.—Took E. and A. to lunch with Col. S. at the Tower, where he is commanding Guard of the Coldstreams. He showed us the Regalia and Armoury. Then took them to Mrs. Lynn Linton's and passed the rest of the day with Morison at the Athenæum.† He is very attractive; and the state of his health gives him pathos.

* Sir John William Gayer, C.I.E., formerly Inspector-General of Prisons, N.-W. Provinces of India.

† James Cotter Morison, author of *Life and Times of S. Bernard*, and

Thursday, June 3^d.—Back to Jersey with E.

Monday, 7th.—A man, called "a Philistine," answered "Yes; that, I suppose, is why I am overthrown by the jaw of an ass." Which calls to mind a story of Jowett that has not—so far as I know—been published. He took Miss Jex. Blake into dinner, and manifested relief when the ladies left the room at the conclusion of the meal. His host asking him if he had not enjoyed the conversation, was answered—"Oh! she is a learned lady and knows that Lex is Latin for 'law'; I fancy she infers that Jex is Latin for 'Jaw'."

Thursday, July 15th.—Read *Marmion*: What is the charm? It is not good poetry (though it contains the only lines of Sir Walter's that have attained the rank of household words); the story interferes with the verse, and the verse hampers the story. But the *spirit* is grand; and the introductions to each canto are the perfection of that kind of writing. Scott, instinctively perhaps, found out that evil can only be held at arm's length by dislocating self, and ceasing to look at the world from the autocentric point. Always objective!

Monday, 19th.—Reading the "Faery Queen" lately, was much struck with the strange mixture of gorgeousness and austerity that must have made up Spenser's "humour:" a medley of crudity, affectation, puritanism and splendour. His Red-Cross Knight is an ideal type of Elizabethan England.

Friday, 30th.—George Meredith's "Diana" very able, but surely too obscure in its diction: full of oracle and epigram of which the point is not always easy to discover: E. G. "The worldling holds to-day but not the morrow. Us too he holds for the day, to punish us if we have temporal cravings. He scatter's his gifts to the abject, tossing to us rebels bare dog-biscuit. But the life of the spirit is beyond his region, we have our morrow in his day when we crave nought of him." A meaning is to be found, but it does not represent ease for the novel-reader. The book strikes one as full of great qualities, but deficient in small charms.*

Tuesday, August 10th.—To Liverpool with F, who is to go to Canada by Allan line.†

* *Wednesday, 11th.*—D. S., an old schoolmate at Anstey's, Rugby, called at our Hotel early and took us to an Exhibition called, by local humour, "The Shipperies." A real schooner

one of the founders of the *Fortnightly Review*. He had a fine house and library at Hampstead, but died prematurely in 1888: *multis ille bonis flebilis occidit*.

* This is the story of Mrs. Norton alluded to above in noting Hayward's death: its accuracy is strongly questioned.

† My son Frank, going out to his kinsfolk; never to return, poor boy.

and lighthouse in the grounds. S. the same bright good-natured fellow one recollects five and forty years ago. We dined with him and his family at night. We had never been at Liverpool before ; it struck one as an extended Bristol ; full of such graven images as made one wish the 2nd clause of the Decalogue were better observed.

Thursday, 12th.—We took F. on board the “Polynesian” off Birkenhead and left him there.

Wednesday, 18th.—At Mold, North Wales. Yesterday called on an old military acquaintance living in a house built by Edward I. The dining-room had a wagon-vaulted ceiling, with a stout hook embedded in the masonry from which a hostile official was hanged during the Wars of the Roses. Spent to-day at Chester, looking at the Cathedral and the “Rows.” Dean Howson said to have spent £ 70,000 on judicious repairs to the fine old Church.

Monday, 23rd.—After a few days in a lovely cottage on the banks of the Dovey was involved in a painful disaster : my daughter drowned, leaving a husband and two children.

Friday, 27th.—M.’s funeral at Brookwood ; no mutes, trappings, or frivolous expenditure.

“Around your tomb the Surrey fir-trees rise,
Marie ! And flying shadows cross the place ;
Your fitter shrine is in our memories
Holding your unforgotten youth and grace ;
And on that fond imaginary tomb
This flower I lay, a little while to bloom.”

Sunday, 29th.—Returned to Jersey.

Saturday, October 9th.—Went on a short visit to Colonel and Mrs. C. at Parkstone. Looked over Branksea Island, once the estate of the too-celebrated Colonel W. of the 16th Lancers. Curious castle and grounds belonging to Mr. Cavendish Bentinck.

Monday, 11th.—To Isle of Purbeck in yacht. Visiting Studland, a lovely embowered village, with a Norman Church, built soon after the battle of Hastings but still in use as a place of worship.

Tuesday, 12th.—Back to Oxford : Morfill, Master of Balliol, R. Poole, and Warden.

Sunday, 17th.—To S. Mary’s ; interesting—rather sceptical sermon by—. In afternoon to Morfill’s Tabagie, meeting Rhys and Rogers. The latter told a story of a Western Magnate seeing a print of the Madonna in a cottage, with a Pope or Saint kneeling at her feet. The noble Lord said something about superstition : “Lor ! No,” said the good woman of the house ; “that’s a lady as don’t want to marry, but she tells the good gentleman to take her sister. ‘Ave

Maria,' ses she, as you see it printed at the bottom." T. R. told the story with a skill probably derived from much practice.

Dined in Hall at Balliol.

Monday, 25th.—Forenoon at India Office, looking at the portraits, by Reynolds, Lawrence, Zoffany, etc. In the afternoon to an interesting meeting of R. H. Soc., at the Record Office in Fetter Lane. Mr. Hubert Hall read a paper on Domesday Book, and Lord Aberdare made a very good address.

Tuesday, 26th.—Back to Oxford.

Friday, November 5th.—To the new theatre, where Mr. Benson was playing *Othello* to Beerbohm Tree's *Iago*: good acting with modest accessories. Benson struck us as too declamatory. But one often feels inclined to agree with C. Lamb about Shakespere; *ie.*, that he reads better than he plays. Yet it is undoubted that he wrote chiefly to fill his theatre and showed no consciousness that he was producing literature, as he does in the Sonnets. And think of the theatre of his day, a scaffold without scenery; and Desdemona or Ophelia rendered by blackguard boys of fifteen.

Thursday, 11th.—Read Oliphant's *Ancient English*: a book of much instruction and pleasure; only that the author expresses somewhat exaggerated sorrow at what he calls the neglect of our language and its "romancising" in the reign of Henry III, and his son, when the higher classes in England had more important work in hand than the academic preservation of the vernacular. And it is just the pleasant blending of Platt-Deutsch and Romance in our speech that forms the prosperity of our literature. But the exclusive pursuit of any study tends to narrow the mind; and specialists like this author learn to love Bede and Layamon more than they do Milton or Gibbon. Then, again (for plain folks), what a confusion to find these writings, that are unintelligible without grammar and dictionary, called "English!" What on earth has it in common with what is known to us by that name? On the other hand there had been for years an accepted name for it which everyone understood, and which, quite correctly enough, represented it as a combination of the dialects of the Anglians of the East and the Saxons of the South.

Sunday, 14th.—Dined with Rev. Ll. Thomas, at Jesus, and afterwards sate in his rooms with Lindsay, Grose of Queen's, and other agreeable company. The host had composed a Sonnet upon the learned Professor of History, of which I obtained a copy; it is illustrative of the last preceding entry of this diary. [Mr. T. shy about showing the lines; but L. wrote them out for me, from memory.]

A PORTRAIT.

I am Sir Oracle ; when my tongue wags
 —Aye ! or my beard—let no man call his soul
 His own, or flout me with the filthy rags
 Of an opinion free from my control ;
 Let Shelley-chatterers style my gait a roll,
 And witless upstarts criticise my bags :
 I am English, Saxon ; rough as Keltic crags,
 One grand historic rude self-centered whole.
 Ancient is modern, modern ancient too,
 I have said so myriad times : who doubts it ? Fool !
 I want some nincompoop to state his view,
 I'll smash him, flat as Froude or Martin Rule,
 Yea ! by my halidom, certes, God wot.
 I am the Oxford Witenagemot."

Thursday, 18th.—Dined at Queen's with M. Afterwards he and Dr. Birkbeck Hill came to my quarters. Dr. H. observed that Croker, however inaccurate in a few minor matters, was a valuable source of information, quite unjustly discredited by Macaulay.

Thursday, 25th.—(In London) Afternoon *tête à tête* with Lady—who made a noticeable remark on the decay of the feudal aristocracy : "It was our own fault : we went too fast. We thought it would last for ever."

Sunday, 23th.—To S. Bride's, morning service, and lunch at the Vicarage ; then A. H. went with me to Paddington, where I took the G. W. R. for Slough ; and there I dined and slept. My host, as usual, full of knowledgeable talk and courteous consideration. An unbroken friendship of nearly half a century.

Monday, 20th.—Dined with Ralston at Arts Club : * Forbes Robertson, Prof. Douglas, two Mahomedan nobles from Hyderabad, a Russian General, two natives of the Sandwich Islands, etc. Much after-dinner international speech making. The strangest medley, but very agreeable. The Russian made the sensible remark that national misunderstandings arose from nations not understanding one another : put in French it made a passable epigram.

Wednesday, December 1st.—Undertook some lives for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, returning to Jersey by the Southampton boat.

* William Shedden, assumed the name of Ralston ; born 1828, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge ; called to the Bar, but never practised ; employed in British Museum Library ; died 1889. Spent some time in Russia and published works on the History and Literature of that country, with translations of some of the writings of Turgenieff.

[The rest of the month passed at home without event. The weather was fine, and some reading and writing went on. We sat up till midnight on the 31st and then threw open the front-door to "let the New Year in." The night being clear and still, I looked at the far-off splendour and wondered if the sphere's mysterious calm concealed sorrow in proportion to our own—Salis, the Swiss Guard, says :

"Klag ist ein miston im Chore der Sfären."

I have noted during the year some good ideas on Pessimism, a curious philosophy, "made in Germany," from oriental materials; repudiated by the best French thinkers; and not very seriously taken in England.

The *St. James's Gazette* had a thoughtful word or two (2nd January 1886) in an article on Dante :—

"Dante makes melancholy dismally punished in Purgatory; though his own interior gaiety . . . is so interior—and its outward aspect so grim—that he is vulgarly considered to have himself been a sinner in this sort . . . The good and brave heart is always gay; in this sense, that, although it may be afflicted by its own troubles and by those of others, it refuses in the darkest moment to consent to despondency . . ." And elsewhere the writer formulates a simple equation that is not always borne in mind;—"Life is joy," which is explained by the expansion, "In proportion as life is high and pure it becomes gay."

Mrs. Lynn Linton has well said :—

"Most of us take what we choose to call a 'melancholy pleasure' in making ourselves needlessly unhappy . . . We go back to the scene of departed joys that we may become pessimists by comparing the radiant. Then with the mournful. Now; and we mow down all the humble growths of satisfaction and mild enjoyment which had begun to make the withered pastures tolerably green again . . ." [*Paston Carew*.]

Yet it was Dante who first proclaimed that a sorrow's crown of sorrow was remembering happier things. Poor Alfred de Musset, *polisson* as he often seems, has eagerly combated this opinion in his "Souvenir," a poem nevertheless written in that condition of wounded vanity which—especially to a Frenchman—is a source of very deep suffering: his words may be thus expressed in English :—

"Why saidst thou, Dante, that 'tis grief's worst sting

To think, in sorrow, on past happiness ?

What spasm from thee such bitter cry could wring,

Such insult to distress ?

Is then the light less certain or less glad,

And, when night falls, forgotten in the gloom ?

Is it from thee, Spirit sublimely sad,
That we receive that doom ?
No ! by the splendour of yon tranquil moon !
Not from thy true heart blasphemy so void ;
A happy memory is a brighter boon
Than passing bliss enjoyed,"

This in the vein of our own manly Dryden ;—

Not Heaven itself over the past has power,
For what has been has been ; and I have had my hour."

ART. II.—THE TEMPLES AND SHRINES OF NIKKO.

Nikkō wo minai uchi wa
"Kekko" to iū na.

Que no ha visto á Sevilla
No ha visto á una maravilla

HALF the Globe lies between Nikko and fair Seville ; so it is somewhat strange to find the tribute to both places embodied in almost identical words. Few of us have seen them both and can make any comparison ; but, having spent some time among the wonderful Japanese shrines hidden on the wooded hills of Nikko, I naturally want to persuade others to visit them too. To see all the temples would take weeks ; to describe them in a few pages is an impossibility. If I could reproduce here the painted photographs which are so artistic and cost so little, I might be able to convey a fairly correct idea of the wonders of architecture and decoration ; but without them I fear I am courting failure.

Nikko is the name both of the district and of the town. The district lies about 100 miles north of Tokio, the capital, but the town and two valleys leading up to Lake Chusenji and Mount Nantaizan are the interesting parts and are visited yearly by thousands of Japanese, who find there objects on which to expend their piety, reverence, and love of beauty in full. It was first discovered in the eighth century by a Buddhist devotee, Shodo Shonin. Led by visions of a great mountain on the summit of which lay a holy sword, he penetrated into the valley, and lived the life of a hermit at what is now known as Nikko town, preparing himself by austerities and prayer for his quest. After many unsuccessful attempts he at last reached the great Lake and succeeded in climbing the mountain overlooking it. Inspired by the belief that this wild region must be the abode of the Gods, he built a temple on the slopes of Nantaizan and returned to Nikko, where he eventually died. Before his death he founded the monastery of Hombō, which has been maintained to the present date under the name of Manwaughi, in memory of its founder. As years went on other Buddhist temples were built round it, and Shinto temples also appeared, for the two national religions existed side by side through many centuries in perfect accord, borrowing doctrine and ceremonial from each other. The Abbots of the monastery exercised jurisdiction and control over all the Buddhist temples in the neighbourhood, and the

place grew in sanctity and importance until the year 1616, when the event occurred which has made it now the most venerated place of pilgrimage in Japan.

At that time Japan was under the rule of the Tokugawa dynasty. It is now generally known that the Mikado has always been, in theory at least, the temporal as well as the spiritual King of Japan, and up to the 12th century he was undoubtedly the Sovereign Ruler, and the Shogun his Commander-in-Chief. In later years the Mikado was reduced to a nonentity and the Shogun became the actual King and was treated as such both by the people and by foreigners until the middle of the present century. This view of his position was strengthened by the conditions under which the Mikado lived. His claim to divine descent is even now firmly believed in by the mass of the people. He lived in the strictest seclusion, was kept shrouded from public gaze when he left the precincts of his Palace for religious purposes, and was so holy that his feet might not even touch the ground. To this day nobody may look down on him, and when, quite lately, he consented to pass through the Foreign Settlement in procession, strict orders had to be given by the Consuls that no one was to take up a position in any building above the ground floor. The people of Japan, therefore, in the Middle Ages knew nothing of him. To them the Shogun was King. Their great lords, the Daimyos, went to his Court every year to report on their districts and give security for their loyalty, and his emissaries brought the sentence of execution by Harakiri to those nobles who had incurred royal displeasure. Such being the Shogun's position, it will be understood why, when Iyeyasu, the greatest of them all, desired to be buried at Nikko, a memorial was erected to him worthy of a great King. That it is the most splendid memorial ever raised to King or Warrior, is due to the artistic perfection of the religion that hallowed it.

When Buddhism was introduced into Japan from China, through Corea, at the end of the 6th century, it brought with it a ritual already formulated and embellished with all that was perfect in Chinese art. At that time the Japanese, under the influence of Shintoism, their national religion, were a simple people, ignorant of any of the arts for which they are now celebrated. Shintoism has been described by Sir Ernest Satow, the authority on the subject, as a "compound of ancestor-worship and nature-worship with no moral teaching beyond what is contained in the exhortation to follow your natural impulses and obey the Mikado's decrees." Its tenets did not permit of any form of temple but the simplest construction: there were no images of the Gods and very few emblems;

no decoration, no carving, no painting, the severest simplicity everywhere. To this day a pure Shinto temple is built on lines as primitive as a fetish hut in Africa and is as bare of ornament as a Non-conformist Chapel. Buddhism with its elaborate ceremonial and beauty of decoration came as a revelation to the Japanese. It was adopted as the Court religion almost at once, and from that time Japanese have been perfecting the arts that it brought.

This conception of Buddhism will seem strange to those of us who know of it only as a purified Hinduism; but it must be remembered that the religion was already twelve hundred years old. It took no longer for primitive Christianity to develop into the Holy Catholic Church. But the parallel is not exact, for Japanese Buddhism is a retrogression as well as a development. Siddartha had disappeared; he was no longer the Buddha, but had developed as many avatars as Vishnu or Siva. Of these the purest are Amida, essential Godhead, with no mark of humanity except his form, who dimly suggests Brahma and is generally represented sitting with hands resting in his lap and eyes bent down in abstraction. Shaka, who usually appears with a hand raised in the act of exhortation, most nearly represents the original Buddha, and of him one meets several forms, Dainichi, Yakushi and others. Jizo, a very human avatar, as a priest with a shaven head, is the most popular, his figure being frequently met with by country roadsides. These three preserve the appearance of the original Buddha, being Hindu in type of face and all wearing the abstracted look associated with the early conception. Sakya is, of course, Sākya Muni and Amida has been identified by Sir Ernest Satow with Amitabha, the earliest metaphysical conception of the Buddha, dating back to the great catholic movement in Buddhism known as the Mahāyāna system and introduced in Northern India about the first century.

Besides these three there are a host of minor gods, most of them derived from the Hindu Pantheon, in idea at least, and dating back to the pre-Chinese period, too. These are represented by grotesque and monstrous images with nothing Japanese about them in face or dress—almost exact reproductions of the polytheistic forms of the early centuries. Some, again, are simpler and only quaint in appearance, and belong probably to a much later date; possibly being Japanese in origin. The most important of these minor gods are Fudo, the God of Wisdom, Kwannon in his or her many forms as thousand-handed, horse-headed, etc., Benten, the God of Luck, and many others—all the natural outcome of the necessity of making religion intelligible to the mass of

humanity. One attribute of Hinduism has fortunately never appeared in Japanese Buddhism at least. The nameless horrors that are crowded into the decoration on a Hindu temple find no place in a Japanese temple, the wanton riot of naturalism being entirely absent from any of the cults into which the religion has developed since its introduction.

There were other noticeable features of Buddhism in the 17th century. It had absorbed some of the few distinctive emblems of Shintoism, just as Christianity borrowed the ceremonies of ancient Rome and Mahommed annexed the sanctity of the Kaabah for his own creed ; and further it was living in such peace and amity with the disestablished religion that the minor gods of both became confused, so that it is now impossible in many cases to separate them. Such, then, was Buddhism when Iyeyasu's shrine was built, and its supremacy remained undisputed during the whole of the 18th century and even up to the last few years. When Iyemitsu, the third Shogun of the Tokugawa Dynasty, died, in 1654, he also was buried at Nikko, and a shrine only less magnificent than Iyeyasu's was erected in his honour. Temple after temple full of the most beautiful works of art rose round the shrines, and the great Daimyos vied with one another in enriching Nikko with a wealth of devotional offerings. The end came in 1868. The Mikado, supported by foreign influence, threw off the yoke of the Shogunate, and the State Church went down in the crash ; Buddhism was disestablished, and Shintoism regained the position it had held thirteen hundred years before. Fortunately the wave of reaction only touched the beauties of Nikko and did not sweep them away. During the civil war preceding the change, the opposing armies, at the intercession of the Abbot, avoided Nikko, and when it was over, the purification of the temples did not descend into Vandalism. The shrine of Iyeyasu alone was disturbed. The Images of the Gods, the utensils and emblems of Buddhist ceremonial, were removed, and priests of the Shinto faith now conduct their services in its precincts, but no attempt was made to destroy the beauty of decoration, though it was opposed to every canon of the revived religion. Iyemitsu's shrine was not touched, and there, as well as in other temples in Nikko, the Buddhist priests continue their services as before.

It has been necessary to say something about the Government and religions before attempting a description of the place, otherwise the reader would have been puzzled at the mixture of Buddhism and Shintoism found on the same spot ; but now I will proceed with the main subject of this article. The town of Nikko lies, at a height of two thousand feet, on the sides of steep hills sloping down to the cleft or ravine—it is

little more—in which flows the Daiya-gawa stream. It can be reached now by railway; but the old approach was by two roads leading from Utsonomiya in the plains. These roads, the Reiheishi Kaido and the Nikko Kaido, which meet about four miles out, are a fitting approach for the wonderful shrines, being magnificent avenues of closely planted *Cryptomeria*. Imagine, instead of our straggling banyans, gigantic trees 10 to 20 feet in circumference, growing straight up with hardly a branch for the first 50 feet and often rising to a height of more than 200 feet. Their stately columns are set within a few feet of each other, sometimes almost touching, while their branches over-arch the road, so that, gazing down through the vista, one is reminded of the nave of a Gothic cathedral with its row of lofty pillars ending in the narrowing proportions of the choir.

Passing up this avenue, along which in former days the envoys of the Mikado brought the yearly offerings to the shrine of Iyeyasu, one emerges into the stony lower town of Nikko, at the other end of which is the Daiya-gawa stream. This is spanned by the Sacred Bridge, a beautiful wooden structure covered with dark red lacquer, which is reserved for the use of the Royal Family. It is a flat arch resting on massive granite supports that stand on, but are not attached to, the rocks below. This system of construction is universal in Japan, the heaviest buildings being supported on large flat stones on the surface of the ground. Crossing the stream by another bridge, one climbs the steep hill opposite, and a few minutes' walk brings one to the broad road leading up to the Main Shrine. On the right is the Manwanghi monastery, founded by Shodo Shonin; on the left is an Imperial residence and at the end is Iyeyasu's shrine. Looking towards it, one sees the gate nearly hidden among the *Cryptomeria* which cover the steep hill on which the Shrine is built. As one approaches it, the delicate outline of the Torii, spanning the path, is seen between two gigantic trees. The Torii is a structure peculiar to Japan. In its most elaborate form, as seen here, it consists of two uprights with a cross piece resting on the top, the ends of which project and are curved upwards. A few feet below is another cross piece which is let into the uprights, sometimes projecting, and is connected with the upper beam by a bar in the centre. This Torii is about 30 feet high, built of granite, the uprights being duo-lithic, and has on its centre bar a tablet engraved with an inscription stating that it was presented by one of the Royal Princes. The Torii was originally a Shinto religious emblem, though no one has been able to explain its significance satisfactorily, and in that form it consists of two uprights and one straight cross piece only. Buddhism

elaborated it into its present graceful pattern, and it is now found spanning roads leading to any sacred spot.

Passing up a flight of steps through the Torii, the first building one notices is a five-storeyed Pagoda such as is always found associated with a correct Buddhist temple. As the Pagoda is an extreme development of Buddhist temple architecture, and as its form is more or less familiar to most people, it will serve as an example of what that architecture is. It must be borne in mind that Buddhist temple architecture is as distinct from Japanese domestic architecture as a Cathedral is from a suburban villa. Mr. Chamberlain, of Tokyo, the great authority on things Japanese speaks of it as having its origin here in India. If so, it has disappeared as completely as the religion itself, for Hindu temples differ from Japanese temples in form, material and decoration—in fact in everything. In the first place stone is never used in the temple structure, though there is often a granite platform and steps leading up to it. Every part of the structure is of massive wooden beams. The basement is a frame of short uprights and strong connecting cross-pieces on which the floor is laid, and from this frame the strong main uprights of the building rise and are joined at the top by beams. There are no real walls, the space between the uprights being filled with light wood work that carries no weight and is pierced and carved in decoration. Half way up a lower roof projects like an immense over-hanging eave and sweeps down in the curve familiar to everyone from pictures of pagodas. Its weight is carried by a series of joists, one above the other resting on, and projecting from, a huge beam in the structure, in the form of a cantilever. The main uprights continue above this roof, being joined higher up by more cross-beams and on these rests the weight of the main roof, which is in the regular pattern of a straight ridge. This also sweeps down and outwards nearly to the full extent of the lower roof and is supported on tier above tier of joists in the same manner. These joists are sometimes extended beyond the point where they take the weight and are finely carved. The roof is either covered with large dark-grey overlapping tiles or sheathed in metal. There is frequently a narrow verandah round the building supported on corbels from underneath the floor; but in no case are there any posts on it connecting with or supporting the lower roof.* From this description it will be gathered that a pagoda is an ordinary

* It must be understood that the above describes the apparent structure. The supporting joists of the roof may be carried through into the interior of the building, and I have heard it suggested that they are weighed with stones inside as a counter-balance.

temple with a very small floor area and raised to five storeys, with the corresponding number of roofs.

Nikko pagoda is 18 feet square and rises to a height of 104 feet, terminating in a tall slender spire. It is lacquered red outside and has the usual bells hanging from the corners of all the roofs, which are sheathed in copper. Entering the building, one is dazzled by the splendour of gold and shimmer of red lacquer. The small room seems full of smooth shining pillars. One in the centre and four grouped close round it are of bright gold, and the beams resting on them are beautifully painted with gigantic blue dragons, that sprawl on a gold ground, while in the ceiling above are gilt panels set off by black lacquer framing. The pillars at the corners are lacquered a deep red, and the painted ceiling above displays chrysanthemums on a white ground. A high platform in bright red lacquer, ornamented with gold, fills the centre, and on it rest four large golden images of Buddha seated on the sacred lotus with their curved and pointed halos of shining black lacquer, picked out with gold, making a background for the golden figures and standing out against the golden pillar in the centre. They represent four different aspects of Shaka, the Buddha, and in spite of the Shinto revival are allowed to remain, the Pagoda being outside the gates of the Shrine.

I wish it were possible to give any real idea of this blaze of gold, gleaming lacquer, and delicate painting; with it before one's eyes one is apt to wonder in what other tiny shrine one has found so much wealth of decoration blended with such true art that there is no trace of gaudiness or over-elaboration. This Pagoda by itself would make a worthy memorial, and yet it is only the first of the many treasures of art in the Shrine.

Crossing a courtyard, one reaches the first gate, called the Niomon. It is a double-roofed porch supported on twelve red-lacquered pillars that form compartments, two on each side of the gateway. The outer niches used to contain the Nio gigantic figures of two Gods in menacing attitudes, who are supposed to scare away demons. Incidentally one notices how far Buddhism has travelled when one learns that they are identified with Brahma and Indra. They were removed to Iyemitsu's Shrine on the Shinto revival, and their places are now occupied by two quaint figures called the Ama-inu and Koma-inu, half lion, half dog shaped. These were originally in the back niches and now occupy their proper places as Shinto demon-scarers. The gateway, though finely carved and painted, is not as grand as others, and it is impossible to describe more than those which are most noticeable

Entering the Court, one is faced by three large red buildings containing Iyeyasu's relics, and on the left is the stable of the sacred horse that carries the soul of Iyeyasu in sacred procession once a year. There is a curious design on the stable consisting of three monkeys, one with its hand over its mouth, the other two covering their eyes and ears respectively: they are supposed neither to see, hear nor speak any evil. They are not related to Hanuman, his place being taken in Japan by Inari, the Fox God. In this Court is placed a Holy water cistern about 5 feet long which is covered by a canopy, curved like a temple roof, and supported by twelve slender granite pillars tipped with engraved brass. White dragons are carved on the lower beams and golden dragons and flowers decorate the beam above. Near to it is the library containing the Buddhist scriptures in a case which is a fine example of the richness of Buddhist temple accessories. It is revolving, octagonal in shape, and lacquered a rich red, with golden pillars between the doors, the framework being delicately painted in colours on a gold ground. About a foot from the case are larger pillars of gold laid on red lacquer supporting the canopy, and underneath are panels with scenes of birds and water on a blue ground. Outside is a Torii in bronze ornamented solely by the Tokugawa crest, a trefoil, the points of the leaves touching and enclosed in a circle.

Passing under this, one ascends a flight of granite steps into a court containing a temple dedicated to Yakushi, which is a perfect gem of art. He is one of the aspects of Shaka, the Buddha, and was peculiarly venerated by Iyeyasu: for this reason the temple has escaped purification, and the shaven Buddhist priests can still be seen holding their services there. Its exterior is of red lacquer, the best in Nikko, and a heavy portico supported on gilt elephant's heads rising from red lacquer pillars shadows the copper-sheathed steps and throws the interior into dim obscurity. When accustomed to the half light, one sees that the chamber is divided longitudinally by a row of pillars that carry a light wall reaching to the ceiling. The main walls for part of their height are concealed by hanging mats and embroideries, but higher up are divided into varied lines of ornamentation, extending round the room and over the pillars. Birds, carved and painted with wonderful fidelity to nature, fill one line; above are medallions of clustered flowers of every variety, and so on, line above line of delicate tracery and carving, painted with the brightest hues on wings of birds and petals of flowers, some glowing with gold, some hidden in shade, up to the ceilings where one huge dragon, magnificently executed in sepia, stretches its coils

across from end to end. Behind the pillars is the shrine, the altar being raised on a black lacquered platform, with a red balustrade that extends the whole length of the room. The large golden images of the God stands on the altar fronted by two small images of saints and flanked by twelve images of his followers, one of them being Iyeyasu himself, that are ranged down the long platform on each side.

On the altar in front of the God are the invariable bronze temple utensils, a slender vase with curved handles, a smaller incense burner, with a lion surmounting the lid, and the candlestick in the form now familiar to everyone—a stork standing on a tortoise with bent head holding the spray for the candlestick. Other religious utensils are small stands and boxes—beautiful specimens of gold lacquer. In the making of this, the finest form of the art, the gold is applied to the plain lacquered surface in several processes, the groundwork being a fine sprinkling of gold dust. On this the design is outlined and then worked in with gold in every conceivable manner, inlaid, raised, plated, washed and sprinkled, the finished work being of great artistic and intrinsic value.

Gold lacquer is largely used in temple ornaments and emblems, some of the sets being priceless. It is impossible to describe all the wonders of art in this temple; but, whether seen when the monotonous chant and fragrant incense of worship steal up to the carved roof, or when in absolute silence the dimness is intensified by the bright sunshine outside, and the eye can wander undistracted from shining pillars to painted blossoms, it is a thing of beauty not to be forgotten.

The next courtyard is inclosed by a long line of cloisters, broken in the centre by the Great Yomeimon Gate. Below are rows of sacred lanterns five feet high, votive offerings from Daimyos, some of cut granite, others of wrought bronze, all pillar-shaped and richly ornamented with geometrical designs and medallions of the Tokugawa crest. The back of the cloister forms a screen divided into paneled compartments, carved and painted with flower and bird designs. In one a hawk sweeps down on nestling doves; in another peacocks strut with expanded tails; herons in flight fill a third, and so on through the series, with wonderful variety, all nearly life-size and, in spite of their exposure to the air for over 250 years, in splendid preservation. The gate is double-storeyed, but has, instead of a lower roof, a balcony which, not projecting so far, does not hide the intricate carving under the main roof. The porch rests on twelve white pillars with geometrical designs and medallions. On one of them is a carved tiger, the markings on its coat being produced by the natural grain of

the wood: another has the pattern carved upside down, an intentional error, lest the perfection of the gate decoration should excite the jealousy of evil spirits and bring misfortune on the house of Tokugawa. On the lower cross-beams boldly carved lions, painted white, stand out at the corners over the pillars, and above, on a long frieze, are scenes from Chinese domestic life brightly coloured. The joists are black-lacquered and terminate in a row of golden lions bearing on their backs the white balcony ornamented with flowers enclosed in scrolls. Above the gallery the pillars and cross-beams are again white, but bear carved white dragons, instead of lions.

Higher up again, the joists, instead of being decorated with, are actually carved into, dragon forms, tier above tier, stretching further and further out as they rise one above the other until their details are lost in the shadow of the overhanging roof. The dragons are all in shining black lacquer, wonderful in grotesque variety, their front aspect being a row of gaping mouths and distended nostrils and their side view a mass of writhing and twisted coils. One is naturally reminded of Gargoyles on a Cathedral; but the influence of expelled evil spirits is incorrect, the dragon being, on the contrary, the National Emblem.*

The beams forming this dragon design are huge, but even then one is amazed at an audacity that converts the supports of a massive roof into a scheme of decoration.

Passing through a gateway, one sees first the building used for the Kagura, a sacred Shinto dance, and then a fine red-lacquered building that formerly contained the altar for burning fragrant cedar during Buddhist services. Directly opposite the Kagurado is the Karamon gate, of the Main Shrine, which, though not structurally as fine as the Yomeimon, is remarkable for the beauty of its pillars and doors. The pillars and door-framing are decorated with carved branches and sprigs of plum trees and bamboos and a fine dragon, all on a white ground. The folding doors have clusters of flowers in coloured woods with a white geometrical pattern as background, and represent arrangements of natural flowers according to the most perfect designs of the school that governs the art. This art has been raised to a science by the Japanese and is embodied in many of their domestic ceremonials, besides having its own esoteric ideas and developments.

Passing through this gateway, one is at last opposite the Haiden,* or Oratory of the principal temple in the Shrine.

The outside is of shining black lacquer, and is approached

* I have sometimes wondered what are a Japanese gentleman's feelings when he sees a St. George and Dragon sovereign. Fortunately it is not current in Japan.

by steps sheathed in copper leading on to a narrow verandah protected by a black balustrade ornamented with brass. A massive portico shadows the steps and rests on four white pillars connected with the building by beams disguised as ornaments. The two outside beams are huge white dragons whose tails pierce the building, while the front parts of their bodies are thrust through the capitals of the portico pillars, their arched necks and fierce heads stretching well out beyond. The other two beams are sprays of flowers treated in a like manner. The entrance is by three pairs of folding doors with arabesques of peonies in gilt relief on their panels, below a pierced geometrical pattern. Over the doors, and continued round the building outside, are medallions of painted birds, while panels of gold lacquer and black pierced screens between the pillars admit light into the interior.

Inside, the temple, though no longer crowded with the images and emblems of the former Buddhist régime and thus forming a marked contrast to the Yakushi temple, is a wonder of decorative art. In the first chamber the wall space at each end is filled to a height of about eight feet by sliding panels with paintings of bamboo, pine and plum, on a gold ground hidden behind hanging screens of fine reeds covered with blue figured silk. Above the panels is a frieze of peacocks and doves, and over that again, a border of geometrical design with a gold ground partly concealed by pictures of celebrated Japanese poets. Here the framing of the ceiling begins; but in between the shining black joists are finely carved and painted flowers in high relief. The supports of the ceiling bend up in a series of curves in polished black lacquer and end in the long transverse ribs which cross one another above the room. These are finely modelled in black lacquer with engraved brass and enclose about 200 panels, on which are blue dragons coiled on a gold ground inside round medallions, the corners filled with clusters of peonies and other flowers. On each side is a small antechamber, formerly the private rooms of the Shogun and the Abbot of Nikko. The walls are lined with large carved panels depicting eagles in trees, the various colours being produced by different woods let into the panels, and in one of the rooms an angel surrounded by chrysanthemums is painted on the ceiling.

The only objects connected with worship are a Buddhist gong and the two sacred Shinto emblems, the Mirror and the Gohei. The Mirror is, strictly speaking, the sole emblem in Shintoism, but even its significance is not explained, and the Gohei are strips of white paper cut in a peculiar shape; the modern form of the cloth-offerings of earlier times. In this temple the Mikado's presentation Gohei of thick gold

paper are alone admitted, and hang on a beautiful gold lacquer stand. The next room has the same scheme of decoration on its walls, but birds replace the dragons on the ceiling. A panel of black lacquer with raised golden flowers is let into one wall, and on a dais are silver vases containing finely wrought silver sprigs of pine, bamboo, and plum, and four tables of gold lacquer inlaid with mother-of-pearl. Six double doors lead into the next chamber, the roof of which is supported on pillars, some of plain carved wood, others lacquered and overlaid with gold, while the walls and friezes are painted with phoenixes and peonies. The ceiling also has phoenixes, instead of dragons, all differently designed in its panels. The only objects here are gold and silver Gohei standing on a lacquered table in gold and silver vases. One more room is decorated with peonies and hawks in its friezes, and clusters of flowers on a gold ground on the ceiling, and has for its sole emblems three gold Gohei in golden vases. These four rooms make the Oratory and Inner Shrine, and here the soul of Iyeyasu is supposed to dwell. Their decoration baffles description and would require the pen of a Ruskin to do justice to it : all one can say is that the note of the whole work is delicacy and harmony and the result arrived at perfection.

One thing more remains to be seen : one passes out of the courtyard on to the steep hill-side among the trees where a broad flight of granite steps with a moss-grown balustrade winds up the slope. One climbs higher and higher and further from the temples until at last, passing under a Torii, one stands before the tomb itself. One sees a large bronze casket with a curved canopy over it, fronted on the granite steps below by the flower vase, incense burner, and candlestick in bronze. A balustrade, worn and stained by many a mountain storm, encircles it, and all around are the tall shafts of the cryptomeria and the mosses and ferns clinging to the steep sides of the hill. Far below are the temples with their wonderful beauty in perpetual memorial of the great Shogun ; but he is laid to rest under the pine tree shade and in the silence of the eternal hills.

I have left little space for any account of the other shrine and the detached temples of Nikko. Of the latter the largest are the Jōgyōdō and Hokkedo. They each contain large central altars for the principal God and numerous smaller images enclosed in ornamental upright golden caskets with foldings doors which make little shrines for them. These have doubtless come from old temples now demolished. Images of this sort used some years ago to be stolen by the priests and sold owing to the laxity caused by the dis-

tablishment, but they are difficult to procure now. In these two temples there are over fifty figures of Amida, Jizo, Fudo, Kwannon and others, all finely modelled and covered with gold, which are devoutly worshipped by the pilgrims and visitors thronging the temples and making their humble offerings of rin, the smallest copper coin. Here, too, the priests sell charms, and I watched one of them explain to a poor woman who was journeying up the valley to Chusen, the dangerous nature of the bridges and the necessity of providing herself with a charm against drowning. She and I both invested in the little folded scraps of paper inscribed with a Buddhist prayer. I keep mine together with one of the paper pellets on which a devout Shinto worshipper writes his name and throws into the simple temple of his religion as his prayer.

The shrine of Iyemitsu is situated on a hill slope near Iyeyasu's, and, in the absence of the latter, would rank very high among the artistic treasures of Japan. Its distinctive characteristic is the presence of the Buddhist Gods and the profusion of emblems and religious utensils of great beauty. It is marred by the grotesque idols that fill the niches of its gates and are tawdry and vulgar beside their delicacy of decoration and richness of carving. Every sign of inferiority, however, vanishes when one reaches the main Oratory, which is in the same style as Iyeyasu's, but more magnificent. The walls are a blaze of gold absolutely dazzling where the sunlight through the doorway and pierced screens strikes them, but toned into dead gold in the dim light elsewhere. In the first room are large gold panels painted with dragons in different contorted positions, and the friezes and ceilings in all the rooms are an endless succession of dragons, phoenixes, angels and birds: one room alone has no less than a hundred lions carved, gilded and painted. But, in addition to the decoration, the rooms are rich with votive offerings and religious emblems. Magnificent brass canopies hang from the ceiling, sacred gongs, drums and lanterns line the walls, and large gold lacquered tables are covered with vases, boxes, and stands in profusion. Everything is of the richest material, solid gold and silver, inlaid mother-of-pearl, silk embroidery, all worked into perfect designs. Specimens of all are in the museums and private collections in Europe, but here they are crowded together and all reach the highest point of their respective arts. The contrast with Iyeyasu's oratory is great; but there is one other point of difference essential to the religions. This shrine contains the tablet of Iyemitsu and his image in wood; that of Iyeyasu has none. It is hard to decide which is the more impressive.

CHARLES NAPIER.

ART. III.—RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS AND CHARITIES OF BENGAL ZEMINDARS.

II.

THE Metropolis of India and its suburbs contain charities and religious endowments on the largest scale, but many of the donors do not properly fall within the category of zemindars. The works of public beneficence of some of the Calcutta landholders, such as Maharajah Jotindra Mohun Tagore, Maharajah Doorga Charan Law, and the Seal families of Colootollah, have already been noticed in connection with the charities of the Hooghly district. Of the rest none perhaps equals the Mullick family of Jorabagan in point of liberality and munificence. Its history dates more than a century back, and the earliest representatives of the family were equally remarkable for their charity and benevolence with those of the later period. The dharamsala, or alms-house, which has become so far-famed throughout this country for its vast outlay for the purpose of feeding the poor and the hungry, is almost contemporaneous with the existence of the family. Its residence was formerly at Pathuriaghata and this dharamsala stood opposite to it, relieving the vast crowds of destitute people who daily flocked to it for food.

The offer of medical relief to the sick poor at a time when Government dispensaries were unknown was a special feature of the charity of this ancient family, and it kept in its employment a competent staff of learned native physicians to prepare medicines for free distribution. Of the old representatives of this family the name of Nilmani Mullick stands foremost in point of public spirit and liberality. The Mullick temple of Jagarnath at Chorebagan owes its existence to him. Here he transferred the dharmasala, or alms-house, which is still doing capital service to the poorer classes of the native community. The Car festival is still observed by the Mullick family with great pomp and magnificence, and thousands of paupers are enriched with gifts of cloth and money on the occasion of the dragging of the car through the streets of Calcutta amidst waving of flags and singing of songs. The son of Nilmoni Mullick was Rajendra Mullick, who distinguished himself greatly for his eminent services during the great famine of 1866-67. He opened several relief-houses at this time of severe distress, of which those at Chorebagan and Chitpur were on a grand scale. As a lover of the fine arts, he stood unrivalled amongst his brethren of Bengal. His palatial house at Chorebagan, with its splendid marble drawing room, is

one of the best specimens of Eastern architecture. His love for the animal kingdom was great, and for the amusement of the public he maintained a menagerie, wherein curious birds and animals had been brought from different parts of the world. The Calcutta Zoo owes much to his kindly interest and liberality. He presented numerous animals, which he had purchased at immense cost and at great trouble, to the Zoological Garden. These animals form a separate group by themselves and are located in a separate part of the garden, called after him the "Mullick-House." The improvement of the sanitation of Chorebagan, which had been notorious for unhealthiness throughout Calcutta, is mainly due to his exertions and indefatigable energy. He offered to Government free of cost large plots of lands for the opening of new streets through this congested area. For these acts of public beneficence, the Government of India conferred on him the title of Raja Bahadur, with a *Sannad* and a *Khilat* consisting of a large diamond ring.

The Mullick family of Barabazar is equally noted for its charity. The name of Jodu Lall Mullick is well known to the public of Bengal. His ancestor, Ram Mohun Mullick, built at an enormous cost the splendid bathing ghât which still stands by the side of the Hooghly floating bridge and which is daily resorted to by the Marwari community of Calcutta in such large numbers. This ghât was dedicated to his father Nemai Charan Mullick, whose religious endowments at Ballabhpur are still extant. At a time when the Strand Road of Calcutta was notorious for its deep cuts and quagmires and full of filth and abomination, the construction of a bathing ghât was not an easy matter, but Ram Mohun was a zealous Hindu and spared neither money nor trouble to carry out his benevolent idea, by which he laid the entire Hindu community of Calcutta under a deep debt of gratitude. His youngest brother, Moti Lall Mullick, spent large sums in the construction of several Hindu temples at Brindavan, and his widow built an alms-house at Mahesh where poor people are fed even now every day. To the cause of Sanscrit learning the family have contributed materially, and the Calcutta Sanscrit College owes its most productive endowments to their liberality and munificence. No less a sum than Rs. 1,800 is yearly spent in paying free stipends to one hundred sons of *bond-fide* pundits and fifty other meritorious students. The endowment is valued at about sixty thousand rupees, and an endowment for a nobler object could not have been created. Kasi Nath Mullick has embalmed his memory in the Free Sanscrit School, which he constructed at an immense cost and which now stands so conspicuously on the Harrison Road.

He has left sufficient funds for its maintenance, and the yearly cost is estimated at several thousands of rupees. There are also a temple at Khurda and a religious Seminary for which Rs. 200 is monthly spent. By his will of 4th March, 1878, Kasi Nath left the bulk of his property for religious and charitable purposes. It is under the management of the Administrator-General of Bengal, and the last cash balance in the estate was shown to be Rs. 79,600.

Anath Nath Mullick, the eldest son of Jodu Lall Mullick, subscribed the handsome sum of Rs. 20,000 towards the Lady Dufferin Fund and had always been instrumental in promoting all objects of public charity. It is a matter of great regret that he has been cut off so early by the hand of death.

The Shovabazar Raj family stands second to none in Calcutta in point of liberality and munificence. Maharajah Sir Narendro Krishna Bahadur enjoys the proud privilege of being the acknowledged leader of the native community and especially of the Kayestha caste. The name, however, which has cast a halo of renown over the family is that of Sir Radha Canto Deb. By dint of great patience and unremitting toil for a space of no less than forty long years, he produced the greatest work of his life, and, I may say, one of the greatest works of the nineteenth century, the Sanscrit lexicon, which is known throughout the civilized world as the "Sabdakalpadruma," and which has been the object of universal admiration. The learned societies of Europe, such as the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, the Royal Academy of Berlin, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, the Oriental Societies of Germany and America, &c., testified to his work in the highest term of praise and showered honours and distinctions on him. All the Royal families of Europe, impressed with the high sense of the Raja's scholarship, forwarded to him handsome tokens of their approbation. All this is very well, no doubt, but it is not generally known to many that in the publication of this great Sanscrit Encyclopædia he spent almost a princely fortune, and I might almost say, that he spent the greater part of his fortune. As soon as each volume was published he distributed it gratis, with commendable pleasure and promptitude, amongst the learned pundits of the East and the savants of the West, and among the literary institutions of all countries where the Sanscrit language is cultivated and appreciated.

Amongst his successors Maharajah Kamal Krishna Deb, Bahadur, was very charitably disposed. As instances of his liberality I may mention his endowment to the District Charitable Society for the maintenance of a dozen Hindu widows. The Shovabazar Raj family have been famous for

their zeal in the construction of public roads. Maharajah Naba Krishna, the founder of the family, who obtained a medal from Lord Clive and the title of Maharajah Bahadur for his loyal services to the British Government during the war with Suraja-dowlah, constructed a good road from Diamond Harbour to Kalpi, a distance of 8 miles. Maharajah Kamal Krishna gave away a good deal of land for the construction of a road in the District of Tipperah, and erected a building for the accommodation of the Khardah Charitable Dispensary. In investing him with the title of Maharajah Bahadur at the Darbar at Belvedere, on the 14th August, 1877, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor spoke as follows:—

“The title of Raja which you have always enjoyed as a matter of courtesy and by popular recognition, has now been fully conferred upon you in recognition of your liberal support of every measure for the benefit of your countrymen. Your donations to the public charities of Calcutta have been munificent; you have also given largely of your wealth in support of dispensaries, schools, roads and other objects of public interest in the interior. I need only instance your magnificent donation of Rs. 10,000 to the Central Relief Fund of the late Bengal Famine, of Rs. 2,000 to the building fund of the Mayo Hospital—a hospital erected for the benefit of your poor countrymen, and of Rs. 1,000 to the Burdwan Fever Relief Fund. No subscription has ever been raised in Calcutta to which you have not most willingly contributed, and you have thus maintained the reputation for generosity of one of the oldest families of Calcutta.”

To the Indian Science Association he gave a donation of Rs. 2,000 and a monthly subscription of Rs. 25. The Oriental Seminary of Calcutta owes much to his liberality, and the spacious building was constructed almost entirely at his expense. His munificence during the famines of 1866 and 1874 deserves special mention. On the former occasion he opened a relief house at Shovabazar on an extensive scale, and gave away besides food, clothing and blankets to all. On the latter occasion he did the same thing in his garden house at Khardah. Maharajah Narendra Krishna Bahadur is now the oldest representative of this ancient family and has always been ready to contribute towards all charities and movements of a public nature. Though shorn of much of its former wealth and splendour, the Shovabazar Raj family still takes a high place in native society and wields a great influence for the good of the country and Government.

The Roy family of Pathuriaghata is renowned for its princely charities and gifts. Raja Shukmoy was not only a liberal landholder, but thoroughly loyal to the British Govern-

ment. During the critical period of British administration his grandfather, Lakhi Kanta, helped the Hon'ble East India Company with magnificent pecuniary aid. In those days the pilgrimage to the sacred temple of Jagarnath at Puri was attended with great hardship and danger, not the least of which was the absence of a public road to Cuttack. Many lost their lives in this difficult journey, poor and helpless women sinking down to die from sheer fatigue or sickness, and even stout and strong men faring no better, their troubles being aggravated by the want of good water and places of rest throughout this long journey. These harrowing tales of death and disease created a great impression on the mind of Raja Shukmoy. To alleviate the sufferings of millions of these pilgrims to Puri, Shukmoy made a princely gift of a lakh and fifty thousand rupees for the construction of the Cuttack road and establishment of caravanserais. In recognition of this act of philanthropy, the British Government conferred on him the title of 'Raja Bahadur' and a gold medal during the administration of Warren Hastings. His sons nobly followed the example of their father, and none of them so truly represented him as his third son, Raja Baidya Nath, whose good works of charity and public spirit will ever remain fresh in the memory of the Calcutta public. He was a great patron of learning, and, although a staunch Hindu, he was not forgetful of the claims of the women of his society to a good education. He gave a handsome donation of Rs. 50,000 to the Hindu College, and Rs. 20,000 in aid of the fund for native female education which was projected by the late Miss Wilson. He spent about Rs. 50,000 for the construction of the bathing ghât at the Cossipore Gun Factory and the road leading from there to Dum-Dum. To the Native Hospitals he gave the sum of Rs. 30,000, and Rs. 8,000 for the construction of the Karmanasha Bridge. To the Zoological Society of London he gave a donation of Rs. 6,000, for which he was honoured and highly complimented by the Marquis of Lansdowne and the London Zoological Society. Kumar Kali Kissen established the first Anglo-Vernacular School at Paikpara.

He also gave a donation of Rs. 2,500 for the foundation of the Northern Suburban Hospital at Chitpore and subscribed Rs. 100 monthly for its support. For these acts of charity he was honoured by a visit from Lord Napier of Magdala at a grand entertainment in his house inaugurated for His Excellency's reception. Lord Auckland invested him with the title of Kumar, and a *Khilat* consisting of garments and a diamond *Shirpatch* for the turban. Kumar Radha Prasad Roy, the eldest surviving member of the family, has largely subs-

cribed to many important public needs. He gave a donation of Rs. 5,000 to the Famine Fund, Rs. 3,000 to the Dufferin Fund, and Rs. 5,000 to the Transvaal War Fund. He has been led by a philanthropic instinct to establish a new educational institution, in which schooling will be provided free for such poor boys as are unable to pay fees. In connection with the establishment three scholarships have been founded, of Rs. 12, Rs. 5, and Rs. 3 per month, respectively, each of two years' duration, for the first three pupils of the school who succeed in passing the University Examination. This institution costs him about Rs. 300 per month.

The Paikparah Raj occupies a unique position in Bengal as a family of liberal landholders who have spent vast sums in religious endowments and public works of utility and charity. Among the members of this noble family Dewan Kristo Chandra Singh rose into fame by reason of his purely religious turn of mind. This gentleman is better known as Lala Babu throughout the length and breadth of the country. After a long religious pilgrimage in the North-West and staid at Brindavan for some time. There his immense liberality made him famous. He built there the celebrated temple of Radha Krishna, of the purest Jeypore marble, and endowed it with most valuable landed estates for its maintenance. The temple is as beautiful as it can be, and is surrounded with a splendid row of buildings, which are used partly as a cloister and partly as out-offices of the manager. The latter also afford suitable abodes for scores of pilgrims who resort to the sacred city and reside there as free boarders. The manager is paid Rs. 150 per mensem as his salary, and the amount spent there in the worship of the god and goddess, and the feeding of the poor and other ceremonies is reckoned at Rs. 30,000 yearly. There is a large tank in Muttra dedicated to the goddess Radha, which Lala Babu, with his usual zeal for piety, faced on all sides with stone steps. There are charity-houses established by him in his native village at Kandi in the district of Murshidabad and Paikparah, which are still maintained with credit by his successors. The names of Raja Protap Chunder Sing and his son Kumar Girish Chunder stand out in the family history of the Paikparah Raj as worthy successors of Lala Babu. The Calcutta Medical College building owes its existence to the munificence and liberality of Raja Protap Chunder. Towards its construction he subscribed the princely donation of Rs. 50,000. In honour of the donor a ward on the first floor of the Calcutta Medical College was named after him and called "Pertab Chunder Singh Ward." His eldest son, Kumar Girish Chunder Singh, left by his will the munificent bequest of Rs. 1,36,000 for the

erection and maintenance of a hospital at Kandi in the Murshidabad district. This hospital is located in a nice building and is under the care and supervision of Government. It is doing good service to the public of the sub-division. His younger brother, Raja Purna Chandra Singh Bahadur, also gave a sum of Rs. 19,000 for the improvement of this charitable hospital. Nor are the ladies of this house less munificent. The name of Rani Katyani is known as a symbol of piety and benevolence. She has been instrumental in erecting many temples and digging several reservoirs. Her name is still preserved by the endowment which she has created by handing over to Government the sum of Rs. 7,500 for a scholarship in the Hooghly College for B. A. students. Kumar Indra Chandra Singh evinced his deep loyalty to Government by giving a farewell entertainment in the most royal style to the Marquis of Ripon at his Belgachia Villa. This entertainment is said to have been the grandest yet given by a native of this country, and the scene presented was one of extraordinary brilliancy. It cost the Kumar some Rs. 50,000 in one night. The widow of Kumar Inder Narain has subscribed the sum of Rs. 1,000 towards the present famine.

Amongst the patrons of Sanscrit learning the name of Sree-gopal Basu Mallik of Calcutta, Potoldanga, must stand foremost by reason of his having founded for the Calcutta University an endowment, the annual value of which is Rs. 5,000. Out of this sum of Rs. 5,000, Rs. 4,800 are expended upon the remuneration of a Fellow nominated by the donor or his heirs from three names sent up to him by the Registrar with his recommendation for their fitness to the post. The duty of the Fellow, when duly appointed, is to devote himself entirely during the term of his office to the study of Sanscrit learning with special reference to the Vedanta system of philosophy. He has to hold, in communication with the Registrar, classes in Vedanta at least twice a week, at which portions of the Yoga Vasistha, Upanishad, the Gita or other standard Vedanta text books are expounded. The lectures are open to the general public. They are printed at the expense of the Fellow as soon as possible after the completion of each year's course, bound up and distributed according to the suggestion of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University. The diffusion of the principles of Hindu philosophy at the present moment amongst the student community of Calcutta, whose ideas about religion and morality are grossly misleading, is certain to produce a wholesome effect on their minds. Sree Gopal Bose's fellowship is thus fraught with immense advantage to the rising generation of the native community and ultimate benefit to the country.

The Bhukailas Raj family is one of the oldest and wealthiest in Bengal. Maharajah Jay Narain received the title of 'Maharajah Bahadur' from the Emperor of Delhi. Himself a linguist and scholar, he strongly advocated the promotion of public education, and with this view he established a college at Benares at an enormous cost, which still commemorates his name. After the establishment of the Government College at Benares Jay Narain made over the management of his college into the hands of English missionaries with one lakh of rupees for its support. He was also a man greatly endowed with religious feeling. He constructed at Benares a temple dedicated to the god Shiva, and died in 'the sacred city' at a ripe old age. His son was Kali Sankar Ghosal, who was ennobled by Lord Ellenborough during the Sindh War for his pecuniary aid to Government, and the title of Rajah was conferred on him for having bought up a large amount of Government securities at that critical period when public credit was very low. Raja Kali Sankar established the Benares Blind Asylum and endowed it with necessary funds where the inmates receive raiment and food free up to this day. Of his seven sons Raja Satya Charan Ghosal was a very liberal-minded man, and did a great deal of good to the district of Backergunge, of which he was the largest and richest landholder. He spent much money on a road to Jhelakati, the headquarters of his estate, where he had built an imposing mansion and alms-house. Satya Charan Ghosal gave a donation of Rs. 10,000 towards the funds of the Calcutta Medical College Hospital, and the 'Satya Charan Ghosal Ward' still testifies to his liberality in the cause of suffering humanity. The Bhukailas Raj *Debuttur* estate has an annual income of about Rs. 12,000 and affords a wide scope for the celebration of all Hindu ceremonies as well as for charitable gifts.

The charities of Raja Degomber Mittra consist of a fund endowed after his name for the monthly support of poverty-stricken persons. He was a great friend of poor students and used to keep a boarding house for about a hundred such boys, feeding them daily and providing them with books and schooling fees. His grandsons, Kumar Monmotho and Narendra Nath Mittras, have been managing their father's charities with great zeal and credit. The former has subscribed Rs. 1,000 to the Transvaal War Fund and Rs. 2,000 to the present Indian Famine Relief Fund.

Mohini Mohon Roy has immortalized his name by creating an endowment for the support of the poor. He handed over to Government for this purpose a sum of one lakh of rupees in $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Government Securities shortly before his death, and expressed his desire that the interest might be

made over to indigent persons in monthly stipends ranging from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3. In addition to this very praiseworthy endowment, he also created several others of smaller sums of money for providing scholarships to meritorious students of the Calcutta University. He has also left funds for the purpose of giving prizes to the boys of the Dacca and Krishnagar Colleges.

The family of Raja Ram Mohun Roy is well known for its liberality. His grandsons, Hari Mohun and Pyari Mohon Roy, maintain a charitable dispensary and an alms-house at their native village of Radhanagore in the district of Burdwan. The Mitter family of Shyambazar, but originally of Baraset, whose present representatives are Shyam Loll and Mohon Loll Mittra, have similarly maintained an *atithsala* and a charitable dispensary. The former has extensive zemindaries in the District of Hooghly and 24-Pergunnahs and the latter in Gya.

The charities of the late Dewan Kristo Ram Bose of Shambazar were of so exceptional a nature that some reference to them here will not be deemed inappropriate. I give the following, condensed from Mr. Loke Nath Ghose's "Modern History of Indian Chiefs," p. 45 :—On one occasion he bought rice to the value of Rs. 1,00,000 for the purpose of profiting by its sale; but before a single grain was sold a great famine took place. Thereupon he gave up his idea of gain and displayed his charity by opening *Annachattras* for the purpose of feeding the famine-stricken people without distinction of caste. * * * He celebrated the *Rath* of Jagannath at Mahesh with great splendour, and the annual festival in connection with it is still continued by his present descendants. He established the idols Modon Gopalji in Jessore and Radhabollavji in Beerbhum. He dedicated to Mahadeo a temple on the largest and most beautiful hill situated in the centre of the river Ganges, bordering Jehangira, a village in Bhagulpore. He planted trees on both sides of the road from Cuttack to Puri, a distance of 40 miles for the convenience of pilgrims. He excavated a large tank on the outskirts of Puri near the entrance to the sacred shrine of Jagannath, and lodged sufficient money with the Raja of Puri to cover annually the cost of the three big cars at Puri.

I now pass from the City of Palaces in Lower Bengal to the capital of East Bengal. Dacca is now a wreck of its former self. Its old splendour and commerce, due to the flourishing trade of Greek, Italian and Portuguese merchants, are gone. When the Mussulmans conquered and settled in East Bengal, they named Dacca Jehangirabad, after the Emperor Jehangir, and made it the capital. Out of the wreck of its past grandeur

and its ancient nobility, has arisen, tower-like, a noble house whose traditions can trace their direct connection with the Emperor's service at Delhi. The noblest representative of this house was Sir Khwaja Abdul Ghani, K. C. S. I., Nawab of Dacca, who was famous throughout Bengal for his vast wealth, liberality and public spirit. Loyal to the backbone, Nawab Ghani distinguished himself greatly during the Sepoy revolt of 1857, assisting the British Government with all sorts of necessary information, advice and funds. During the severe famine of 1874, and after the cyclone of 1876, he placed his steamer "Dacca" at the disposal of Government for the purpose of carrying out relief work. He was the greatest benefactor to the city of Dacca, having materially contributed to all works of public usefulness in it and subscribed lavishly in all times of public distress. For the improvement and sanitation of Dacca he spent four lakhs of rupees. The Dacca Water Works, which provide to rich and poor alike an abundant supply of filtered water in the far off capital of East Bengal, and which have helped very greatly to wipe out the reproach of the insanitation from the city, owe their existence to his munificence and liberality. He subscribed a sum of two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees towards the funds for their construction and subsequent extension. But it is the manner of giving this princely subscription that has made it so famous, for he did it in commemoration of the Prince of Wales's recovery from a dangerous illness. The water-works at Dacca thus stand out as a monument to his devoted loyalty to the Queen-Empress of India. The drainage of Dacca had been notoriously bad, and sanitary laws were as completely ignored in the city as in the villages. Cesspools were found on the banks of tanks or within a few feet of a well; and the dead were buried in the midst of the living. The sewage was never removed and the rain water conveyed it into the river, whence only wholesome water was procurable. Weeds were seldom eradicated and tanks were never cleansed. Drains were seldom flushed and had rarely any outlet. Led by a laudable desire to improve the public health of Dacca, Nawab Abdul Ghani gave a donation of one lakh of rupees for the purpose of carrying out improvements in the drainage system of the city. But for the exertions and expense incurred by him for the benefit of the public, Dacca would have remained an insanitary slough. For the improvement of the Dacca rivers he subscribed a sum of Rs. 15,000, and for the deepening of the Byguabari canal he gave Rs. 8,000. He spent over Rs. 40,000 in digging tanks, wells and canals, in all his zemindaries situated in the districts of Dacca, Barrisal, Tipperah and Mymensingh. For the repairs of the Buckland

Bund, Dacca, he contributed the sum of Rs. 35,000. Nor are his charities confined within the boundaries of India alone. They extend wherever the sun shines and the wind blows. For the cutting of the Zobeda canal at Mecca he gave a donation of Rs. 40,000. To the sick and wounded soldiers of Turkey who fought with such splendid bravery and desperate perseverance during the Russo-Turkish War, he sent a subscription of Rs. 20,000 through the Turkish Consul. To the sick and wounded troops of France during the Franco-German War he similarly sent a subscription of Rs. 5,000. For the relief of the sufferers from cholera in France he gave Rs. 2,000, and for those that were left homeless and desolate from the disastrous effects of the earthquake in Italy Rs. 4,100. He opened his purse strings on behalf of Italy when its people suffered terribly from cholera, and subscribed Rs. 2,000 for them. For the alleviation of the distress of the famine-stricken population of Persia, Jerusalem, and Bulgaria he gave Rs. 3,000 to each of those countries. During the great famine in Ireland he sent Rs. 6,000 for the benefit of the sufferers. For the relief of suffering humanity nearer home he has distributed money as lavishly as his wealth and position enabled him to do. The earthquake which laid waste hundreds of thousands of houses in the Happy Valley, and in which many valuable lives were lost, was as unparalleled in its disastrous effects as the last one we had in Bengal and Assam. For the relief of the sufferers he gave the handsome donation of Rs. 15,000. During the famine of 1867 he subscribed Rs. 10,000, and in that of 1874 double that amount. Towns devastated by floods and fires have participated always in his sympathy and help. During the heavy floods of 1885, which entailed the greatest hardship and sufferings on the poor and the peasant class, he subscribed the sum of Rs. 10,000 for their relief. If I were to enumerate all his contributions I should fill a volume. I give below a selected few :—

	Rs.
Dufferin Memorial Fund	50,000
To Commemorate H. R. H. The Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Calcutta	12,000
Calcutta Zoological Garden	11,300
For his Mymensingh tenants	10,000
Charities to poor Parsis through Mr. Manekjee Ramchandrapore Mosque and Ghât	38,000
Female Ward Mitford Hospital, Dacca	10,000
Cost of sending 115 poor pilgrims to Mecca	25,245
For constructing two roads to the tomb of Huzrat Shah Ali	24,800
Charity to a Moslem lady	10,000
	6,000 .

Charity to a Hindu lady	...	...	10,944
Ripon Scholarship	...	...	8,000
Famine Relief Fund	...	...	10,000
Victoria Square, Dacca	...	...	12,000
Victoria Zenana School	...	...	10,000
Tornado Relief	...	...	10,000

In the matter of his charities he was widely catholic. To the Alligur College, as well as to the Benares College, he gave a donation of Rs. 2,000 each. Towards the furtherance of the translation of the Mahabharat he lent a helping hand, as he did also towards the Balaclava Heroes Fund.

Among his minor charities, which are legion, I mention below only a few of the more important:—

			Rs.
Cyclone of 1864	..	...	5,000
Land for Dacca Madrassa	...	...	5,500
Burdwan Famine, 1885	...	...	1,000
Burdwan Famine, 1872	...	...	4,300
Barrisal Famine, 1887	...	...	5,000
Barrisal Hospital, 1871	...	...	4,000
Barrisal Famine, 1874	...	...	5,000
For the snake house in the Zoo	...	...	2,000
Lancashire Fund	...	...	3,000
H. R. H. Princess Alice's Memorial	...	...	2,000
Cattle trough and drinking fountain, Calcutta	...	...	1,500
Dacca Club	...	...	4,000
Repairs of Khonala at Mughazar	...	...	3,000
Famine Relief, Poona and Amhedabad	...	...	2,000
Prince Albert Victor's Reception	...	...	5,000
Naraingunge Hospital	...	..	2,000
Dufferin Hospital	...	...	3,500
Victoria Hospital, Madras	...	...	2,000
Jubilee Memorial Fund	...	...	5,000
Dufferin Memorial	...	...	2,000
Eden Statue	...	...	1,000
Sir Steuart Bayley Memorial	...	...	2,000
Relief of Wounded Soldiers, Cabul War	...	...	1 000
Madras Famine	...	...	2,500
Abdul Hamid's Mosque	...	...	4,000
Darjeeling College and Recreation Ground	...	...	2,000
Moslem Girls School	...	..	1,000
Barrisal Recreation Club	...	...	3,900
Repairs of the Mitford Hospital	...	...	2,000
Empress Commemoration Fund	...	...	1,000
Chittagong Cyclone	...	...	1,000
Indian Mission Fund	...	...	5,000
School at Teheran	...	...	2,000

Deaf and Dumb School	...	...	3,000
Chandpore Mosque	...	...	5,000
Chandpore Town Hall to commemorate Lord Elgin's visit	..	...	5,000

As to sums of less than Rs. 1,000, the late Nawab Abdul Ghani spent them like water, giving them whenever and wherever a party approached him for assistance.

His zeal for the Moslem faith led him to build and repair mosques and tombs which but for his pecuniary aid would have crumbled to pieces. Some of these mosques, notable amongst which is the Hossani Dalan of Dacca, are renowned for their architectural beauty and antiquity. For the repairs of the Dacca Imambarah the Nawab gave a princely donation of one lakh of rupees. His worthy son Nawab Ahsanullah subscribed a sum of two lakhs of rupees for the reconstruction and repairs of the Hossani Dalan. Nawab Abdul Ghani spent almost a fortune in the repairs and renovation of about 25 of the principal mosques and tombs of this country.

In addition to these numerous charities, he maintained a Free School, a Madrassa for Mahommedan students and an alms-house. The last, which is known popularly at Dacca as the Nawab's Langarkhana, was opened in the year 1866. The majority of the inmates are either blind or lame. All these institutions still exist and are creditably maintained by his son.

The Nawab of Dacca supports entirely at his own cost six charitable dispensaries at the following places:—(1) Ramchanderpore, (2) Gouripore, (3) Dollye, (4) Konokdeiya, (5) Phooljurey, (6) Pamoorky.

The loyal services rendered to Government by the Nawab of Dacca form a brilliant record in the family history of this noble house. I give below a complete list of them:—

1. During the late Mutiny Nawab Sir Abdul Ghani presented three elephants to the Government.
2. The night before the fight in Dacca he placed his paddleboat "Dolphin" at the disposal of the authorities to take a detachment of the naval brigade to Dawoodcandy, in order to intercept a body of the Mutineers from Chittagong who were supposed to be marching upon Dacca.
3. During the Lushye War, Nawab Sir Abdul lent his steamer the "Ada" to take troops to Sylhet.
4. During the Kookie Raid in Hill Tipperah, he placed his steamer the "Star of Dacca" at the disposal of the authorities to take re-inforcements to the front.
5. In the 2nd Lushye Campaign, he lent six elephants to carry baggage and stores.

6. He also supplied the authorities with 300 country boats for the same purpose.
7. During the great famine of 1874, he lent his steamer the "Star of Dacca" for service at Rajshaye, where she was very usefully employed for some four months.
8. During the Naga War, Nawab Ahsanullah sent 15 of his best shikari elephants fully equipped for service in the Hills, where they all died.
9. Nawab Ahsanullah placed his Barge "Track" at the disposal of Mr. Prestage for the use of H. R. H the Prince of Wales at Goalundo, where a pig sticking was organised for His Royal Highness.
10. He lent his steamer the "Star of Dacca" for famine relief work at Burrisaul.
11. He placed his steamer the "Dacca" at the disposal of the Telegraph authorities to enable them to repair the cable at Boid's Bazar after the great earthquake of 1897.
12. He placed his steamer the "Bornapore" at the disposal of the authorities at Chittagong to carry food grain to the sufferers after the great cyclone.
13. He also placed his steamer the "Star of Dacca" at the disposal of Mr. Pellew when he was Commissioner of Dacca for famine relief work.
14. He lent his steamer launch "Jamoreky" to Mr. J. F. Brocklehurst.
15. Lent his elephants to the Railway authorities to carry on the survey works.
16. Lent his steamer the "Peri" to Mr. Pitman for urgent work in connection with the Government Telegraph Department.

Nawab Ahsanullah has followed closely in his footsteps of his noble father, both as a liberal and enlightened zemindar and in vast public benefactions. I need only instance his latest act of generosity. He placed at the disposal of Government a sum of one lakh of rupees to take necessary measures for preventing the spread of plague to Dacca, and in case of its appearance in that town for proper treatment of poor, both Hindus and Mahommedans, who might suffer from the disease. The Nawab has offered to pay another lakh, if necessary, for the same purpose. The vast extent of his charity, can be appreciated by looking at the following cutting from a daily paper of 20th September last, which notices his princely liberality on the occasion of his son's marriage:—

"The marriage of his second son, Khajeh Atikullah, passed off on the 10th September at Delkosa Garden-house. On this

auspicious occasion, the Nawab made donation of nearly a lakh by a present of one full month's pay to all his officers and servants from the highest to the lowest, and proposes to make a further donation of Rs. 5,000 to each of the five Districts of East Bengal in which his Zemindary lies."

The names of Nawab Abdul Ghani and his son Nawab Ahsanullah stand out as beacon-lights to the rest of the landholders of Bengal and elsewhere, and no better example of a liberal landholder can be found anywhere in the country.

Maharajah Surja Canto Acharji is another liberal landholder of East Bengal. He is a great public benefactor to the city of Mymensing, where the Water Works, the Town Hall, and the Charitable Dispensary are all due to his munificence and public spirit. For the water works he subscribed a lakh of rupees and afterwards supplemented it with another handsome donation. The Town Hall of Mymensing is a splendid building occupying a most advantageous position and a large tract of land. It has cost the donor about Rs. 40,000, and has been a great boon to the inhabitants of the city. His grandmother, Bimala Dibya Chowdharani, is widely known in Benares and other holy places of Hindu pilgrimage as a most charitable lady. For his public beneficence he was honoured with the title of Raja on the recommendation of Sir Ashley Eden. He has founded and maintains several religious endowments and an alms-house. A keen sportsman and a hospitable landholder, Maharajah Surja Canto Acharji is held in high esteem by all classes of people. In addition to these charities he has subscribed Rs. 7,600 for the opening of an eye ward in the Nasirabad Dispensary, called the Mackenzie Eye Ward, and also pays the cost of its maintenance. He maintains a school which is called Raja Surja Canto's Institution.

The Nator Raj family have been so well noticed by Mr. J. Westland in his Report of the district of Jessore that I shall simply content myself with quoting from his writings:— 'In the last half of last century, the Nator zemindari was in possession of Maharani Bhavani, who was the widow of Raja Ram Canto Rai, son of Raja Ram Jivan Roy. This lady's fame is spread far and wide, and it is specially noted that she was a most pious lady, continually spending her money in the endowment of idols. She established in Benares alone 380 temples, guest-houses (*atithalaya*) and other religious edifices, some of which are still kept up; but some have ceased to be kept up, probably because the family, by the loss of its estates, became too poor to support them. Religious edifices were erected by her also in other parts of the country and endowed with money and with land. There are many of

these at Nator, the seat of the family, and there is a well known one at Murshidabad, which is named Sham Rai. It is endowed with extensive lands, its principal endowment being Dihi (estate) Phulberia, which lies between Chargachha and Kaliganj, and has its cutchery at Shibnagor, opposite Kaliganj.'

It is said that the income from these endowed properties amounted originally to about nine lakhs of rupees annually; but there is very little doubt that this income has dwindled at present to a fourth of this amount. Rajah Anand Nath founded the Rajshaye public library and did many other works of public utility. His son Raja Chandra Nath established the Female Normal School at Rampore Bauliah and endowed it with a yearly income of Rs. 1,500. The Nator Raj now supports, in addition to these, an English School, called the Nator Maharaja's High School, near the Rajbari, and a charitable dispensary.

The Putya Raj is the oldest of the aristocracy of East Bengal. The seat of the family is in Putya, a Police station midway between Nator and Bauliah, the headquarters of the Rajshaye district. The first charitable act of any importance was done by a distinguished member of this family named Rati Kanta. He established that famous idol of Radha Govinda whose beautiful temple is the resort of hundreds of pilgrims, and added an *atithshala* to it for the maintenance of the necessitous. But the greatest amount of good work was done by one Jagan Naryan, who erected a splendid religious endowment at Benares and built a ghât and a guest-house in that city. He erected another guest-house on the banks of the river Phalgu in Bihar, while his widow erected at Putya a temple dedicated to Shiva and celebrated the occasion by extensive grants of rent-free lands to learned Brahmins. He used to distribute in the cold weather cloths to the poor, and during the rainy season to feed both men and cattle, an example which was followed by Rani Sarat Sundari. Rani Mon Mohini Debi has distinguished herself by a grant of Rs. 30,000 for the purpose of constructing tanks and wells in the Rajshaye district. During the late water-scarcity this act of charity of hers was the means of saving hundreds of lives of the poor. By her several scholarships, medals and free studentships in the Rajshaye College she has done much to promote and encourage English education amongst the poorer class of natives of the district. She is the donor of four scholarships, aggregating Rs. 33 monthly, to the students of the Rajshaye College. Besides this she awards yearly stipends to various Sanscrit *tohs* and primary institutions throughout the district.

The Deghapatya Raj is an excellent specimen of a munificent and liberal family of landholders in Bengal. The

founder of the family, Dya Ram, was a great lover of Sanscrit literature and established several *zo/s* in the Rajshaye district. But the most distinguished member of the family was Raja Prosanna Nath Rai, who occupied a most conspicuous place amongst contemporaneous zemindars and was one of the most liberal and benevolent examples of the landed aristocracy of Bengal. He constructed a good road from Dighapatya to Bauliah, which cost him Rs. 35,000. But what chiefly made his name famous was the princely endowment of Rs. 1,07,400 by which he established the charitable dispensaries at Nator and Bauliah. They are still maintained mainly out of the profits of the endowment. His son, Raja Promotho Nath Ray, gave a donation of Rs. 10,000 for the hospital and dispensary buildings at Rajshaye, established by his father. The Raj has borne the sole expense of the new boarding-house, called the Promoth Nath Hindu Boarding-house, which has been built in connection with the Rajshaye College. It accommodates 48 boarders. Raja Promoth Nath endowed the Rajshaye Girls' School with a yearly income of Rs. 180 and three scholarships for the same. He also recently established at his sole expense a charitable dispensary at Nakhila, his kachari-house. The Raj has always been remarkable for its religious endowments. In this connection the name of the founder of the family comes into prominence, as he founded several establishments, of which the temples of Krishna Chandra in Jessore and Gopal Deo in Murshidabad are the most famous. At the seat of the family at Dighapatya were founded several temples dedicated to the gods Krishnaji, Govindji and Gopalji. All these religious establishments he endowed with valuable landed estates. He took great pains in the excavation of large tanks in his zemindaries for the benefit of his tenants and surrounded his palace with a big moat to serve the purpose of a reservoir of good water.

I quote the following account of the zemindar of Narail from "Dr. Hunter's Statistical Account of Jessore," p. 208 :—

"The Rai family of Narail has always been noted for acts of liberality and piety in endowing temples, etc. They also dug several tanks upon their estates, and have constructed other works of public utility. Har Nath Rai spent a large sum of money upon a road intended to connect Narail with the town of Jessore, for which and other works he was rewarded by Government with the title of Rai Bahadur. A good school and a charitable dispensary at Narail are also maintained entirely at the expense of the family." This school has now attained the position of a second grade college under the name of 'Victoria College' at the instance of Ramratan Ray.

Raja Promada Bhusen Deb Rai, of Naldanga, Jessore, has

shown his public spirit and liberality by establishing scholarships for Sanscrit learning and medals for female education, of which he is a very warm advocate. For these acts of liberality he has received the thanks of Government. He has also founded and maintains a Higher Class English School, which is named after him the 'Naldanga Bhushan School,' and a charitable dispensary.

Of the many representatives of the nobility of Bengal on whom was conferred the title of Raja Bahadur on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Queen-Empress none perhaps has been more conspicuous in his liberality than Raja Mahendro Lall Khan, of Midnapore. His father, Ayodha Ram Khan, took great interest in the welfare of the public and largely contributed towards the Midnapore High School, the Relief Funds, Dispensary, Public Library, etc. During the famine of 1874 he allowed a remission of rents to the amount of about Rs. 40,000 to his tenants. He also made a free gift of lands to Government for a public road extending from Keshpur to Julka, a distance of over six miles in length. The religious endowments, consisting of several temples at Narajole, Abashghar and Kurunghore, have attached to each of them almshouses for the relief of the needy. The Lieutenant-Governor, when conferring on Mohendra Lall Khan the title of Raja Bahadur, thus spoke regarding his public spirit and munificence:— 'You have devoted your wealth and influence, as your father did before you, to the service of your fellow-countrymen. In endowments and donations to schools, libraries, and hospitals, in the construction of the Narajole embankment, and above all in the remissions of rents to your tenantry in bad years, you have set a noble example.'

The Moisadal Raj family has distinguished itself by many acts of public beneficence and utility. A charitable dispensary and free Entrance School are maintained by the Raj. There are alms-houses attached to almost all the temples dedicated to Hindu gods and goddesses where the hungry and poverty-stricken are fed with unstinted liberality. They were originally founded by Rani Janaki, a pious lady of the family, who is said to have spent a good deal of money in religious and charitable acts. The present representative, Raja Jyoti Prosad Gorga, gave a donation of Rs. 32,000 towards the construction of the first floor of the Eden Hindu Hostel Building, which has been called after the name of the donor's family 'The Moisadal Block.' The Raj annually awards medals and scholarships to the Midnapore College boys.

The Pal Chowdhury family of Natuda is well known for its acts of charity. Naffar Chandra Pal Chowdhury gave the sum of Rs. 5,000 for the restoration of the B.A. classes

of the Krishnagore College. In supplying the afflicted with medical relief he was always to the front, and subscribed Rs. 36,000 towards the establishment of a Charitable Hospital and Dispensary. He gave Rs. 5,000 towards the purchase of the Turret Clock at the Presidency College. But his grandest gift was the princely sum of three lakhs of rupees for reproductive Public Work which would be useful to the District of Nadya, and such other works as would develop the resources of the country. How far the aim of the donor has been carried out, and how many works of public utility of the nature suggested have been constructed, there are no data to enable us to say. But, no doubt, the Government will be so pleased as to let the public know how far this money has been spent in carrying out the real intentions of the donor.

There are few aristocratic houses of zemindars, however, in Bengal which can compare for works of public charity and munificence with that of the Nadya Raj. The present family is only a wreck of its former grandeur. It occupied a unique and important place in the history of the country. It rose to such power that it actually wielded the sceptre of Lower Bengal for a time. Of all the princes of this noble family, Maharaja Krishna Chandra was the most charitably disposed, and it was he who made himself so renowned throughout the country by virtue of his free gift of rent-free lands to learned Brahmins and scholars for the encouragement of Sanscrit literature. Whatever may have been done by other aristocratic families of Bengal, it is but doing bare justice to the Nadya Raj family to say that it has exerted itself to an extent which no other families have done for the encouragement of Sanscrit learning in Bengal, or I might say in India. In addition to the giving away of innumerable rent-free lands, he paid monthly stipends to many students and sent them to Benares and Drabir to prosecute their studies there. A recent and at the same time a somewhat interesting account of the amount of rent-free lands given away by the Nadya Raj estimates their value at about ten lakhs of rupees. Nor is this estimate in the least exaggerated. Throughout the district of Nadya, you will not find a single Brahmin who has not got his patch of rent-free land as a reward from the Nadya Raj. Indeed in the district of Nadya it is considered a reproach to a good Brahmin not to possess rent-free lands given by the Nadya Raj. The court of Krishna Chandra was the abode of all the brilliant intellects and writers of the day. The greatest Sanscrit scholars flocked there from all parts of Bengal. Of all the learned men that lived and moved about Krishna Chandra's court, the most renowned was the author of 'Vidya Sundar,' Bharat Chandra,

incontestably one of the best poets of Bengal. One might say with confidence that Krishna Chandra's reign witnessed the noon-day splendour of Bengali literature. It was through his strenuous exertions and liberal support that Nadya became the centre of Sanscrit learning in Bengal.

But it was not in the direction of learning alone that his liberality extended spent over two lakhs of rupees in the excavation of tanks in many places for the benefit of the public.

Among the princes of the Nadya Raj, Sirish Chandra was a great reformer. He stoutly advocated the cause of the remarriage of Hindu widows and denounced in the most scathing language the evils of the Hindu system of polygamy. He presented the lands on which the Krishnagore College was built to Government and subscribed largely towards the funds both for the building and the endowment of that important institution. The value of the land thus given away is estimated at Rs. 28,000. The present Maharajah Khitish Chandra paid Rs. 6,000 for the maintenance of the B.A. class of the Krishnagore College in 1876 and Rs. 1,800 for the College funds in April 1895. In the construction of village schools and public roads the Raja has been eminently liberal. He paid a handsome contribution for the construction of the house for the small carnivora at the Zoological gardens in May 1897. Towards the funds of the Garette Hospital at Nobodwip he paid a sum of Rs. 1,000. It is a well-known fact that the present comparatively down-fallen state of the Nadya Raj is owing to its vast charities in times gone by in the shape of expenses incurred upon religious ceremonies, the performance of which has now become obsolete, and the grant to pundits of rent-free lands which cost fabulous sums of money. The Nadya Raj has made several endowments for the advancement of Sanscrit learning and encouragement of primary schools. Rs. 600 is yearly paid for the expenses of the *Bongobibudho Jononee Shova* at Nobodwip. A Sanscrit *tol* is maintained in the Rajbati for which a sum of Rs. 200 is paid every month. The Raj supports and subsidises a number of normal and other schools at a cost of Rs. 100 per month. It has paid Rs. 10,000 in small subscriptions to various objects of public utility and is always liberal in its support of all movements tending to the welfare of the people at large.

The Bhowal Raj, represented at present by Raja Rajendra Narain Roy, affords a most striking instance of a munificent landholder. His father, Kali Narain Roy, was created a Raja Bahadur for his eminent services during the famine of 1865-66 and 1873-74, and for his general liberality and public spirit.

It has been computed that the present Raja Bahadur has spent up to now a sum of no less than three and half lakhs of rupees in charitable works. I enumerate some of his big donations here :—He gave Rs. 22,000 towards the construction of the Dacca Northbrook Hall, Rs. 20,000 towards the funds of the Dacca Medical School, Rs. 20,000 for the Buckland Road, Rs. 15,000 to the Mackenzie Fund, Rs. 17,561 to the Famine Fund, Rs. 6,000 for the Johnson Ward, and Rs. 5,000 to the school for the Deaf and Dumb. For the improvement of agriculture amongst his tenantry he organised a system of irrigation into his estate and an Agricultural Exhibition which cost him Rs. 15,927. I subjoin here below a list of his further subscriptions :—

	Rs.
Dufferin Fund	10,000
Tonga Bridge	20,000
Vidyasagore Memorial Fund	3,000
Mitford Hospital	12,000
Dacca College Scholarship	6,000
Darjeeling Pasteur Institute	1,000
Mirzapore Road	2,000
Charities during assumption of the title of Empress of India	1,500
Charities during Diamond Jubilee	2,208
Relief of sufferers from fire	3,502
Subscriptions for Memorials to Viceroy and Governors	15,000
Mymensing Female Hospital	1,600
Asiatic Society, Calcutta	2,017
Victoria Hospital	5,000
Subscriptions to Schools	34,033
Poor Fund Contributions	13,537
Subscriptions to Dacca Races	18,631

In addition to this long list which is by no means an exhaustive one, he supports the Saraswati Samaj which has for its object the improvement of Sanskrit *7ols*. He is the founder and sole proprietor of the Jeydebpur Sahitya Samalochani Institute, and bears its entire expenditure. This institution has a noble object. It encourages the development of Bengali literature, and also the publication of useful books in Sanskrit or English throwing light on the history of Indian civilization, by helping poor authors with money presents or by purchasing their books and presenting them to important libraries. The yearly expenditure for its maintenance amounts to about six or seven thousand rupees. In the 1896 a sum of Rs. 2,000 was remitted to Mr. Brennand of England for the printing of his great book on Hindu Astronomy.

The Tagore family of Calcutta are among the richest zemindars in East Bengal. I noticed in my last article the princely beneficence of Prosonno Cdomar Tagore; but I have only mentioned in a casual manner the equally princely charities of Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore. I intend to close this article by referring to them in detail, and showing how the noble acts of one's predecessors serve as a guide, verifying the old adage, that example is better than precept.

The veneration with which Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore looks upon his mother is almost ideal, and it is not at all surprising that his most bountiful charities are named after her, and the perpetuation of her sacred memory has been the best and most ardent desire of his life. In her name he has created a charitable institution at Benares and endowed it with a sum of one lakh of rupees. There is the usual temple of Shiva, with its concourse of Brahmins and daily worshippers; but the principal feature of the institution is the daily feeding of all-comers in the guest-house. A similar endowment exists in his mother's name at the Mulajore temples, for which a sum of Rs. 60,000 is given. That noble institution for relieving helpless widows which is known as the 'Maharajah Mata Hindu Widow Fund' was also created to commemorate her name and the fund amounts to one lakh of rupees. There is no class of persons more deserving of relief than that of destitute Hindu widows and no charity is more commendable than the amelioration of their sad and forlorn condition.

I give below some of the more important items of Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore's charities :—

	Rs.
Rent remitted to the tenants of Faridpur estate during famine	40,000
Square laid out at Toltollah for the use of the public in the name of the Maharajah's father	24,566
For the statue of the Hon'ble P. C. Tagore, C.S. I., placed in the Senate House, Calcutta	20,000
For excavating a pond in Ballygunge for public use in 24-Pergunnahs in the name of the Maharajah's mother	10,000
The Indian Famine Fund (1866)	10,000
The Indian Famine Fund (1897)	10,000
The Transvaal War Fund	10,000
Lumsden's Horse	5,000
The District Charitable Society	8,000
The Lady Dufferin Fund (Bengal Branch)	5,000
The Lady Dufferin Fund (General Branch)	2,000
The Mayo Hospital	10,117

The Jubilee Fund	...	...	5,000
The Zoological Gardens Library	...	...	8,000
* The Prince Victor Reception Fund	...	...	3,000
The Oriental Seminary Building Fund	...	...	2,500
The Zoological Gardens Snake House	...	...	2,500
The Calcutta Flood Relief Fund (1900)	...	...	2,500
The Kristo Doss Memorial Fund	...	...	2,000
The Bayley Memorial Fund	...	...	2,000
The Dufferin Memorial Fund	...	...	1,500
The Monghyr Jubilee School Fund	...	...	1,200
The Royal Marriage Fund	...	...	1,000
The Rajendro Lalla Mitter Fund...	...	...	1,000
The Gayibanda School Fund	..	...	1,000
The St. Vincent's Home	...	...	1,000
The Rungpore Drainage Fund	...	...	1,000
The Jamalpore School Fund	...	...	1,050
For the sufferers by the fire at Kidderpore	...	...	1,000
The Cotton Memorial Fund	...	...	1,600
The Sir Comer Petheram Memorial Fund	...	...	1,350
For the Benares Hospital and Famine Funds			1,000
The Indian Musical Association	...	...	1,000
For the reception of H. H. The Lieutenant-Governor in Maharajah's Estate at Rungpore	...	...	1,000
Rungpore Charitable Dispensary Building Fund			1,100
Repairs of the Kamikshya Temple	...	...	1,000

The Maharajah gives annually a very large sum in subscriptions to various public bodies and associations. To the Meerut Volunteer Rifle Fund, to the Indian Science Association, to the North Suburban Hospital, and to the Mohun Mēla Fund he pays Rs. 100 yearly. In the same way he gives annually Rs. 500 to the District Charitable Society, Rs. 550 to the British Indian Association, Rs. 500 to the Indian Industrial Association, Rs. 200 to the Lady Dufferin's Fund, Rs. 200 to the Mayo Hospital, Rs. 120 for prizes to the Photographic Society, Rs. 120 for the Art School Prize Fund, Rs. 125 for prizes to St. Xavier's College, and Rs. 120 for the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, while a further sum of Rs. 512 is annually spent in small subscriptions by the Maharajah.

For the encouragement of Sanscrit the Maharajah spends yearly the sum of Rs. 7,010, which he distributes in the shape of small stipends to learned pundits of *tois* all over the country. He gives monthly stipends to 20 poor boys who are daily fed at the Prasad. Nor are the hungry rabble left uncared for and unattended. Every day 100 paupers are sumptuously fed, and cloths are distributed to them on occasions of Hindu religious festivities.

I subjoin here a list of works of public utility constructed by the zemindars of East Bengal and Calcutta :—

- 1.—Twelve temples of Shiva with a ghât in the middle, both in Connagore and in Panihati, placed opposite to each other on either bank of the Hooghly. By Jagat Ram Datta, of the Hatkhola Datta family.
- 2.—Pretsila staircase at Gya. By Madan Mohun Datta, of the Hatkhola Datta family.
- 3.—Nimtola Burning Ghât, dedicated to Lord William Bentinck. By Dewan Radha Madhab Bannerjee of Jorabagan.
- 4.—Bagbazar Bathing Ghât. By Dewan Durga Charan Mukharjee of Bagbazar.
- 5.—Temple of Modon Mohon, Upper Chitpore Road. By Gokul Chand Mittra.
- 6.—Twelve temples of Shiva at Baranagore on the Hooghly. By Jay Mitter of Calcutta.
- 7.—Kumartuli Bathing Ghât with a temple of Shiva. By Balaram Mozumdar of Kumartuli.
- 8.—Road leading to Kalighat. By Ram Chandra Pal of Jorasanko.
- 9.—Khardah Bathing Ghât, Rs. 24,000. By Ram Chandra Pal of Jorasanko.
- 10.—Khardah Bathing Ghât with twelve temples. By Ram Hari Biswas, Khardah.
- 11.—Anondomoyee Kali temple with an alms-house at Gobardangah. By the Mukherjee zemindars of Gobardangah.
- 12.—Gobardangah English School and Charitable Dispensary. By the Mukherjee zemindars of Gobardangah.
- 13.—Road from Baraset to Taki, cost one lakh of rupees. By Rai Kali Nath Munshi of Taki.
- 14.—Baruipore Charitable Dispensary. By Basanta Kumar Rai Chowdhury of Barulpore.
- 15.—Satkhira Public Road (60 miles). By the Rai Chowdhury zemindars of Satkhira.
- 16.—Jagaddal and Hatkhola Bathing Ghâts. By Dewan Fakir Chunder Sen, Jagaddal.
- 17.—Belghoria Charitable Dispensary in Nuddia district, Rs. 28,000. By Kailash Chunder Mukherjee.
- 18.—College and Dispensary at Kushtea. By Maharsi Debendra Nath Tagore.
- 19.—Dacca Medical School Building. By Srimati Bishweswari Chowdhury Debi, Gouripore.
- 20.—Victoria Camp Hospital, Rs. 24,000, and maintenance charge Rs. 100 monthly. By Haro Nath Chowdhury, Mymensing.

- 21.—Victoria Academy, Mymensingh. By Haro Chunder Chowdhury. Rs. 100 monthly expenditure.
- 22.—Rungpore Normal School Building. By Raja Gobindo Lall Roy of Rungpore.
- 23.—Eye Infirmary, Dacca, Rs. 20,000. By Raja Srinath Roy of Bhagyakul.
- 24.—Gaibundha School Building, Rs. 7,000. By Sarat Chundra Rai Chowdhury.
- 25.—Poor House at Murali, Jessore. By the zemindars of the District. It is endowed with landed property called the Khaturia Magura Estate. (Hunter's "Statistical Account of Jessore").
- 26.—Kirtipasha Anglo-Vernacular School, Sanscrit *Tol* and Charitable Dispensary. By Prosonno Coomar Roy Chowdhury, Backergunge.
- 27.—Lukhutia Vernacular and Night Schools and Private Charitable Dispensary. By Rakhal Chandra Roy Chowdhury, Backergunj.
- 28.—Mymensing Road, 8 miles from Tangail to Jaidebpore. By Kali Naryan Chowdhury of Bhawal.
- 29.—Bhawal Charitable Dispensary. By Kali Naryan Chowdhury, Bhawal.
- 30.—Malucha Branch Charitable Dispensary founded and supported out of a bequest of a native zemindar.
- 31.—Backergunj canals (1) Manik Mudi Khal, 5 miles long, connecting Durgapore and Nahalgunj rivers. By Manik Mudi, founders of the present family of landholders of Madhabpasa : (2) Lakhutia khal, 6 miles long. By Raj Chandra Ray of Lukhutia ; (3) Kotowalipara Khal, 10 miles long. By Narail landholders, Jessore.
- 32.—Tangail Branch Dispensary. By Dwarka Nath Rai Chowdhury. Yearly expense Rs. 2,400.
- 33.—Brajamohun Institution, or the Students' Union ; having an endowment of Rs. 365 yearly paid by the Zemindar Brajamohun Baboo's heirs.
- 34.—Satkhira School entirely supported by a zemindar, who has established it for education of the better class of his tenants. (Major Smith's report.) A charitable dispensary has also been established by him with the same view.
- 35.—Chowhatta Public Library in Pubna district, Rs. 32,000. By Moulvi Khoda Bux Khan Bahadur, Pubna.
- 36.—Khatura Charitable Dispensary, 24-Pergunnahs, Rs. 40,000. By Ram Gopal Rakhit.
- 37.—Patuakhali Charitable Dispensary, Rs. 8,000. By Nawab Sir Khajah Ashanullah Bahadur of Dacca.

- 38.—Karatia Mahamadia Entrance School, Mymensing.
By Motowali Wayed Ali Khan Pance, Rs. 200
monthly expense.
- 39.—Rungpore Drainage, Rs. 20,000. By Janoki Ballav
Sen, zemindar of Dimla, District Rungpore.
- 40.—Lowis Jubilee Sanitarium, Rs. 20,000, 'Janoki
Ballav House.' By Janoki Ballav Sen, zemindar
of Dimla, District Rungpore.
- 41.—Pramatha-Manmatha College, Tangail. By the
Chowdhury zemindars of Tangail.
- 42.—Tangail Charitable Dispensary. By Jahnavi Chow-
dhurani of Tangail.
- 43.—Taki Government School Boarding House Building.
By Jotindra Nath Chowdhuri of Taki.
- 44.—Rajshaye College Endowment created by Raja Hara
Nath Rai Chowdhury Bahadur, of Dubalhati, who
granted in perpetuity an estate valued at more than
a lakh of rupees for the maintenance of the Raj-
shaye College.
- 45.—Ranaghat Charitable Dispensary and English and
Vernacular Schools. By the Pal Chowdhury zemin-
dars of Ranaghat. But the most *munificent act*
of their charity was the contribution of one *lakh* of
maunds of rice to the sufferers in the Madras
famine.
- 46.—Dinajpur Public Road and Charitable Hospitals at
Dinajpur and Raiganj, together with the English and
Vernacular and Gymnastic Schools at Dinajpur and
Kaliaganj. By Maharajah Tarak Nath Rai and
his widow Maharani Shyam Mohini of Dinajpur.
- 47.—Maduripore Bridge, Charitable Dispensary and
Bathing Ghât. By Chowdhury Golam Ali of
Haturia.
- 48.—Haturia Branch Road and Barisal Government
School. By same.
- 49.—Jagannath College, Dacca, founded and maintained
by Kisorilall Roy Chowdhury, zemindar of Beliati
in the Dacca district in memory of his father
Jagannath Roy Chowdhury. Eight scholarships,
two of Rs. 6 per month each and six of Rs. 3 a
month, are awarded by the donor every year for the
benefit of the students.
- 50.—Harendra Lal College, Munshigunj, Vikrampur,
founded and maintained by Harendra Lal Roy
Chowdhury, the well-known millionaire and zemin-
dar of Bhagyakul.

- 51.—Bogra Public Park, named 'Altafanessa' Park. By Nawab Abdus Sobhan Chowdhury.
- 52.—Tahiranessa Female Hospital, Bogra, having an endowment yielding about Rs. 1,000 a year. By same.
- 53.—Noakhali Charitable Dispensary and Hospital, established 1860 and maintained mainly out of Bhulna Raja's estate.
- 54.—School and Charitable Dispensary, Kakina, Rungpore. By Raja Ram Ranjan Roy.
- 55.—Midnapore College, supported mainly by an endowment created by the zemindars of the district, which yields Rs. 3,000 yearly.
- 56.—Taki High School, endowed with a donation of Rs. 75,000 and a property having a yearly income of Rs. 300.
- 57.—Raj Chunder College, Barisal, supported solely by Bihari Lall Chowdhury, zemindar of Barisal, who has also founded several prizes, medals and scholarships for students.
- 58.—Bhagyakul Charitable Dispensary and Dacca Pundit's Institute. By Srinath Roy and other Zemindars of Dacca.
- 59.—Panihati High English School Masonry Building, Rs. 12,000. By Tran Nath Bannerjee.
- 60.—Faridpur Isan Institution. By a zemindar of Faridpur.

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ART. IV.—SHORTHAND: ITS USES AND ADVANTAGES.

MY object in writing this paper is to invite attention to a subject which seems to me to be deserving of much greater attention than it has hitherto received in India ; and the fact that I am an old shorthand writer and deeply interested in all that appertains to this subject, must be my sole excuse for venturing to deal with it.

Shorthand is generally supposed to be a product of modern times. But this is not the case ; for, while it is undoubtedly true that the art has received an enormous impetus and development in comparatively recent times, shorthand can with certainty claim to be more than two thousand years old. It is a well-established fact that tachygraphy, which is only another name for shorthand writing, was practised in ancient days among the Greeks and Romans. About seven or eight years ago Mr. F. Maunde Thompson, the Librarian of the British Museum, was reported to have stated that a fragment of an inscription found recently on the Acropolis at Athens was nothing less than a portion of an explanation of a kind of shorthand, composed of arbitrary signs, as old as the fourth century before Christ. If the authenticity of this discovery be accepted, then there is good ground for the belief that has always existed among historians of shorthand, that Xenophon possessed a knowledge of shorthand and took down some of the speeches of Socrates. But, however this may be, it is stated in that storehouse of literature, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that the first undoubted mention of a Greek shorthand writer occurs in 195 A. D., in a letter to Flavius Philostratus. The tachygraphy practised by the Greeks is supposed to have grown from a system of secret writing which was developed from forms of abbreviation, and which the early Christians adopted for their own use. Tachygraphy flourished among the Romans. It was taught in their schools, and, among others, the Emperor Titus is said to have been skilful in this style of writing. Cicero's freedman, M. Tullius Tiro, is reputed to have been the author of a large collection of shorthand symbols which bear the title "Notæ Tironianæ ;" and Tiro's system was used extensively during the first five centuries of the Christian era. But, with the decay of learning, shorthand fell into disuse ; by the tenth century all practical acquaintance with the Greek and Roman systems of shorthand writing faded completely away, and it was not till the beginning of the seventh century that the art was revived to any appreciable extent, although even

during that interval various systems of shorthand were practised.

England was the birth place of modern shorthand, and it is supposed that the Reformation gave the first impulse to its cultivation. It is recorded that Bishop Jewel, a distinguished religious reformer, who had devised a kind of shorthand, acted as a notary at the great disputation of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, at Oxford in 1554, on the sacraments of the altar, and that he also acted in the same capacity at a disputation which took place on the same subject some five years earlier, when Peter Martyr and other reformers took part in the controversy. Dr. Timothy Bright published a system of shorthand in 1588, and it was followed two years later, by Peter Bales' *Arte of Brachygraphic*. In 1602 the *Art of Stenographie* by John Willis, made its appearance, and no less than 200 systems, all more or less based, like Willis', on what may be called the a. b. c. system, were published between that year and the year 1837, when Isaac Pitman's phonography stepped into the arena. Since the introduction of Pitman's system, some 300 other systems or more have appeared, but a very large proportion of these are merely imitations or modifications of that system.

It would take a great deal of time and space if I attempted to give any detailed description of these systems, and I must therefore content myself with simply remarking that, of the systems in vogue before Pitman's, the best known were those published by Shelton in 1620, which was adapted to German, Dutch and Latin; the system invented by William Mason in 1692, which was republished by Thomas Gurney in 1740, and has continued in use to a certain extent down to the present day; *The Universal English Shorthand* published in 1767 by John Byrom, sometime fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Byrom founded a stenographic club, and his system of shorthand received the distinction of a special Act of Parliament for its protection. Then in 1786 came Samuel Taylor's system of stenography, which it is stated did more than any of its predecessors to establish the art in England and abroad, for it came into use in France, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Germany, Portugal, Roumania, Hungary and other Continental countries. Of the numerous systems which made their appearance subsequent to Pitman's, those published by Professor Everett and Mr. A. M. Bell have been favourably mentioned; also Mr. J. M. Sloan's adaptation of the French system of Duployé.

But of all the modern systems of shorthand writing, the one which stands pre-eminent is that known as Pitman's Phonography. It was first published, as I have stated, in 1837; it

has passed through several thousand editions since that date and, as its name indicates, it is constructed on a purely phonetic basis. This method of shorthand writing is the one that is now most largely in use in Europe and America, and, in fact, all over the world; for, according to statistics which were published about five years ago (I have not been able to lay hands on later figures), 93 per cent. of newspaper reporters and 98 per cent. of shorthand clerks in England practise this system; while in the United States, 97 per cent. of the shorthand writers use either Isaac Pitman's Phonography or an American presentation of it; and his system has moreover been adapted to eighteen or twenty foreign languages. I dare say some of these percentages have risen a little more within the past year or two, although they are nearly at the hundred as they stand; but it would perhaps be generous to allow a little margin for the other systems.

I am a disciple of Pitman, and naturally feel a great admiration for his system. I have not studied any other methods of shorthand writing, and therefore can express no opinion on their merits or demerits; but the statistics I have quoted are, I venture to think, more than sufficient evidence of the superiority and popularity of Pitman's system over all others. The vast mass of a. b. c. systems of shorthand are said to be strikingly devoid of originality and mostly imitations of the few that I have mentioned; while nearly all are described as consisting of an alphabet, a list of arbitrary and symbolical signs, a table showing the best way of joining any two letters, a few general rules for writing, and a specimen plate. Pitman's system, on the other hand, stands on a purely phonetic basis, and its chief merit is its extreme brevity and legibility. It is eminently suited not only for the professional stenographer, but also for the various purposes of every-day life.

Now let us see what are the uses and advantages of shorthand writing. The general impression seems to be that it is really of use only to those who intend to adopt it as a means of livelihood. But this is a misconception which happily is being gradually dissipated. One of the chief anxieties of every busy person is to economise time, and if there is a time-saving art it is shorthand writing. It has been calculated that it would save to those who use it at least a sixth part, and often as much as one-fourth or one-half, of their working hours. Even if only one-sixth be taken as the saving, the economy would be found to be most material; for at this ratio a man who writes a good deal for, say, twenty of the most active years of his life would save about three years. It is nothing uncommon to hear that a man has resolved to keep a diary. But how often has the diary been begun and kept up for a time and then

suddenly discontinued, only because of the irksomeness of having to make the jottings in longhand. If shorthand had been employed instead, the entries would have been made much more quickly and a great deal more could be noted down than in longhand ; while, of course, the pleasure of being able to recall incidents in one's life would be permanently ensured. Then again, take the case of persons engaged in historical or literary research. What a great boon it would be if such students could escape the drudgery of having to copy out in longhand the raw material for their work. By the aid of shorthand a multiplicity of notes and quotations can be rapidly taken down, and a small note-book may thus be made to contain as much writing as at least half a dozen note books the contents of which are written in longhand. Indeed, it is recorded in one of the Phonetic Journals that, in a competition for a phonographic prize which came off in London some years ago, as to who should write the largest number of words in shorthand in a given space, the winner of the prize was found to have written legibly the whole of one of Goldsmith's plays on the back of a single half-penny cost card, besides a large quantity of other matter, amounting in all to some 32,000 words. It can, I think, be affirmed, however, without any fear of contradiction, that every part of the student's work involving writing can be better done in shorthand than in longhand, that more work can be done in the former than in the latter, and that the student who uses shorthand in the right way will learn more than the student who is without shorthand. This is true of students of all subjects, even foreign languages, for phonography enables one to seize, and fix, and preserve, a pronunciation which would otherwise fade quickly away from one's memory. Of course the phonographic signs that serve for English would require some little modification in order to be applied to certain foreign languages, but once the necessary modification has been made, a valuable aid to the study of foreign languages is acquired. Considering, therefore, that one of the chief difficulties in learning a foreign language is in connection with pronunciation, there can be no doubt that phonography can be very usefully employed in this direction. But it must be understood that phonography is not constructed to record every shade of sound heard in all the languages of the world, so that there are limits to its capacity in the representation of the sounds of foreign languages.

The use of shorthand has also been found to be of very great value to students of medicine in taking notes of lectures in anatomy, physiology, and other subjects, and to medical practitioners in jotting down the symptoms of a patient when at his bedside, and in making other notes. In fact, its value to

medical men is so fully recognised that the members of this profession in England have formed themselves into a Society of Medical Phonographers, with Sir William Gowers, M.D., as their President, and some hundreds of names on its rolls. The Society has its own shorthand magazine, and, in a pamphlet which it issued some time ago on "The use of Shorthand by the Student," it mentioned as an illustration the case of a student who took epitome notes in shorthand of the lectures he had been attending and relied exclusively on these notes for a systematic knowledge of medicine. It is stated that he used no text-books whatever, but made his notes serve all the purposes of systematic reading ; and when he sat for the M. D. Examination of the London University, he not only passed it successfully but also gained the gold medal. It is, I think, hardly possible to cite a better example of the value of shorthand as an aid for the purposes of the student. The clergyman would also find shorthand very valuable in jotting down his thoughts as they occur in preparing his sermons, and of course he would also save a great deal of time. Similarly, the barrister would find it of the utmost use in noting down the leading points in his cases ; and so with various other professions.

As to the use of shorthand for military purposes, there can, I think, be no doubt that there is a wide field for its employment in other directions besides correspondence and the dictation of documents. Its value has been officially recognised within the past few years, and the military authorities are apparently desirous of promoting its study, as I find it is laid down in the Queen's Regulations, that, in order to encourage the study of foreign languages and of shorthand, which are both admitted to be especially useful to officers on the general and personal staff, and to obtain a record of the names of officers who are proficient in these subjects, an examination is held twice a year in London under the auspices of the Civil Service Commissioners. And in another paragraph the system of shorthand recommended for the Army is Pitman's, and it is stated that an officer who is in possession of Pitman's certificate, or a certificate from the Society of Arts, showing that he has a thorough knowledge of shorthand, will be recorded as proficient in that subject. As far as I have been able to ascertain, shorthand has made marked progress in the army in England, and there are many military shorthand classes and military shorthand examinations for Pitman's speed certificates, with money prizes for those soldiers who gain them. But I am afraid the importance of the subject is not recognised to the same extent in India ; and, in order to show the advantage which military officers would derive from

possessing a knowledge of shorthand, I shall quote an extract from a paper on "Shorthand in the Army" which was read by Captain J. C. Caunter of the 2nd Battalion, the Welsh Regiment, at the Royal United Service Institution, in London, about three years ago. He said:—"A staff officer has frequently to deal with matters of a confidential or semi-confidential nature, which must necessarily pass through *his* hands alone—such, for example, as the preparation of defence schemes and confidential reports, etc., and in making his rough copies a knowledge of shorthand would certainly save him many hours a week. When attending his chief at inspections, official visits, interviews, etc., he is constantly called upon to make notes of various points on which, later, reports have to be rendered, and in such cases the few notes he is at present able to take down in longhand are often totally inadequate. The advantage of a knowledge of shorthand in such positions to officers both on the general and personal staff is indisputable. Every officer on the staff keeps, or should keep, a diary, and the smallness of the phonographic characters, in combination with the speed with which they can be conveyed to paper, make them peculiarly suited to this class of work. Staff officers are frequently appointed secretaries of committees, and are responsible for a correct report of the proceedings; much time is at present lost by the inability of these officers to write shorthand. Again, what a saving of time would result in taking down the proceedings of court martials, courts of enquiry, boards, etc., in shorthand!"

Captain Caunter also recommended the use of shorthand characters in military sketching, as the characters, being smaller than those employed in longhand, can be used to a greater extent on the face of the sketch, and consequently a great deal of information can be shown on the sketch or map which would otherwise have to be embodied in a separate report. He also advocated its use for the pigeon post, while he was of opinion that in the field the employment of shorthand would be even more valuable than in the office, as the importance of saving every minute on active service and of the speedy transmission of orders and reports could hardly be exaggerated. No doubt the field telegraph and telephone would be available in many instances, but cases would be of frequent occurrence in which this means of communication would not be at hand. On outpost duty reports in shorthand could be sent back much more fully and expeditiously than can be done at present in longhand; while it would be a great advantage if officers with patrolling or reconnoitring parties could record the results of their observations rapidly in shorthand instead of having to wait till they could find the time to do so in longhand.

Phonography would also be of great assistance in the compilation of reports and histories of campaigns and actions. Captain Caunter further stated that during the manoeuvres of 1894 an officer who had been for many years an expert phonographer took down the various statements made by the commanding officers at the conclusion of each day's operations, with the result that at the end of the manoeuvres he had a very full and instructive narrative of the course of events, including the ideas and intentions of the different commanders, and the manner in which they endeavoured to carry them out.

In the discussion which took place on Captain Caunter's paper, several officers spoke of the value of shorthand, although one or two of them, including Lord Methuen, expressed a doubt as to its use in the field, considering that both sketching and writing shorthand on horseback would prove matters of considerable difficulty. Sir William Gowers, whose name I have already mentioned as the President of the Society of Medical Phonographers, also took part in the debate and made some valuable remarks which I venture to think are worth reproducing. He said :—

“ It has always seemed to me that there are circumstances—there must be at some time in the future circumstances—in which the value of the use of shorthand by an officer in the army would far transcend in importance its use under any other circumstances whatever. We who have used it in medicine and science have become acquainted with its influence on observation. If shorthand is written at only three times the speed of longhand—and, so written, it is as legible as print to any one who has even a moderate proper acquaintance with it—in a given time there can be recorded twice as much of the facts observed, and, therefore, twice as much time is left for the process of observation. Now, observation depends largely on record for its value. Unrecorded observation is comparatively unprecise. A man has only to attempt to write down the facts that he is observing, to discover that on this or that point he is vague, uncertain ; he has to look again and again as he describes in writing what he sees. The influence of shorthand is less on the quantity of work than on its quality,—it enables work to be better done. Am I not correct in assuming that there are circumstances in which a difference in the value, the accuracy, the precision, the fulness of the observations made by a reconnoitring officer and the fact that he brought them back recorded on the spot when the facts were before him, that these, compared with the less perfect results of observation which he would also retain less accurately in his memory, or record

less fully and precisely in longhand, might make all the difference between victory and defeat in a succeeding battle? That, of course, would be a rare circumstance, but it is surely possible? Apart from that, for an officer of the army who has much writing to do, shorthand is of extreme value for all purposes of personal writing, for all note-taking, note-making, for all drafting of reports, and the fact that with uniformity of system—which, as the lecturer has observed, can only at the present day be obtained with Pitman's system—a man's own writing is available for transcription or typewriting by any subordinate. I may mention that a most distinguished professional shorthand writer, who writes another system (I am not at liberty to mention his name, and so cannot mention the system), told me that he did not think it likely that in the future the ingenuity of man would devise a better system for general use than Pitman's."

That was what Sir William Gowers said, and I hope I have succeeded in demonstrating the value of shorthand for military purposes.

With regard to shorthand as a means of livelihood, it is a well-known fact that thousands of phonographers are earning their living in Europe and America, and that the sphere of shorthand has widened enormously in recent years. Newspapers have multiplied to an astounding extent, and of course their very multiplication has created a great demand for reporters. Phonographers are also required in ever increasing numbers by busy public men, statesmen, politicians, directors, and others, and I believe even authors are becoming more and more addicted to the practice of dictating their works to shorthand assistants, especially since the introduction of the type-writer, which by the way forms a valuable adjunct to shorthand writing; while commercial men, almost without exception, have their shorthand writers; in fact, a knowledge of the art has practically become a *sine quâ non* for admission into business houses in England and America. In 1890 the number of phonographic students in the United Kingdom was estimated at 55,000, and in 1895 it was close upon 100,000; similarly the number of institutions and classes in which Pitman's shorthand was taught was 1,260 in 1890, and it rose to close upon 2,400 in 1895. The British Government has also shown its appreciation of the merits of shorthand, as the subject has been included in the Technical Education Act of 1889, in the Education Code of 1891, and in the Evening School Code of 1893. The Universities, too, have displayed a kindly feeling towards it, as Cambridge has held a shorthand examination for junior students in connection with its Local Examinations for some years past, and Oxford has, I believe,

recently inaugurated a shorthand examination on similar lines.

But, although a wide field of employment is also open in India for qualified shorthand writers, it seems to me that nothing like the same degree of progress in the study of this art has been made in this country as has been attained in Europe or America. For instance, there is not, so far as I am aware, such an institution as a Shorthand Writer's Association in the whole of the Bengal Presidency, although Madras, the so-called benighted Presidency, has had a Shorthand Writer's Association in existence for the past six or seven years; and I gathered from a newspaper report the other day that the Association in Madras is at present presided over by a prominent educationist, with the Editor of the *Madras Times* as its Vice-President. Bombay also boasts of a branch of the National Phonographic Society, London. I have heard of shorthand classes in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and one or two other places, and shorthand is taught in some of the schools, but I do not think the subject has yet received all the attention that it deserves. It seems to me that something more is needed than the inclusion of shorthand as a completely optional subject in schools. In my humble opinion it is a subject for which facilities ought to be furnished equal to those provided for other studies. I do not see why, for instance, the schoolboy should not be encouraged to take down in shorthand, as far as possible, the lessons that are dictated to him in school hours. This very practice would help him to realize the value of shorthand, and would accustom him to rely upon it for his own purposes and to feel that it is something more than a minor accomplishment. Nor is there anything better calculated to keep alive and alert the student's interest in the subject than the habit of using it daily and on every possible occasion. Moreover, the habit of using it in school life would be a good preparation for its use in business life. I have seen it stated in the newspapers lately that there is some likelihood of the Cambridge Local Examinations being introduced into India. If this should turn out to be true, then there should soon be a marked improvement in the progress of shorthand in Indian schools. A good deal can also be done outside the school-room to promote the study of this very useful art. At all events, there is at present great room in India for the spread of phonography, and a large field of employment is open to those who desire to earn a living by it, either as newspaper reporters or in commercial or other business houses, or in Government offices. I have heard it more than once stated that there is a dearth of competent shorthand writers in India, and His Excellency the Viceroy,

in his reply to the Anglo-Indian deputation in Calcutta, a few months ago, drew attention to this matter, and suggested shorthand as affording a good opening for youths of the domiciled community. As with every other art, so with shorthand, there are many degrees of skill, and the remuneration varies accordingly. In order to be a good newspaper reporter it is necessary that a man should be able not only to take a verbatim note of a speech or address, but also to edit or trim it, if need be, or to condense it ; and this he will hardly succeed in doing unless he brings to bear the results of a good general education, considerable practice in composition, and an accurate perception of the right use of words. The question of salaries for shorthand clerks, as apart from other shorthand writers, such as newspaper reporters, was warmly discussed in England a few years ago, and the conclusion arrived at was that the salary of a shorthand clerk depends, and must always depend, more or less, upon efficiency in other things besides shorthand, and that no attempt to ignore the legitimate effect that differing degrees of ability, and varieties of accomplishment and skill, necessarily have upon salaries, will ever be successful.

A great deal has also been said with regard to the speed with which words are uttered, and the speed with which they are or can be taken down in shorthand. Of course there are record-breakers in shorthand as in other things, and I remember sometime ago seeing a report in which a young man at Leeds was credited with having attained the phenomenal speed of 297 words per minute. But it is only necessary to try the experiment of reading at that rate in order to see what an awful jargon of sound must result from the effort to articulate so many words a minute. Experience, however, has shown that the average rate of public speaking is very slightly over 120 words a minute, and that some speakers average 150. Occasionally the slowest utterance is exchanged for a rapid flow of words, and 180 or 200 words a minute is no uncommon speed in certain styles of speech, such as the conversational ; but this rate of speed is seldom acquired. Mr. T. A. Reed, the veteran phonographer, once successfully took down a sermon by a fluent American preacher, which was carefully timed, and, on the words being counted afterwards, the average came out at 213 words a minute. For all practical purposes, however, 120 to 150 words a minute is sufficient. For those who do not intend to make shorthand writing a profession, the ability to write at a much lower rate, say 60 to 80 words a minute will suffice.

Now, to sum up : it is hoped that the foregoing remarks will have shown that shorthand is valuable not only as a

means of livelihood, but also for the various purposes of every day life. To put it briefly—shorthand can be used in a large variety of ways, such as copying down quotations of all kinds, writing out the first drafts of letters, or literary compositions, posting up one's diary, either business or otherwise, taking notes of any particular science or art which one is studying and for which one is collecting the necessary data, jotting down memoranda, posting up one's private cash book, &c., &c.; while of course the journalist, the author, the lawyer, the clergyman, the doctor, the military officer, and other people would also find it valuable in various ways. And it will doubtless interest the members of the fair sex to know that there is nothing in phonography that presents greater difficulty to one sex than to the other, and that past experience has proved that where an equal amount of undivided attention is given to the study, very little difference is apparent in the result. Hundreds of women are now earning a living in Europe and America as shorthand writers and typists. I have therefore no hesitation in recommending the study of shorthand to ladies also, and, as women are as a rule more devotional than men, my advice to them is that, after they have made a certain amount of progress in its study, they should read the Bible in shorthand daily as an exercise!

A great recommendation for shorthand is to be found in the well-ascertained fact that the study of the art almost invariably engenders a taste for other studies, while the practice of note-taking enable the writer to fix at once upon the really substantial matter of a lecture or an address. The secret of success in shorthand is *practice*, and we have the opinion of the late Mr. John Bright, the orator (an opinion which is printed on the back of the title page of Pitman's Shorthand Instructor), that phonography is so exceedingly simple as to be easily learned by any one of ordinary capacity, and that if it be learned by a very large number of the people, the public benefits to be derived from it are incalculable. He also said that the art appeared to him to be likely to tend to increase the love of reading and writing, and of education generally. If I may be permitted to add my humble testimony, I also can state that I have derived much benefit intellectually since I acquired a knowledge of shorthand.

J. A. HYPHER.

ART. V.—GREEK WANDERINGS.

Continued from July 1900, No. 221.

XII.—IN AND ABOUT ATHENS.

ONE goes to Athens primarily to see the Parthenon, the Acropolis rock, the Erechtheum, the temple of Wingless Victory, the Theseum, the Dipylon, the Street of Tombs. For these alone one might well go through fire and water. One goes for these, and not less to visit the birth-place of Sophocles and Plato, the city of Solon and Themistocles, of Pericles, Socrates and Xenophon; in a word, from archæological zeal and in the interest of 'the humanities.' And you get all this and a great deal besides which ensures your enjoying a delightful holiday, as well as seeing works of art and visiting sites that would repay you over and over again, even had you to cross deserts and face perils and privations, instead of having a thoroughly good time. You are in the midst of some of the most beautiful scenery to be found anywhere in the world, and, if you choose your time aright, may revel in one of the most perfect of climates, constant sunshine, cooling breezes, an air so light and exquisite that you feel as if you were an inhabitant of some higher plane, 'an ampler ether, a diviner air.'

Then modern Athens herself is a city of many amenities and is by no means without resources for amusement. Her streets are fair and broad and clean,—no European capital can boast of wider or better: her Squares are thronged, and you may watch the crowd agreeably enough as you sip your coffee or 'mastieh' in front of one of the many and excellent 'café's', that abound therein. There are plenty of good shops in Stadium Street and Hermes Street, and you can get all you are likely to want at fairly moderate prices. Anything of native production you will find cheap, ridiculously cheap, when payment is made in paper money and not gold. Even the enhanced value of your sovereign is no small advantage. You may lay out ten drachmas in olive sticks, or 'antiquities,' or photographs, and yet receive in exchange eight and twenty paper drachmas, which have the purchasing power of as many francs in respect of home products. In the country, except in two or three tourist-ridden places, your paper drachma will even go further than a French franc, because the necessities of life are cheap and you can get no luxuries. You may have a cup of Turkish coffee, a modest measure of wine, two lumps of Loukoumi, or Turkish Delight, a liqueur glass of mastieh

or a great hunch of bread, buy a box of matches or have your boots polished for ten lepta, *i.e.*, one-tenth of a drachma, and, when the drachma is depreciated to the value of sixpence, that is, as near as may be, a half penny.

If it is hot, you can obtain delicious ices in Athens, as excellent as any in Europe, the best in Stadium Street hard by the Hotel d'Athènes; and marvellous forms of 'Confiserie,' which should be tasted for experience sake even if you have not a sweet tooth; while, if you have, they will sufficiently commend themselves. Cigarettes are abundant and good, and cheap or dear, as you prefer. The up-country Greek likes to make his own, and to that end purchases a packet of tobacco and screws up cigarettes with a cunning twist of the fingers—with one hand only if the other is engaged; and the result, if irregular in shape, appears to be practically satisfactory. But there is great variety of made cigarettes for the Athenian demos and the aristocracy, either cigarettes made in Athens of Turkish tobaccos, or Egyptian and other foreign kinds at fancy prices. Cigars are rarely met with and dear, the English pipe unsmoked except of the foreigner; but the 'hookah' is often 'on hire' at coffee-houses both in Athens and up-country.

One of the features of modern Athens that especially delights the new-comer with a classical education is the Greek characters painted on the shop-fronts and hoardings. It is with a thrill of something like bewilderment and awe that one at first deciphers ΚΑΠΝΟΠΩΛΕΙΟΝ, ΑΡΤΟΠΩΛΕΙΟΝ, ΒΙΒΛΙΟΠΩΛΕΙΟΝ, ΠΑΝΤΟΠΩΛΕΙΟΝ, ΝΕΩΤΕΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΙΑ, and so on; the names of the streets and plazas are long a source of surprise and delight, recalling at every turn some famous personage or history—Xenophon Street, Euripides Street, Aeolus Street, all posted up with classical correctness in the genitive, as, for instance, ΟΔΟΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ, ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ. A street is ΟΔΟΣ, a boulevard ΛΕΩΦΟΡΟΣ, a square ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑ, a railway station ΣΤΑΘΜΟΣ.

There are two great Squares in Athens, the finest and more patrician the ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΣΥΝ ΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ, or Place de la Constitution, the great centre for visitors, surrounded by the best known and most expensive hotels: part of its open space is a public garden, with paths and trees and convenient benches in shady places, part a pavement set out with little tables and chairs, besides a stall or two for the sale of papers—the chairs occupied on fine evenings by the overflow from the great 'Café' at the corner near Stadium Street. There is an excellent restaurant here, the Syntagma, an excellent photographer's, D. B. Rhomaides, two magnificent 'Cafés', the Mega and another of which I forget the name. The other great square is the place de la Concorde ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ, pronounced

(O'monia in the Nominative) on which converge Stadium Street, University Street, Athena Street, the road to Piræus and the road to Pateria. This is the popular centre (a man was shot there in an attempted revolution in 1888), and is likewise given over to coffee-houses and their habitués. It is also a great station for the Athenian shoe-black brigade. The shoe-blacks of Athens or Lowstree (λοῦστροι) are a perpetual joy. Nowhere in the world is there so efficient or so picturesque an organization for boot-cleaning. Nowhere in the world is there so much brushing of boots in the public streets. Nowhere in the world are the shoe-blacks a more prosperous and self-respecting guild of handicraftsmen. Nowhere in the world does the shoe-black take such pride in his profession or possess such elaborate apparatus. The craft is followed both by boys and men, and I notice in ten years a perceptible increase in the number of men who have set up boxes, which seems to indicate that the calling is lucrative. The men are generally the most accomplished artists; but it offends one's sense of fitness to see grown men, who might be doing soldier's work, sitting in a row along with boys behind shoe-black boxes. But what boxes! Many of them are elaborately faced with brass-work in knobs and patterns, and are a perfect miracle of decorative ingenuity. They gleam afar as one approaches. Nor is this all. The stock-in-trade of a first-grade Athenian shoe-black is considerable indeed. In front of his box is an array of a dozen or more kinds of polish, black, brown, red, yellow. He never fails to use four or five brushes for the several operations of preparing and finishing a pair of boots. Then he keeps by him two or three smart strips of material, velvet it appears to be, dark green, or mauve, or old gold, with which he puts on a final polish. And very perfect is the finished result. Verily the Athenian shoe-black is an artist in boot polish! The boys, too, are perfectly delightful, so alert and healthy-looking and well-fed, with beautiful sun-tinted complexions; and Dr. Barrows says they all go to night-schools. The London shoe-black brigade is a great institution, but, with less of obvious organization and no uniform, the Athenian brotherhood could give it points!

The boys range freely over the squares and about some of the less important thoroughfares; but at certain points they are posted in stationary orders, specially along the wall between the Post Office and Stadium Street, where the array of boxes is one of the sights of Athens. The recognized fee is, for brown boots, a penny (*i. e.*, ten *lepta*), for black a half-penny (five *lepta*.)

The climate of Athens in winter is said to be delightful, being moderately cold with plenty of bright sunshine,

but it is not easy at that season to make excursions—at least one must take one's chance of bad weather. March and April have been marked out by nature as the appointed season for a visit to Greece. Snow in March is not absolutely unknown in Athens, but it is, at all events, unusual. Before the end of April the sun in Athens is getting really powerful, but with a little management the day can be arranged so as to avoid the worst fervours. The wise man will rise early. You can sleep with your window open, and the dawn and the early stir in the streets will wake you between 5 and 6. You must be out of bed early indeed to be up before Athens is astir.

Among the pleasantest of the morning sounds are the tinklings of the goat-bells in the streets, little companies of she-goats with swelling udders, that convey the early morning milk past the very dwellings of the citizens of Athens. Take out your jug and you may have it filled with rich foaming goat's milk before your eyes, and there can be no doubt you get it pure and fresh. Nearly the whole of the milk supply in Athens (and in all Greece) is the produce of the goat. There is little cow's-milk, cattle being bred almost solely for draught purposes in the fields, and these only few in number. You soon get used to goat's milk and find it pleasant enough, if a trifle rich. Another kind of drink that goes round and is delivered at Athenian doors is the water from a spring near Athens, which, like the Ganges water in India, is supposed to have special virtues. The water is put into big earthen-ware jars of antique shape, the jars are placed in wicker crates and carried in carts through the streets. But to return to the routine which uses the day to the best advantage when the midday heat begins to grow excessive. It is well to take one's morning coffee early and get out to the Acropolis or some other open-air site. You can count on meeting a pleasant sea-breeze abroad most days and can probably stay out without discomfort till 11, or later, as you find it. Any time from 12 to 1 is judicious for *déjeuner*. You are then at the hottest part of the day, and will find it pleasantly cool in the hotel dining-room. Museums are habitually closed at 12, remain shut till 1 or 2, so these offer no refuge at midday. If you plan to go to a Museum in the morning, you must be prepared to be turned out at 12. The early afternoon, however, makes a good time for putting in a couple of hours at the National Museum or in the small but fascinating museum on the Acropolis. As the heat moderates between 4 and 5 it will be pleasant enough out-of-doors, and you can saunter to the Dipylon or Colonus, or start in good time to watch the sunset from the platform of the Temple of Nike or the top of Lycabettus.

You get a fine view from Lycabettus. This makes a capital evening's walk, a fairly stiff climb without being at all formidably laborious. The summit is 900 feet above sea level, and you can get up comfortably in about half an hour. The easier ascent is from the S. E. side of the hill, but it is also possible to get up by a steeper and rougher path on the opposite side. The sunset from Lycabettus should not be missed. You see all Athens lying spread out at your feet, Hymettus, the Acropolis, the plain, the sea beyond and the sun's disc descending past towards the ridge of Sharmanga. Behind you have the Boeotian hills.

The Gardens of the Royal Palace make another pleasant afternoon resort, and as they are well-watered and cool and shady, you can go comparatively early, as soon as they are open in fact, for the public, are only admitted between 3 and 5, and on certain days in the week. It is a great privilege, characteristic, perhaps, of the democratic air of Athens that the public are admitted at all, for they are the private gardens of the King's actual residence. These gardens make the one broad patch of green in any bird's eye view of Athens, and a thick and beautifully variegated patch-work of greenery it is. They extend behind the Palace as far as the Zappeion and are bordered on one side by the Boulevard Amalia, on another by the Kephissia Road (where you find the entrance). Though of no great extent, the gardens are extremely beautiful and contain a multitude of fine trees, many of rare kinds, as well as abundance of flowers: wafts of delicious fragrance meet one in the paths. Naturally, there being no Park in Athens, the Royal Gardens attract the Athenian nurse-maid, but as observed, she does not compare favourably from an æsthetic standpoint with her sisters in Kensington Gardens.

You will probably dine a little late, because you will wish to make fullest use of the day-light. It is possible to get dinner comfortably and without difficulty up to 9 P.M. After dinner a gentle stroll through the well-lighted streets is both wholesome and agreeable, perhaps to the cheerful precincts of the Palace Square, perhaps along the Boulevard Amalia to the tall mysteriously looming columns of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, perhaps a little further till you come under the dark outline of the Acropolis hill. All the things that have delighted you by day, will delight you also by night, with that added charm of strangeness which even in the adult age of mankind is inseparable from the shades of night. In that wierd dimness, under the vast shadowy mass of the Acropolis, fortress wall and temple and theatre are restored with a more potent art than that of the mason, and imagination takes you

back more really into ancient Athens than ever in the glaring light of day. If the moon shines for your pleasure, the better your fortune. Here, too, the beneficent enchantress shall exert her subtle influences, enhance for you the relics of Hellas as magically as she transmutes into beauty dull everyday things at home.

You will find the night air in April mild and soft, but deliciously cool after the fervours of the day. You may very possibly finish up your evening with an ice, or black coffee, or a 'masteecha' at a sumptuous Athenian Καφῆριον, most enjoyably, if it is a fine evening; out of doors at a little table by the side of the street or in the open space of the Palace Square. Within doors at your Café you may look at English and French illustrated papers, see the politicians and journalists of modern Athens playing dominoes, and, it may be, listen to music. Then best back and early to bed, so as to be up at sunrise next day. Yet if you crave for amusement, Athens, though neither Paris nor London, is not wholly destitute of means of gratification. There is (occasionally) French opera at one or other of the theatres, or it may be indigenous comedy, and always the Theatre of Varieties in Stadium Street. Athens is certainly not a dissipated capital, and early to bed is the better rule of life while at Athens in the spring. If you have a chance of seeing a play of Sophocles performed by Athenian amateurs, that is another matter! It happened in this wise. It was Monday, April 17th, and we were to start that evening by steamer for Itea and Delphi. To see Delphi and what the French have done there was an essential part of our scheme of pilgrimage. A hard necessity had compelled us to take passages by a steamer that was to start for Marseilles on Sunday morning, April 23rd. There was consequently no possible postponement of the trip to Itea. But we had seen with emotion that the *Electra* of Sophocles was to be performed at the Grand Theatre, at 9 P.M., on this very Monday, and it was a source of chagrin that it should have fallen out that we were leaving Athens that night. We learnt, however, after a rather intricate process of enquiry—for some degree of mystery is maintained about the movements of Greek coasting steamers—that our boat did not start till midnight, and hope revived. There was a train to Piræus at 11 P.M. and the Piræus station was only five minutes' walk from the theatre. It would be possible to see at least a portion of play. We laid our plans carefully to this end. Accordingly at 9 o'clock in the evening we are at the Grand Theatre in Athens, occupying seats in 'Loges F.' and waiting for the curtain to rise on the *Electra* of Sophocles, to be performed by actors whose mother tongue is none other than Sophocles' own. It is a fine theatre,

nearly as large as Covent Garden, and Loges F, albeit the price of our seats is quite moderate, are in an excellent position, much that of an upper circle. The theatre is not more than fairly well-filled. We buy a 'book of the words' and—proh pudor—it is all modern Greek prose! Can it be that Sophocles in his native Athens has come to this? A trumpet blows fanfaron; the curtain rises and reveals the front of the palace of Aegisthus—once Agamemnon—in Argos (it should be in Mycene by rights,—presumably the palace, of which we have seen the skeleton within the Lion Gate and above the circular Agora—but the anachronism is Sophocles' and deliberately intended). Before the aged 'paidagogos', or tutor of Orestes has spoken a dozen lines we exchange glances of relief. This is undoubtedly the Greek of Sophocles—disguised for English ears, yet certainly not *more* unlike the Greek spoken in Athens in the fifth century, B. C., than the English school variety—and verily it is the Oxford text we have before us almost letter perfect.

"O too strate tegeésantos en Trœah pantèh
Agamènnonaus peh, neen ekeen' exerte see
Paraunte lefseen, aun pranthemaus cesth' ah—eé."

This is as close a representation as I can make of the sound of the first three lines, and the stress, be it above all recognized is always laid *exactly on the syllable marked with the accent in the text before you.*

One is at once struck with the excellence of the elocution, and this impression becomes much strengthened when presently Electra comes on. A noble figure is this pale, sombre, strong-hearted Electra, a stronger character than Antigone, though not so loveable; and she is nobly represented by the lady who plays the part to-night. We are at once drawn into sympathy with the passion that is consuming her, the passion of hate against the murderers of her father, the passion of longing for the coming of the avenger, the man-child saved by her own hands to this end and now grown to manhood, a longing rendered more acute by hope deferred. The action of the play is a little slow at first, but grows livelier with the entrance of Clytemnæstra. The conflict of words between mother and daughter has terrible significance in the light of what has gone before and what is to follow. The situation offers a powerful psychological study—two contrasted characters, fatally opposed by circumstances, yet linked by the ties that should be closest and tenderest. A long period of dislike, suspicion and fear is brought to a head in Clytemnæstra's outburst; the lamentings of remorse are revealed in her passionate self-vindication. Electra, schooled to habitual self-repression, replies with enforced calm, but with

a pitiless logic that thinly veils the passion of scorn and abhorrence with which she is quivering : the terrible lines—

ἦ τις ξυνεύδεις τῷ παλαμναίῳ, μεθ' οὗ
πατέρα τὸν ἄμὸν πρόσθεν ἐξαπώλεσας
καὶ παιδοποιεῖς.

reach a climax of intensity, heightened by the very repression of energy with which they are spoken by Electra : her voice sinks as the emphasis grows more thrilling, and the last two words fall from her lips in a strained whisper of horror and contempt.

The drama is given continuously without a break as far as the end of the second choral ode (1057—1097) Then the curtain descends. Electra easily carries off the honours so far : Clytemnæstra is, by contrast, a little wanting in force and dignity ; but she rises in power as she passionately defends the justice of Agamemnon's murder and tells the story of Iphigenia's death. Orestes has as yet had no opportunity. The chorus we think somewhat stiff and lifeless : we have seen a better drilled chorus at Bradfield, at Cambridge, at Oxford. The music is adequate : the staging indifferent. But the interest has been intense : a performance excellent in itself enhanced by the underlying consciousness that we are in Athens. Alas that we may not stay for the marvellous scene in which Orestes makes himself known to Electra, at the moment she believes herself to be weeping over his ashes. In this play all the action is crowded into the last third. But we are to get to the Piræus to-night and we must not again come under the spell.

So we rise and reluctantly turn to go. But that is not so easily done. We are met by a ludicrous difficulty. Our box closes with a spring and by some accident has no handle on the inside. We are temporarily prisoners. We try to attract the attention of some attendant in the passage behind, but to no purpose. We have no time for ceremony, therefore climb with apologies into the next box and so out—not a little to the amusement of the occupants. We take up our packs from the Café restaurant below, where we had left them, and are soon whirling on our way to Piræus.

IX HYMETTUS—PHYLE.

A long afternoon suffices for the ascent of Hymettus, though, being 3,369 feet high at the summit, it is no despicable climb. We started up about half past one, and got down again to level ground just before dark, but another hour on the top would have been a gain. We quitted the city by its S. W. corner in the neighbourhood of the Zappeion, following a road that seemed to lead straight for the great brown ridge. There is

a space of about three miles to be traversed before you really begin to climb—partly level, partly undulating. Then the climbing is decidedly stiff. There is more than one recognized track over Hymettus, but it is quite feasible to go straight up, not troubling about paths, but taking your own line, at all events we fare well enough in this way. We do indeed unexpectedly fall in with a quarry and get entangled for a time, but, once clear of this, the rest of the ascent is straightforward enough, and sufficiently laborious. The rock is intricately cut and scarred by the effects of weathering, and it is an exacting occupation steering between cracks and boulders and making good your footing from one sharp edge to another. Around, growing sparsely among the rocks, are the plants and bushes that produce the wonderful russet glow over Hymettus that you notice at sunset. You don't see the bees, though doubtless they are somewhere about, if one knew the right places to look for them, since honey of Hymettus still loads the early breakfast-table in Athens. But Hymettus is no dainty hillock, no single detached hill like Primrose Hill, or even Lycabettus, but a lofty ridge several miles long. We were on the top of this ridge by half past four, but the summit was still very much higher away to the N. E. Then begin the unique pleasures of the climb over Hymettus. When you fairly gain the edge of the ridge, you have on the two sides of you one of the most extraordinary of panoramas. The whole length of Attica is spread out below, bisected as it were by the razor edge along which you are picking your way. The view extends far beyond Attica, southward to Cos and Andros, and northward over the Boeotian border and across Euboea.

We press on along the ridge, cross one deep concavity in the contour, and have gained the highest point a little after 8. Fascinating as is the outlook, we must not linger long, or the sun sets soon after 6, and it will be awkward to be caught by the dusk in the rough steepnesses by which we must descend to complete the circuit back to Athens. Here, of course, the view all round reaches its widest expanse. It is not quite a clear evening; so we get only hazy vision of the islands, but the whole peninsula of Attica is laid out plainly like a map and both coastlines at full length between.

A considerable township or village is conspicuous close under the ridge on the west: this must be Lioperi. On the west coast the eye distinguishes the islets of Raphti: on the east, beyond the Bay of Phalerum, Clobas, C. Kavonras, and the rocky island Phleva: S. W. down the length of the peninsular, one looks over Laurium and C. Colonna: far to the north-west one discerns the snow of Mount Dirphis in

Euboea, far to the north-east the snow of Parnassus, and nearer a perfect maze of mountains, in different directions, Geranea Helicon, Athæron, Parnes to the left, Pentelicus close in front, to the right the mountains of Euboea.

Wheler, who climbed Hymettus in March, 1675, calls this the most charming prospect my eyes ever beheld! We tear, ourselves away with difficulty and plunge down, for it grows late. If you are as short of time as we were, pray that you may have as good a leader as I had for this headlong descent! I follow as well as I can, bounding from rock to rock, down and down precipitously. We take the whole three and a half thousand feet at a burst, and stand in a rough sheep-track on comparatively level earth by half past six. Then it is a simple matter to walk in towards the light of Athens, following along the dry bed of a stream. But it is dark before we get close under the looming shape of Lycabettus and strike the Kephissia road.

It is worth a little trouble to see Phyle. Phyle is a border stronghold in the recesses of Mount Parnes, commanding the midmost of the three passes between Attica and Boeotia, and is connected with the last heroic periods in Greek history previous to the outbreak of the war of independence. It is a fortress built by Greek engineers of the fifth century, B. C., standing to this day in a wonderfully complete state of preservation. Apart from its associations, it is most romantically situated, and the way thither lies through scenes of great beauty.

You can drive to Chasia at the foot of the hills, if you please, by a bad road, but thence you must walk or ride; if you don't mind about six hours fairly stiff going and can spare a day from early morning till 5 o'clock, there are sound reasons for avoiding the carriage and making a walk of it. With a little help from the railway, which saves you the dull and dusty bridge over the plain, it is an ideal walk.

The manner of it is this. Train from the Peloponnesos station at 7 in the morning to Epáno Lióna at the point where the railway sweeps round to take its own line through the low hills into the plain of Eleusis, some 7 miles on the way to Phyle. From the little station at Epáno Lióna take a path to the right through groves and fields till you strike into the carriage road. Follow this road (the carriage road from Athens), through the village of Chasia and when it dwindles away continue by the mule-track. It is about half a mile to the road and three miles to Chasia.

You ascend slowly and are soon on the skirts of Parnes, among firs and scrub and wild flowers. Pause for a moment as you begin to wind into hill country. A great wall of rock.

towers up to the right, the whole upper portion of its precipitous face stained a brilliant iron-red. Big grey ridges extend beyond and back. Below are rough hillocks sparsely wooded. To the left of the road are cultivated fields, the soil in places of that rich russet brown which is so characteristic a feature of the earth in many parts of Greece, and in the hill-side beyond a series of curious caves. As for the carriage road, it is gloriously uneven and plentifully strewn with stones both large and small.

Chasia, which is hidden in a dip to the right till you are close on it, is a long straggling village. Prosperous and well-to-do it looks in a homely way, and here, as we enter it, is a happy group of small children whose round faces and merry looks are pleasantly suggestive of health and plenty.

Chasia has a tidy church surrounded by a small enclosure which is just now one sumptuous mass of white iris lilies. At either end of the main street is a comfortable Oenopoleon. A burly host at the first gives us a bluff greeting and opines we are going to Phyle. The fact is undeniable.

Past Chasia the path continues through an open valley and for a time descends again. Evidently it is washing-day at Chasia. The women are gathered on this side of the village over great tubs steaming with hot water, or surging with lather—women well set up and comely, both young and old, who give us cheerful greeting as we pass. About three quarters of a mile on, a valley open on the left with glimpses of distant mountains; a red path winds down it to Eleusis. A little on, still descending, and we come to the bed of a broad stream—now quite dry. At this point the real climb into the Pass begins. Here, too, ways diverge and there is need of a little wariness. We cross the stream and at once ascend the steep hill opposite. The path to the right, running invitingly along the side of the ravine above the bed of the stream, leads to Panagia ton pleiston, a delightful little monastery perched at the end of a sort of blind alley right under the great wall of Parnes, which there bars all further progress. This is a spot by all means to be visited, but we happen to be going first to Phyle. Therefore for us the more toilsome scramble up the side of the hill.

We climb upward alongside a rough torrent-way that shows as a reddish streak over the prevailing grey of the rock. The path, if it really is a path, is at first rugged in the extreme, a fortuitous concourse of loose stones, rounded or jagged as it happens. Hill paths are sometimes like this in Greece. As we get higher it improves greatly (or possibly we fall in with a better path, for in independent route-marching in Greece these points are sometimes obscure), and becomes after a

time a very decent path, an irreproachable path, a path to grace a park or pleasure garden. Such are the vicissitudes of travel in Greek mountains. The ascent, too, which was steep for a time, now becomes more easy : we wind pleasantly at a gentle slope among the pines, working gradually round the shoulder of the ridge and into the bosom of Parnes. Now and again we get glimpses back to Chasia, or over the gorge of the stream we crossed below, and the path to the Panagia. The further we go and the higher we get, the more delightful the scenery grows, at once mountainous and sylvan, and the going continues for the most part good, albeit we experience an occasional relapse into the knobbly cobblestone variety of hill-path.

So far our general direction has been towards the great wall of red rock, which is none other than the mighty cliff that shuts in Panagia ton Kleeston. Now our tract turns away from this and trends more to the west ; tops the ridge and opens an immense ravine on the left. As we make on along the side of the cliff we presently find ourselves looking from a kind of rocky bastion full upon the fortress surmounting an (apparently) isolated peak far on across the great valley. The massive walls above the pine-woods cannot be mistaken, and the level of the fort looks little higher than our bastion. So far this is encouraging ; but, on the other hand, the pine-clad hill is still a long way off, even as the crow flies, and between us and it yawns an immense chasm, nor is it yet quite apparent how we are to get round or across it. The path we are on appears to continue right past the fort of Phyle to the right, or no other track is discernible. An old woman who passes with a donkey gives no satisfactory answer, being stupider, or less amiable, than accords with our usual experience. There is nothing for it but to go on in faith. This we do and by degrees the way becomes clear before us.

After about nine hours steady going from the ravine of the Panagia we descend on to a broad sheet of sloping ground above a spacious hollow well-grown with corn. Here our tract, after the manner of Greek mountain paths—when they emerge upon some broader expanse of upland or lowland, where deviation is possible,—opens, sub-divides and leaves us in the lurch. On one side we have a grey steep of tumbled boulders prolonging the ridge along which we have lately been moving ; on the other a deep hollow with a little brook below, and directly opposite across the stream the pine-clad height on the summit of which is our fortress. There is probably a path up if we knew where, but none at all events is to be seen. A woman at work in the fields—it is wonderful how, despite the frequent loneliness of the highlands of Greece, a god (or

goddess) from the machine, in human form, nearly always supervenes in moments of perplexity—points across the hollow. So, in default of a path, we strike up through the pines, judging the direction as accurately as possible, and emerge, after some ten minutes climb, right under the wall of the fortress.

We clamber in and are soon looking over Athens from Phyle's brow (over, not *at*, for it is not a good day for distant views). Without doubt it is a fine position; its efficacy in commanding the pass is not quite so convincingly manifested to an unscientific eye. The fort seems to stand a little aloof from the line of march. The construction of the fortress is in one respect very curious: only rather more than one-half of the area of the summit is actually fortified. That is to say, walls defend the E. end of the rock and some portion of the N. and S. side, while the remainder of the rock is undefended except by the natural strength of the position. One can easily believe, however, that the existing defences would suffice. The walls, it is to be noticed, roughly face the pass (the fort does not, it must be understood, stand foursquare to the points of the compass) and specially strengthen the E. side, by which alone the hill is directly accessible. The N.-W. end overhangs a precipice that is quite unscaleable. You can sit on a jutting rock, and, if you have a steady head, look perpendicularly into the torrent-bed below. The rock might, perhaps, be climbed on the N. side, below the point where the masonry ends, but a good look-out would guard against this danger. Still it is a remarkable fact that a fortress should have been so built with walls round one-half of the circuit to be defended.

The masonry has all the evenness and finish of the best Hellenic work: the fort is, in fact, as it stands to-day, a splendid piece of military architecture. The fine state of preservation of the greater part of it is remarkable. There are two small, but solid constructed towers readily traceable: a square tower at the S. E. corner and a round tower at the N. E. corner. In the square tower one can count seventeen courses of stones, all of the same and size regularly laid. The original gateway into the fort is near the S. E. angle and is so constructed that a storming party must expose their right or unshielded sides to the weapons of the defenders.

Finer situation for a fortress could hardly be. It stands out defiantly on the top of its rounded, pine-clothed hill, amid scenery which is on all sides wild and impressive. It is the very place for a robber stronghold or the last sanctuary of free men who disdain submission at the price of liberty. Deep ravines run past it on all four sides—more open and even cultivated on the side of the pass, grimly abysmal behind.

On one side only is the hill accessible, that by which we have come through the thick screen of pines; a steep slope, but not abrupt as on the other sides. Looking forth from the ramparts in any direction, we face lofty ridges of grey rock, intermittently wooded, while on the lower steeps the patches of corn between the pines make a fine contrast of colour. Generally the higher parts of the rock are barer, but the pines overspread the hills very irregularly, thick on some heights, scanty on others. In one place even the bright green of the corn climbs high. The rock on the ridges and where it crops out through the green below is mostly grey, but up the great ravine west the russet red prevails. The outlook back S. E. over Chasia is (in the immediate foreground) exceedingly stern and rocky; but beyond that rugged ridge top Athens and the sea are, we know, somewhere in the haze, just visible on a clear day over the great screen that shuts out most of the plain.

To this rock, in the Spring of B. C. 403, came Thrasybulus and a small band of patriots, fugitives from the oppressive rule of the thirty. They seized the post and held it. Their numbers rose in course of time from 70 to 1,000; for all who hated tyranny and still hoped for a free Athens flocked to join the champion of democracy: and at length Thrasybulus felt strong enough to march down and seize the Piræus (more staunchly democratic than the city). A conflict was fought on the hill of Umuzchia and through the streets of the harbour town. The exiles were victorious, and, after a protracted struggle, Athens recovered her free constitution. Thus did Thrasybulus lift up again the prostrate Athenian Demos, when humiliated and fallen through the issue of the Peloponnesian War; "a man" says Pausanias, in speaking of his tomb near the Academy, "who in every respect surpasses all who either before or since have been deemed worthy of account among the Athenians." It does not seem that Phyle has had any history since.

The way had proved long, and we only clambered into Phyle a little before noon. The fascination of the place is indescribable and time passed only too quickly. But for us to-day there is a time-limit under severe penalties. We must catch the 4-30 train at Epano-Liona or walk in across the plain: (for the later train runs through). It is half past one as we start down. Just before we leave the walls, the mist happily lightens, and we get dim but undoubted vision of the Acropolis of Athens and Lycabettus through an obscuring veil. Then resolutely down at our best speed. Descending, there is no difficulty in following the path we missed coming up; nor is it wonderful we did not find it then, seeing that as soon as it reaches the hollow it is temporarily lost.

Presently the way divides; then arises debate. Strange that things look so differently when approached from opposite stand points. Neither of us recalls this parting of the ways, and as for general direction, one says right and the other left. Sounds of descending steps in the path above our heads and pleasant voices, one especially soft and musical. Here is some one to set us right. There appears a loaded donkey driven by an elderly woman and a girl—the girl yet without doubt exceedingly pretty, with fair complexion, amber-coloured eyes and the most engaging of smiles. A joyous-hearted maid withal, that ripples with merriment at the dilemma of the strangers and their halting attempts to explain their difficulty in the Greek tongue. The strangers all at once forget their hurry and conform their steps to the sober pace of the beast of burden. Then, the direction satisfactorily ascertained, having no further excuse to linger, hurry on again pursued by that gay and musical laughter and haunting images of frank eyes and ingenuous glances free from foolish self-consciousness.

How remains personally to me a mystery, but we presently see below us the gorge to Panagia ton Kleeston, the pathway and the picturesque ravine we crossed this morning before beginning the ascent the pass. We are actually descending on it, thus achieving what we wished to do, but had not attempted for want of time. We are in another pathway after all and it is evidently the direct path from Phyle to the Panagia. We zigzag down, passing a party of women on pilgrimage to the shrine. There can be no doubt of it. Here is the grassy platform whereon I remember to have halted when my errant feet strayed hither ten years ago and here, not fifty paces on, to the left, is the gate of the monastery. The way to Chasia and the railway is right; but the Panagia is well worth seeing and we are too near to turn our backs on it now. So we join the crowd footing it towards the great wall and reach a wooden gateway which closes the path. Evidently from the number of peasants in their best clothes crowding the little courtyard within as well as the path, it is some festival to-day: a woman's festival, too, for nearly all are women. We pass in meeting the same pleasant looks and greetings as elsewhere in this amiable country: you will find no morose spirit of religious exclusiveness in Greece. On the right of the courtyard is a shed in which a number of beasts are stalled, on the left, against the cliff, a house or houses, forming doubtless the monastery, and beyond a sort of cavern in which cooking operations are in progress. We first ask for a drink and find the water delicious; then look through the door at the further end of the courtyard. It leads to a

small ledge directly under the great barrier of rock, and this is now crowded with pious women. There is also a little church built against the rock close to the gate. We chafe inwardly for want of more kodak films; but our last bolt was shot at Phyle.

A pleasant-looking monk leans over a balustrade in front of the monastery and invites us up. He produces a bottle from a cupboard and carefully fills a liqueur glass. It is *masticha*—but *masticha* of a special quality, very different from that sold in ordinary wine-shops. As in the Benedictine country, so it is here: the monks brew the best liquor. We tender a small offering for the church, and our host opens a drawer and exhibits some quaintly carved spoons of olive wood. They are his own work and really out of the common. We take all he has (which is only five) paying 2 drachmas a-piece. Then we are obliged to say good-bye with apologies for the necessity of haste. But it is a lasting regret we had not more time (or films) for Panagia ton Kleeston. We have now only an hour-and-a-half for the two hours to Epano-Liona. As we hurry along the path we meet a succession of parties on their way to the church, some on ponies, but most on foot, many of the women *barefoot*, their shoes in their hands. This last is plainly an act of special piety, and, after experience of the roughness of the pathway even in boots makes one wince, and here surely, too, is our fair friend and her mother again, who have followed on direct, while we turned out of the way and whom we are again overtaking. The girl greets us smilingly and offers two little posies and some of her mother's cheese. This, perhaps, is in requital for our small gift of provisions when we first met,—what remained of our lunch. The cheese is liable to melt and so difficult to carry, being the white cream-cheese of the country made from goats milk and very palatable when fresh, as this is. But we must carry it as best we can. Leaving more of our hearts behind us, we reluctantly hurry on and by dint of judicious spurting reach the station as the train comes round the bend. Back in Athens at a quarter to five. The cheese is delicious.

ART. VI.—THE VARAKAL FESTIVAL.

THERE is an interesting festival annually celebrated at Varakal on the day of the New Moon (*vavu*) in the Malayalam month of *Thulam* (October-November). Varakal is two miles to the north of Calicut, the city of the Zamorins—the “*Cidade*—nobre e rica*” of Camoens’ *uneful epic*. There is a curious legend touching the etymology of the name Calicut. Cheraman Perumal, the last Emperor of Malabar (according to tradition), abdicated his throne and turned Moslem. Before leaving on a pilgrimage to Mecca, he divided the province of Kerala among his eighteen feudatories, to whose prowess he was indebted for his success in arms. The division and distribution of territory is thus described in the *Lusiad* :—

“ But ere abandon’d home, his satrapies,
That lacked lawful heir, he parts to each
And all he loved : hence his intimates he
From want made wealthy, and from serfdom free.
To this Cochim, to that falls Cananor,
One hath Chale, another thisle Piment,
A third Conkan, a fourth takes Cranganor,
The rest is theirs with whom he rests content.
Only one youth, for whom warm love he bore,
When all was parted, did himself present :
Nothing save Calicut for him remained,
Which by her traffick, wealth and rank had gained.
On him the title paramount he bestows
Of Emperor, with sway o’er every state.”

Another account says that there were two brothers of the Eradi caste from Puntura, near Erode, named Manicham and Vikram, who had rendered Cheraman signal service in overpowering an Eastern invader, the Chola King of Cholaadesh ; and these two youths were absent on a pilgrimage to Benares, when the last of the Perumals divided his territories and retired from political life. So they were left out in the cold in the distribution of territory, but they came up later, whereupon Cheraman, having nothing else to bestow on them, presented them with his imperial sword and a small piece of land called Kokorikot—so small that the crowing of a cock, placed in the citadel, could be heard all over it—the Emperor bidding them

* “Noble and wealthy city.” cf.

“ Here o’er her neighbour cities, sans a doubt,
Calicut claimeth highest dignity,
Crown of the kingdom fair and flourishing :
Here he entitled ‘ Samorin ’ is king.”

Burton’s Camoens, VII, 22.

win what more they wanted by force of arms. This historic sword given to the Pūntura youths with the advice to "die and kill and annex" was wont to be carried in the forefront of battle by the Zamorins of later days ; played a prominent part in the great *Maha Makam* festival held at Thirunavaye every twelve years, and is still preserved and daily decorated with chaplets of flowers. The native designation for Calicut is Koshi-Kotu (literally Cock Fortress), and it comes from two very opposite words *Koshi*, cock, and *Kotu*, fort.

The temple at Varakal is remarkably situated. It stands out from a pedestal of laterite rock rising abruptly from the seashore, and almost lapped by the waves of the Arabian Sea. A building in no way striking or admirable for its architectural beauty, it has no small historical importance. The temple is dedicated to the goddess Durga, the Nemesis of the Hindu pantheon. The wife of Siva "the destroyer," she is described as violent in form and irascible in temper. Her image is awe-inspiring. "Dishevelled* hair, a necklace of human heads, a girdle of blood-stained hands, a wild expression of countenance, her tongue dangling out of her mouth, a sword in her hand and her feet trampling upon her prostrate husband," harmonize admirably with her frightful character. The temple has a very ancient origin, being one of the *maha kshatrams* or "great temples" on this coast. Tradition says it was founded by Parasu Rama, soldier, sage and colonizer, of whom it is recorded :—"Thrice seven times did he clear the earth of the *Kshathriya* caste."

Kerala (Malabar) is said to have been recovered from the Ocean by Parasu Rama, and thereby hangs a tale. The latter was born at the beginning of the Treta Yuga (second Age), and was the sixth *avatār*, or incarnation, of Vishnu. Though his father was reputed to be the sage Jamadagni, he was not the son of his loins. Parasu Rama's mother Renuka, having no son, prayed for one. Her prayer was granted ; but, instead of a Brahman *charu*, she was inadvertently given a *Kshathriya charu*—this being a preparation of rice or barley which, if swallowed, cures a woman of the curse of barrenness. Renuka swallowed the *charu*, and in the fulness of time gave birth to a son—Sri Parasu Rama. One day, years after, Renuka went forth to the river to bathe. There she beheld the Prince of Mritikavati, with a garland of lotuses on his neck, sporting with his Queen in the water, and felt envious of their felicity. She returned disquieted to the hermitage—her mind full of the amorous prince. Jamadagni divined what was passing in her mind and his rage knew no bounds. Beholding her fallen from the pedestal of virtue, he successively com-

* Stocqueler's familiar History of British India : p. 5.

manded his sons to put her to death. All refused except Rama, who, seizing his axe, instantly felled her to the ground. The sage was much gratified at his son's stern devotion, and not only caused Renuka to be restored to life, but also conferred upon Rama the boon of invincibility. Afterwards Kartavirya, King of the Haihayas, endowed with a thousand arms and a golden chariot that went wheresoever he willed it to go, while on a visit to the hermitage, carried off by force the Divine Cow, Kamadhenu. Rama went forth to battle with him, met the marauder prince, and recovered the cow. The sons of Kartavirya, to be avenged on Jamadagni, attacked the hermitage and killed the pious and unresisting sage in the absence of his son, Rama. This so exasperated the latter that he vowed he would extirpate the whole Kshathriya race. Accordingly, he rid the world of the warrior class thrice seven times, and became Lord of all the lands between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin. In expiation of the crime of matricide, he gifted away the whole country to the Brahmin sage, Kasyapa. But this sage, as soon as he became master of all the lands, with scant courtesy, ordered Parasu Rama to quit them. Rama did so, and in his anger smote the sea for a little space. The sea receded, and a strip of dry land became visible. The land thus formed came to be known as *Kerala*, or Malabar. Parasu Rama peopled the newly-created land with Brahmans, built temples therein, and after a life spent in mighty and holy deeds gave away his entire property in alms, and retired to a district between Surat and Cape Comorin, where, as Hindu mythology would have it, he still lives—he being one of the *chirun jivins*, or immortal men.

The promiscuous pile of huge globular rocks on which the Varakal pagoda stands; its very dreariness and solitude; and the many rock-cut caverns breathing an air of weird grandeur, all these give us an idea of the old, celebrated *viharas* of Asoka. There are two large tanks in front of the temple, which are said to be connected with the sea by subterranean channels. In the rainy season, the temple presents a picturesque sight, and has, owing to the incursions of the sea, all the appearance of a little sea-girt isle. Sir Richard Burton, then a Lieutenant in the Bombay Army, visited this pagoda in 1847, and appears to have been greatly impressed with its sanctity. "Early in* the month of October," wrote the author of the *Scented Garden*, "water appears bubbling from a fissure of the rock, and this, learned Brahmins, by what test we know not, have determined to be the veritable fluid of the Ganges, which, passing under ground, *vid* Central India, displays itself regularly once a year to the devotees of Rama."

* Goa and the Blue Mountains, p. 176, London, 1851.

Multitudes annually flock to this temple on the festival day. It is a day for bandies and *jutkas*. All Calicut and his wife, from the sleek slovenly country magnate to the pale work-worn *dufterbund*, are carted to the shrine. Lean famished animals frothing under the weight of vehicles crammed with pilgrims of both sexes and of all ages call for a local S. P. C. A. Every pilgrim takes with him his offering of plantains and cocoanuts. Before entering the temple, he bathes first in the tank attached thereto and then in the sea, which, so the superstitious believe, becomes calm on this day out of respect to the deity. Brahmans believe that a sea-bath here on the festival day will reward them with children. The husband desirous of issue holds his wife by the hand and they take a plunge together. The swimming, bathing, jumping, running, shouting multitudes of pilgrims and devotees present a scene of confusion and disorder suggestive of Juggernath. From one end to the other, the sandy shore exhibits a long array of tossing humanity disporting themselves in the sea.

Burton notices the remarkable proximity to the sea of the venerable pagoda of Varkool. This, it is supposed, enhances the sanctity of the temple, as in the case of the famous Champravatam temple, situated in the bed of the Ponani river. Curiously enough, the great traveller and linguist connects the story of old Calicut's apocryphal destruction with none other than the renowned polemic and apostle of Vedantism, Sankaracharya—"the high Brahman of the Varkool pagoda." Cheraman, the last of the Perumals, apostatizing from the holy faith of his forefathers, received the religion of the stranger, and went as a pilgrim to Mecca and lived there for a good many years. His return to Malabar was marked by a determination to propagate the new faith; and, irritated by the determined resistance of the priestly Brahmins and urged on by his Moslem advisers, he swore a mighty oath that he would forcibly convert his arch enemies—the person selected to eat impure meat as a warning to his brethren being the holy Sankaracharya. But this doom was providentially averted, for "before the bright * car of Surya, the Lord of Day, borne by its flaming steeds with agate hoops had entered upon their starry way, the wavelet was rippling, and the seagull flapping his snowy wing over the city of Cheroman the apostate."

There is a quaint custom relating to this festival in this part of Malabar. Any Nair husband failing to visit his consort on the festival night has to "show cause" why the alliance should not terminate. Such is the *Sambandham* of Malabar to this day, the Malabar Marriage Act notwithstanding.

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR.

* Goa and the Blue Mountains.

ART. VII.—THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF FRENCH INDIA.

THE most remarkable political characteristic of the latter part of the nineteenth century," says Mr. Lecky in his 'Democracy and Liberty,' "has unquestionably been the complete displacement of the centre of power in free-governments and the accompanying changes in the prevailing theories about the principles on which representative government ought to be based." The strong tendency of our generation towards democracy and popular institutions makes it clear that popular government will before long be the established rule in all civilised countries, and the only question for politicians is, as Mr. Lecky thinks, as to the form it is likely to take and the means by which its characteristic evils may be mitigated. No more striking example of this tendency could be adduced than the government of French India. The few isolated and perhaps obscure possessions of the French in India are provided with a democratic government based on universal suffrage on the model of France. Without, by any means, accepting Mr. Lecky's gloomy predictions as to the consequences of the progress of democracy in European countries, one may yet feel sceptical as to the success of democracy among an Indian population; for, as John Morley puts it,* 'systems of government called by the same name, bearing the same superficial marks, maintained on the same nominal principles, and framed in the same verbal forms, may yet work with infinite diversity of operation according to the variety of social circumstances around them.' The maintenance of a democratic government in India, in even so small an area, may therefore afford us an interesting study as a means of tracing the probable operation of that form of government among the peoples of India. For, if government by representative democracies be really inevitable in the progress of modern civilisation; if, as the optimist view has it, the intelligent co-operation of the whole people is the corner-stone of all healthy government, it is clear that progressive India must in time obtain that representation in the counsels of the empire, that independence and self-government, and that brotherhood and fellowship with the other parts of British Empire, which the British nation, at least as an ideal, has set to itself as one of its objects in the government of this country. It may be a long time before.

* Essay on 'Maine on Popular Government—' in his 'Studies in Literature.'

such a state of things is brought about ; but if we could only find out the right methods of reform, the right methods of initiating the people into the exercise of political functions, and of educating them in habits of self-government, the process which is going on at present would be attended with fewer difficulties and the result sooner achieved.

To afford a liberal opening to the aspirations of the present without clashing with the traditions of the past, to introduce changes without disturbing what is good and useful in the elder institutions, to adopt old institutions and machinery to the new needs and purposes of our day, this is one of the most difficult problems before the liberal statesman in India. A study of the working of democracy in French India may, therefore, by showing how far it has failed to accord with the progress of the people and how far it has succeeded in infusing a healthy and progressive spirit into the small population, go some way towards elucidating the problem, on what lines and by what steps democratic reform should proceed in India ?

There is also another feature of the Government of French India which may afford us instruction in regard to questions affecting British India. Both England and France have, as is well known, democratic Governments and are administered by highly developed machinery. Nevertheless, some fundamental differences underlie the principles of administration obtaining in the two countries ; and there is also an essential difference in the points of view from which each has proceeded in the development and administration of its colonies. It may therefore be of some use to examine the effects of the peculiar features of French colonial methods of Government among an Indian population.

It is not proposed in this short paper to give a critical account of the political system of French India and of its administration, far less to discuss all the points that arise in reference to the introduction of representative and democratic government in India. Its aim is merely to suggest the desirability of a more critical study and a more elaborate discussion of the institutions described here, as likely to throw some light on many important questions—questions of administrative as well as political reform—affecting British India. A short account of the government of the colonies of France in India, with a few observations on the practical working of the administrative machinery and the political institutions of the colony, is all that is attempted here.

The possessions of the French in India, as settled by the treaties of 1814 and 1815, are five in number : Pondicherry, the capital, Chandernagore, Karical, Mahe and Yanaon. By two conventions concluded with the British government

in 1817 and 1818, the French government have precluded themselves, in consideration of an annual compensation of a million and odd francs, from manufacturing or permitting the manufacture of, salt and opium, in order to protect the revenues of British India. The five *dependences*, as they are called, comprise an area of about 178 square miles and contain a population of 283,000 individuals. The population mainly consists of Hindus, but it also comprises about 500 European residents, a variable number of Christian converts who have renounced their native status, and a small number of Muhammadans.

No attempt seems to have been made by the restored Bourbon monarchy to organise the government of these possessions on a regular and settled basis. The Governor of the colony had practically all power in his hands, subject, perhaps, to occasional control by the Minister of Marine in France. When Louis Philippe came to power, by a series of ordinances he set the administration of the colonies on a regular basis. By an ordinance of 1840, the military command and the administration of the colonies were vested in a Governor at Pondicherry, assisted by a council of administration composed of the chief officials. An ordinance of 1842 regulated the administration of justice. The second Republic sought to introduce the people of India to the exercise of political power and privileges by instituting in 1848 a *Conseil Generale* in Pondicherry and *Conseils d'Arrondissements* in the five *dependences*.

With the establishment of the second Empire in France, no further attention was paid to the extension of popular rights and privileges in the colonies. With the advent of the present republic, however, the idea was again revived of investing the colonial inhabitants with political rights on the same basis of universal suffrage as in France. The first initiation of the people in the colony into political life was in 1871, when they elected a deputy to the National Assembly in France. In 1875 they elected a Senator. The administrative institutions have also undergone many important, and perhaps too frequent, changes under the present régime. The old office of *Ordonnateur* was replaced by that of the *Directeur de l'interieur*, which in its turn has recently been superseded by that of the *Secrétaire-Générale*. The *Conseil d'Administration* gave way to a *Conseil Privé*, which was constituted into a *Conseil du Contentieux Administratif* when summoned for deciding questions of administrative law. The office of *controleur* of the colony was abolished and a permanent inspection staff of the colonies instituted, which continued to exist till 1887. In 1880 municipal areas were created and

French India was apportioned into ten communes with *Conseils Municipaux* over them. In 1880 and 1881 certain important changes were made by Presidential decrees in the civil and personal status of the Indians which led to important modifications in the elective institutions of the colony in 1884 and 1899.

The civil administration and the military command of the possessions of the French in India are, as stated above, vested in a Governor resident at Pondicherry. He promulgates the laws passed by the Legislature in France. He executes the decreets of the President and carries out the orders and regulations issued by the Ministers in France. He can himself, when necessary, issue local decrees or 'arrêtes' for the proper execution and observance of laws within the colony. He has power to communicate and treat with foreign Governments in India and can, when so authorised, conclude with them conventions, commercial or otherwise, subject to ratification by the Government in France. The Governor is, as has been said, 'in small matters what the President of the Republic is in great matters.' His controlling power over the different branches of administration is also very great. He superintends the collection of taxes. He is at the head of the police to maintain order and security. He controls the administration of the communes by the *maire* and the *conseils*. He supervises the departments of Public Health and Public Works. Even in the administration of justice he has, legally at least, the right of an equal seat along with the judges in court and can, if he thinks fit, stop the proceedings of a court, acting beyond its competence. He also exercises a general supervision over the judiciary in matters of discipline and administration. In fact, all the officers of the Government, whether appointed by the President or not, are under the authority of the Governor. He can also, in cases of urgency, provisionally fill up appointments which are in the gift of the President or the Ministry. In fact, as has been said of the Prefect, he is the general agent of the French Government and the chief instrument of centralisation in the State.

In all these diverse and important functions of executive administration, the Governor is assisted by a *Secrétaire Générale* and a consultative assembly known as the *conseil privé* composed of two officials and two non-officials. The *Secrétaire Générale* is, next to the Governor, the most important official in the colony. Under the general supervision of the Governor he carries out all the administrative functions which devolve on him, though in all minor matters he can act on his own initiative. He has precedence next to the Governor and acts for him provisionally during his absence. He is appointed by a *décret* of the President and the Governor can only control his

administration and not exercise any disciplinary power over him. Until 1898 the place of Secrétaire Générale was occupied by the *Directeur de l'intérieur*, who was, in all matters of internal administration, vested with powers independent of the Governor and could have, in many cases, correspond directly with the central Government in France.

The *Conseil Privé* is the successor of the old *Conseil d'Administration* and was established in 1879 by a Presidential decret. It consists of a President, *viz.*, the Governor, the Secrétaire Générale, and the Procureur de la République and two non-officials nominated by decret of the President, on the recommendation of the Governor. The Conseil is a purely consultative assembly. Besides advising the Governor in all administrative matters brought before it by the Governor or under his orders, it acts also as an administrative tribunal for the trial of all administrative disputes, and, when so acting, adds to its members two judges previously nominated for the purpose by the Governor. The nature and functions of this tribunal may be better considered in connection with the administration of justice.

Under the direction of the Governor, assisted on the one hand, by the Conseil Privé in all measures and projects of administration, and, on the other, by the Secrétaire Générale in the actual carrying out of them, the different departments, or services as they are called, are entrusted to *chefs*, or heads, under whom all the officials work. We shall now try to gain an idea of the chief branches of administration.

Administration of Justice.—The department of justice is under the Procureur Générale, who is the *Chef de l'Administration de la Justice*. This official is merely the executive head of the department and takes no part as judge in judicial proceedings. He arranges the *personnel* and the establishment of the courts and superintends the execution of all judicial processes and sentences. As *Procureur Générale de la République* he represents the State in all judicial proceedings, civil as well as criminal. He has thus the duty of bringing criminals and defaulters to justice and to that extent has authority over the police.

Justice is administered in French India ordinarily by three grades of courts. The court of *juge de paix* is concerned with petty litigation, and up to a certain small amount the decision of the *juge de paix* is final. But his function seems to be more one of reconciliation and arbitration than of decision. No suit can be brought in the higher courts till he has been unsuccessful in bringing the parties themselves to an agreement. The peace court is also the lowest criminal court for the trial of all petty police offences. The jurisdiction of a *juge de paix* extends over a *canton* which in India covers the area of a de-

pendance. Above the court of the *juge de paix* is the *court of the first instance* established (in every arrondissement in France) at Karikal, Pondicherry and Chandernagore; it exercises the ordinary original jurisdiction in all suits. A special section of the court of the first instance known as the *tribunal correctionnel* tries all criminal cases known as *delits* and punishable with three years' imprisonment. It is also an appellate court over the simple police court of the *juge de paix*. The *cour d'appel* is the highest appellate court in the colony. It is also the *cour criminale*, one or more of its judges being periodically deputed to sit in assizes in the chief towns of the colony and try all crimes and felonies with the aid of a jury. Above all these courts stands the *cour d'assation* in Paris, the supreme appellate court of the French Empire.

Besides these ordinary tribunals, there exist under the French system a number of extraordinary tribunals which have also found a place in French India. The *Conseil Privé* is constituted into a special court for these purposes by the addition of two judges appointed by the Governor; it then becomes a *Conseil de Contentieux Administratif*.

Its functions are to pronounce decisions (i) on all matters entrusted to it as a commission of appeal; and generally (ii) on all disputes and claims connected with what is known as the *droit administratif*. The peculiar features of the *droit administratif* in the French system may be considered later on. It need only be noted here that the *Conseil Privé* as constituted into an administrative tribunal, is the court charged with the execution of the *droit administratif*.

Finance and Revenue.—The purely financial administration of the colony, *i.e.*, that which is concerned with the realization of dues to the State and the disbursement of the same is, in many respects, not subject to the direct authority of the Governor. In the French system all the agents and servants of Government who have charge of collecting the contributions to the State are directly under the Minister of Finance. This charge is in the hands of a *Tresorier-payeur-Generale* in Pondicherry. He receives on behalf of the State all the taxes and other dues raised in the colony and is accountable for them to the Government. Besides his small salary he gets a percentage on all sums collected by him in the colony and he is also allowed to transact private banking business with the funds of the State after furnishing a sufficient security. He has to defray out of his own pocket all the expenses of establishment and other charges necessary for collecting the taxes. The *tresorier-payeur* is, besides, the *receveur-generale* of all municipal revenues. The task of collecting all these contributions, rates and taxes

is entrusted in each locality to *percepteurs* and *receveurs municipaux* who are also subject to the orders of the Governor in all matters pertaining to the levy and collection thereof. The treasury is kept open on all working days for the payment of all legal and other dues to the Government.

These various taxes which pass through the hands of the *percepteurs* and the *tresorier-payeur* into the coffers of the State consist of three kinds of receipts: (1) direct contributions; (2) indirect contributions; and (3) diverse contributions. The principal taxes comprised under the first head are (i) the *impôt foncier*, or the land tax, which was settled permanently about forty years ago at different rates in different localities, and which may, on an average, be taken to be equivalent to about the fourth of the produce at that time; (ii) the *impôt des patentes*, or the license tax, a personal tax levied on all persons carrying on any trade, industry or business, or owning a house; and (iii) taxes of verification of weights and measures. The 'contributions indirectes' chiefly consist of the monopoly over the import, manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors and other intoxicating drinks, over tobacco and betel and rights of passage for foreign vehicles, etc. The '*contributions diverses*' are made up of (I) enregistrement, timbre et domaine, comprising all payments by stamps for the verification of all legal transactions, payments for legal process, costs of justice and fees for all court or government transactions, and (ii) port dues taxes of navigation and other minor dues.

The assessment, control and audit of these various contributions are vested in a *chef du service* and form the important branch of revenue administration. This department has, besides, the duties of registering all transactions of sale, mortgage and exchange of property whether of the State or of private individuals, and of organising all the preventive staff of officials in regard to the maintenance of the State monopolies in wine, spirits, tobacco, betel and other products. In each local area the duties in regard to this administration are exercised by a *delegue* or *delegates* of the department. A staff of *gardes* and preventive officers are also employed.

These diverse taxes have not been quite as productive as in France. The revenues of the colony are supplemented by a grant from the imperial exchequer towards the up-keep of the colonial establishment.

Public Education.—Public education in France is entirely under the supervision of the State. This department is under the control of a *chef de l'instruction publique* who is directly under the authority of the Governor. He exercises all the powers previously vested in the *Directeur de l'intérieur* in

matters of education, and all the authority which devolves upon the Inspectors of academies, in France. He has a voice in the consultations of the *Conseil Privé* in all educational matters. He has under his control all primary as well as secondary educational institutions in the colony. The scheme of national education as developed in France from the days of the national convention has been introduced also into French India. By a law of June 16 1881, primary education was rendered obligatory on all parents of children, and by a law of March 28, 1882, it was made gratuitous. Primary education is in the hands of the communes, which are, by law, required to maintain a certain number of schools, while the State itself looks to the maintenance and support of the Secondary Institutions, as well as of the highest facultés de l'état for imparting the highest liberal and technical education. The compulsory powers of Government in regard to elementary education are not quite so freely exercised in French India as in France. But the Government maintains quite a number of *écoles primaires*, besides supporting a number of private institutions maintained by religious corporations for boys as well as for girls. The Government also supports three or four institutions for the imparting of secondary education, maintains a law school and a medical school, and encourages study in all institutions by a number of studentships to deserving scholars. Altogether, the education in French India compares very favourably with that in British India, nearly 5,000 boys and 4,000 girls being under instruction, out of a population of only about 250,000.

Public Health and Pauperism—The care of public health is under a *chef du service de santé*. There is a Central Hôpital Coloniale in Pondicherry, and there are, besides a number of smaller hospitals where medicine is distributed gratis to the poor. There is no organised system of poor relief in India, or in France. Nevertheless, aid is given to the poor in the shape of out-door relief by the *comité de bienfaisance* nominated by the Governor, the funds of which are made up partly by State grant and partly by private voluntary and charitable contributions.

The Department of Public Works is manned by a *chef du service* and a number of *conducteurs*. They have the care of the public roads and buildings. The Police and the Marine Departments are under the direct authority of the *Secrétaire Générale*.

For administrative purposes French India is divided into five dependances and ten communes. In each dependance an *administrateur* represents the executive Government. Each dependance has representatives of all the departments of

administration. Each local subordinate is under the direct orders of the chef of his department in Pondicherry. The administrateur is the medium of communication between the local and central functionaries of Government. He exercises, besides, under the orders of the Governor, all that authority over communal administration, over electional matters and over the Police, sanitary and other branches of administration, not under the authority of any chef du service. He is charged with the responsibility for good administration of the dependance generally, and has, therefore, the duty of reporting and remedying, where he can, all defects in the machinery of administration and in the working of the same. His suggestions always carry great weight. He has thus merely a general power of supervision over the different officials and their conduct.

Each dependance is divided into a varying number of communes. The commune is the lowest administrative unit. The administration of the commune is vested in a Conseil Municipale, with a Mayor and one or more deputy Mayors at its head. It will be more properly described under the elective institutions.

We now come to the political institutions of the colony. Before describing these, however, a few words would seem to be necessary in regard to the civil and personal status of the inhabitants of French India. By a decret of the President in 1880 all the laws of France regarding the '*état civil*' were made applicable to the people of French India with certain reservations intended to protect Indian customs. In other respects the inhabitants were allowed to follow their own personal law, Hindu or Mahommedan, as the case might be, in all matters of marriage, adoption, succession and certain other matters. When the political institutions of the colony were reorganised in 1879, the Executive Government in France, then under the reactionary headship of Marshal MacMahon, deemed it necessary in the interests of the Europeans residing in French India to comprise them in a separate list of electors and to reserve one-half of the seats in the electoral conseils to be filled exclusively by them. The European residents formed only a very small part of the population, and the formation of the two '*listes*' led to rather acrimonious disputes as to the rationale of the distinction. A clamour was raised against it, especially among the Christian converts of the colony, who, having adopted the religion and many of the social customs of the Europeans, naturally desired the same privileges. This led, therefore, to another '*decret*' in the time of President Grevy. It provided a certain method by which all the inhabitants were permitted, by the observance

of certain formalities, to renounce their indigenous status and their personal law, and be governed, to all intents and purposes, by the laws applicable to Frenchmen. This 'decret' led in turn to a remodelling of the constitution of and the election to the councils. All the inhabitants of the colony were divided into three 'listes' of electors, the first, consisting of Europeans and their descendants, the second, of those 'natifs' who had renounced their personal status, and the third, of the 'non-renoncants natifs.' Each liste had a reserved number of seats in the Elective Councils consisting of nearly equal numbers of 'conseillers' for each liste.* This 'three listes system' has had important consequences in the politics of French India.

As in France, the exercise of the franchise 'par suffrage universelle' is vested in all male adult citizens who have not been specially disqualified. The methods of election have undergone similar changes—the 'scrutin de liste,' then the 'scrutin d'arrondissement,' then again the 'scrutin de liste,' lastly in 1886, the 'scrutin uni nominale,' have succeeded each other also in French India. Under the present system, each candidate has to specify the constituency he stands for, and each elector is allowed only one vote, thus avoiding multiple elections and plural votes. The management and superintendence of the elections is, as in France, vested in a 'college electeraux' who are the scrutinising authorities of the voting and whose declaration of the candidate elected is final, subject to an appeal to the 'conseil d'état' in France. There is also an interpreter in French India to assist the college in the management of the vernacular votes.

For the purposes of election to the Chambers, French India is classed under the head 'La Colonie' with the right of electing one deputy and one senator. Either because only one deputy and one senator were allowed to French India, or because it was not permissible to regulate by Presidential 'decrets' matters pertaining to the '*Lois Organique*' of the French constitution, the three 'listes' have no place in the elections to the Chambers, which are decided by a pure numerical majority of votes. The 'conseils locaux' take the place of the 'conseils d'arrondissements' of France for the formation of the committee composing the senatorial electors.

* An important change in the 'listes' system of election has been made, in October 1899, by which, while the distinction of 'natifs,' 'renoncant' and Europeans has been kept up, the second liste has ceased to exist for electoral purposes. Renoncants satisfying certain qualifications are incorporated into the 'first liste' and vote along with the Europeans. The other 'renoncants' vote with the pure 'natifs' who are now the second 'liste.'

The Colonial Elective Councils consist of a central 'conseil generale' five 'conseils locaux'—one in each of the five dependances—and ten 'conseils municipaux' in the ten communes. The elections to all these councils are on the same system of universal suffrage as modified by the three listes system. The general council consists of 30 members, the local councils consist of 6 to 12 members each according to the extent of the dependance, and the municipal councils consist of 12 to 18 members each. One-third of the seats in each council are reserved for each 'liste,' but where there are less than 20 electors in any 'liste,' these vote along with the subsequent 'liste.' All electors except servants and contractors of Government are eligible for election by any 'liste,' irrespective of the 'liste' to which the candidate himself may belong. All the councillors are elected for a period of six years, one-half of them being renewed by rotation every three years. Each member of the general council must possess a knowledge of French, and each member of the other councils a knowledge of the vernacular. The services of each member are gratuitous, but councillors generale get decent travelling allowances and batta. The general council meets, ordinarily, once a year and the other councils four times a year. Extraordinary sessions may also be held by each council when it is summoned by the governor or administrator for this purpose. Each council at the beginning of each session elects its own Secretary. The general council, besides, elects its President and Vice-Presidents every session. The local councils are presided over by members nominated by the administrator. The municipal councils are presided over by their own elected mayors. The sittings of the general and local councils are public, and a representative of the Government attends their sittings and assists them in their deliberations.

The functions of the elective councils would seem to be hardly commensurate with their elaborate constitution. The powers of the general council are mainly confined to the economic administration of the colony, the voting of the taxes and the passing of the colonial budget. Under the former head, the council authorises the purchase, sale and other transactions affecting the property of the colony, the mode of raising income out of such property, and the appropriation and apportionment of the same for all purposes of colonial interest; the acceptance and refusal of all gifts and incomes to the colony, for all specified general purposes by individuals or corporations. It decides about the construction and direction of new roads and canals and the laying out of new railways. It deliberates on the modes of charitable relief and, generally, on all matters relating to the rights of the

colony and its welfare. Under the latter heads, the council votes the taxes necessary for the expenses of the colony and the colonial budget is deliberated upon and passed by the council and finally approved by the Governor in 'conseil privé.' The budget of the colony is only a supplement to the budget of the State and, as such, it comprises only a portion of the receipts and expenditure of the colony. The receipts in the colonial budget consist of all incomes other than those derived from the sale of State property and those inscribed in the State budget. The expenditure consists of those specified portions of the expenses of administration which are not provided for out of the central budget. The exercise of these powers, however, is subject to certain important limitations. No resolution of the council can take effect if it is opposed to any law or presidential decret or any administrative regulation. No decision of the council regarding the property and finances of the colony which affects any department of public service is valid without the approval of the Governor or the President, as the case may be. No acceptance or refusal of a grant of income or property involving onerous conditions, no resolution regulating the mode of poor-relief, or irrigation, or of railway construction is final without the approval of the Governor. The final sanction of the colonial budget rests with the Governor in 'conseil privé.' In the voting of the taxes and the appropriation of the same for the expenses of the colony a distinction is made between expense 'obligatoire' and expense 'facultatif.' The taxes necessary for the former must be voted for by the assembly; else, the Governor has the power, in his privy council, to appropriate the 'facultatif' funds to the obligatory purposes, and, if no tax is voted at all, to raise such revenues, with the sanction of the minister of the colonies, as are necessary for the obligatory expenditure. The category of the obligatory expenses includes all the essential disbursements relative to the administration of the colony, not provided for by the budget of the State. All other expenses are 'facultatif.'

The functions of the local councils were, originally, a reproduction on a small scale of those of the general council, in respect of the particular dependence where it sat. The council was, in every way, a counterpart of the general council; but the preservation of its functions alongside of those of the larger council proved inconvenient and, in some respects, incompatible, and in 1886, the local councils were made purely consultative.

The 'conseil municipale' is the administrative council of the commune. The communal administration is vested in a 'maire,' one or more 'adjoint maires' and the 'conseil munici-

cipale.' The maire is elected by the council from among its members and he holds a very important situation in the administration of the commune. He is both the agent of the central Government and the representative of the commune. He promulgates all laws, decrets, regulations and executive and other official orders within the commune and is responsible to the central Government for their execution. He is charged with all the duties regarding the sanitation, the maintenance and up-keep of the roads, buildings and other property of the commune. He is responsible for the peace and security of the commune, and for that purpose has authority over the communal police. He supervises the communal establishment, controls the revenues and accounts of the commune and represents it in all legal transactions. He is, besides, the '*officier de l'état civil*' or the official registrar of births, deaths and marriages and the keeper of the register of citizens. In all his various duties he is directly under the authority of the superior administrations. The functions of the municipal council are, as in the case of the general council, but with greater limitations, restricted to the economic affairs of the commune. The budget of the commune is prepared by the 'maire' and voted by the council, but is subject to the approval of the Governor. As in the case of the general council, the expenses of the commune are divided into obligatory and facultatif, and power is vested in the executive to provide, in cases of omission or refusal, for the obligatory part by continuing the levy of the old contributions.

The above is a bare outline of the political system of French India. It remains now to offer a few remarks on its practical working and its results.

A glance at the system shows that it is merely a copy more or less complete, of the institutions established in France for the administration of departments. The Governor is merely the *prefet* of the department, entrusted with more plenary powers than the latter, on account of his position as the representative of a foreign government in a distant country. The administrators of the five dependances are reproductions of the '*sou prefets*.' The '*conseil privé*' is merely the '*conseil de prefecture*' with its name altered and constitutes the same '*tribunal administratif*.' The judicial and financial administrations of the colony are identical with those of France. The functions of justice and police, of local government, of poor relief, and of national education, are all based on the same principles as in France. The political institutions both local and imperial are formed on the same model as in France, though in the principle underlying these institutions a difference has been made which has led to important consequences

in the politics of the colony. In fact, during the past 30 years (that is since the present Republic) when the institutions of the colony have got remodelled, the attempt to assimilate the institutions of the colony to those of France, to introduce, ready made, the machinery and institutions of France into alien colonies so as to assimilate them to the mother-country and bring them more under her direct authority, is characteristic of the French and contrasts with the cautious, tentative way in which the British have introduced and developed new institutions in their newly acquired territories. The difference is further illustrated by the different points of view from which each country regards her colonies. England regards her colonies as distinct off-shoots from her, as separate, though subordinate, political entities provided with distinct governments and more or less under the control of the mother-country. Even her great dependancy of India, she merely regards as territory for which she has to provide a separate, though, paternal government, and as being responsible for the good government of which she has to exercise through her ministers a more direct and stricter control than in the case of her great colonies. France on the contrary regards her colonies in an entirely different aspect. All her colonies are considered by her to form politically part and parcel of France. They are regarded more as outlying districts or departments of France under the administration of the French executive, than as distinct self-governing communities. As part of the policy of France the colonies are represented in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Their administration is periodically inspected and their finances audited by officials from the colonial office. The governors and the chief officials of the colony are appointed by the President and are transferred and promoted from one colony to another as if from district to district in France. This tendency to knit the colonies to the mother-country, to attract and refer everything to the common centre in France is in keeping with the tradition of the French ever since they began their colonial enterprise.

We must not be surprised, therefore, to find that the administrative system which has been established in pursuance of this policy of assimilation should exhibit all those peculiar features which belong to the French administrative institutions. We notice, in the first place, that high centralisation of the machinery of government which is so marked a feature in French administration. In the hands of the Governor, as we have seen, all the functions of the government are concentrated. Except perhaps in the department of justice and finance, he exercises direct authority and control ; over the local authorities he exercises, not merely a general supervision, but a

regular and systematic control in every important exercise of their functions. None of the officials is vested with any discretionary authority. Previous to 1898, in all matters of internal administration the 'directeur de l'intérieur,' as the chief functionary next to the Governor, possessed in many matters a power of initiative and of direct correspondence with the Minister of the Colonies. This was remedied in 1898 by placing a 'secrétaire général' in place of the old director directly under the Governor to assist him in all matters. The administrator of each dependance or local area has no great authority ; he acts as a conduit pipe between the central and the local officials and has very vague supervising powers. The local officials are all directly under the authority of their chief at Pondicherry, while the administration of municipal areas is strictly under the control of the executive. Accustomed as we in British India are to a highly centralised administration, we have never had a system under which the discretion of the local authorities and the freedom of local self-government have not been preserved alongside of the control of the central authorities. " 'An Indian collector,' says Sir W. Hunter, has often been compared to a French 'prefet,' but such a comparison is in many ways unjust to the Indian district officer. He is not a mere creature of the Home office who takes his colour from his chief and represents only officialism, but he is an active worker in every department of popular well-being with a large measure of individual initiative." It is this absence of a power of discretion and initiative in the local authorities that distinguishes the French system from that of British India.

This over-centralisation produces as its necessary counterpart a great deficiency of local self-government which, is another notable feature of the French system, both in France and in India. No doubt the colony is provided with the appliances and forms of municipal government ; but, if we consider the character of the municipal administration, we can easily see how little of local affairs is left to be managed by the municipal councils. The commune is regarded merely as the lowest administrative unit ; its maire is primarily an agent of the central government and next the representative of the municipal corporation. His powers arise independently of the corporation and are co-ordinate with that of the council which elects him. In all matters on which he differs from his council the ultimate decision lies with the head of the executive. He has, besides, powers in regards to the communal administration which are vested in him independently of the council, and he is responsible to the superior Government in the performance of every one of his functions.

The functions of the council itself are, as we have seen, very limited. Nor have the local executive officials any discretion in the management of local affairs. Everything that has to be done must be done at head-quarters. Herein we could perceive an interesting contrast with local self-government as it exists in British India. In British India also the powers of local boards and municipalities are very limited and subject to a great deal of control by the executive; but the causes of this limitation are different. In British India it has been thought politically inexpedient to form local bodies entirely by popular election or to invest them with very large powers without a careful supervision by the executive. In the French system the scantiness of local government arises not from a reluctance to invest the populace with political powers—for it is invested with the sovereign power,—but from the causes which have been pointed out above—an innate tendency to increase the force of the executive government and to centralise institutions. The result is, that, while in our institutions a principle of progress and improvement is recognised whereby the principle of the localisation of power and of entrusting it to local bodies might in time be fully adopted as in England, in the French system local government is not capable of such development, for it is based on the principle of the centralisation of powers and of extending the province of the executive.

Another feature of French administration which might be traced to the same causes is the maintenance of what is known as the '*droit administratif*.' "This administrative law," as Professor Dicey has pointed out, "rests on two leading ideas alien to our notions." "The first is that Government and every servant of the Government possesses, as representative of the nation, a whole body of special rights, privileges and prerogatives as against private citizens, and that the extent of these rights is to be determined on principles different from the considerations which fix the legal rights of one citizen towards another. The second is the necessity of the so-called separation of powers, of preventing the legislature, the executive and the Courts from encroaching on one another's powers."

If we examine this feature further, we may see that it is due to the characteristic desire handed down by all the traditions of the Bourbon monarchy and the Napoleonic Empire to increase the power of the executive, to make it to a large extent independent of the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts, arising from a settled jealousy of any interference of the judiciary in matters of State. All matters, therefore, in which either the State or its officials are involved, requiring adjudication, are decided, not by the ordinary Courts of the land, but by the administrative tribunals composed of officials.

The 'droit administratif' is the body of rules regulating such matters. "It determines the position and liabilities of all State officials, the civil rights and liabilities of all private individuals in their dealings with officials as representing the State, and the procedure by which these rights and liabilities are enforced."

It is not necessary to describe here the whole system of administrative law and administrative courts of France, nor to point out all their peculiar features. As they have been made so familiar to us in the luminous pages of Professor Dicey's *Law of the Constitution* one could only repeat his words here. It is sufficient to note how large a power the central executive possesses in France by its immunity from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts for all its official acts. The official courts are not merely swayed by official sympathies, interests and prejudices, but they look at the questions before them and decide them from a point of view, different from that of the ordinary courts. They consider, not whether the plaintiff has been injured, but whether the defendant official has acted in the discharge of his duties, *bond-fide*, in obedience to the commands of superiors; not whether each party has a claim to strict justice, but whether the paramount interests of the State have not suffered. The separating of the executive from the judicial power has led, in the French system, to a concentration of a great deal of judicial power in the hands of the executive. Herein, again, it offers an instructive contrast to the state of things in British India. In British India the combination of executive and judicial power in the hands of the same official has led in many cases to a state of things similar to that produced by the 'droit administratif' in the French system. But, although there are other grounds on which such combination is objected to, yet, the circumstance that the executive perform judicial functions in respect of matters which come before them administratively, is one of the chief objections to the combination of the two functions in India. But whereas this is quite the normal state of things under the French system, it is an abnormal situation in British India, necessitated, as we are told, by the circumstances of the case; it is justified only on grounds of expediency. Consequently the union is, if we may use the expression, a personal one and not a real one. In France, the vesting of judicial powers in the executive in administrative matters is due to the very principles of their Government. In India it is due to special circumstances; consequently, notwithstanding this personal union, the cardinal principle of English institutions—the rule or sovereignty of law, the supremacy of the courts of the land over all citizens,

official or non-official, and the legal liability of all, official or non-official, for breaches of the law, in spite of their being committed in pursuance of executive orders—is as fully recognised and followed in India as in England.

It would be an interesting study to compare the effects of this administrative system with those of the British system in India and to note how far such is adapted to meet the requirements of the Indian peoples and to foster their material, social, and political progress, but it is one which requires a far deeper knowledge of both the systems than any which the present writer can pretend to. We might, however, try to note the effects which the French system has produced on the administration of French India and on its progress. The maintenance of a strong, highly centralised government, so necessary in all cases in which the people themselves have not advanced to the stage at which they can be left to manage their own affairs, has ensured to the French Indian territories a very efficient administration. The policy of assimilation by which the colony is regarded as a mere administrative division of the *Republique Française*, has tended to introduce a high sense of responsibility among its officials and has secured a very economical administration, notwithstanding the difficulties which the French Indian Government are put to in maintaining their prestige as a separate Government in India. The finances of the colony are managed with extreme prudence, and are considered part of those of France, which itself contributes to the expenses of the colony. The variety of taxes imposed in India on the model of France are not productive and their incidence is not greatly felt. The body of the population, agriculturists and merchants, are comparatively more lightly taxed than their fellows in British India and are contented and thrifty. The educational policy of the French Republic also has tended to diffuse widely a general education, male as well as female, among the inhabitants, and the results compare favourably with those achieved in British India.

At the same time the establishment of an over-centralised administration has tended to check the growth of a desire or taste for self-government, of a craving to take part in public affairs, so necessary to a people possessed of universal suffrage. Especially so, when there is no such national and patriotic feeling which might form the basis for political union. The very wide discretionary powers of the central executive and the maintenance of administrative law have not tended to infuse that respect for justice and equality before law and that love of order which are a condition of fitness for the exercise of political rights. Nor does the French system of over-government tend to foster the growth

of civil liberty and individual rights. For the absence of the supremacy of law has given no legal security to the rights of individuals. The French administrative institutions have, therefore, been alien to the growth of free institutions, of the right of civil liberty, which, in the absence of a common bonds of nationality and patriotism, is primarily necessary for a people possessed of political liberty and universal suffrage.

The elective institutions of the colony have, as we have seen, powers far in disproportion to their elaborate structure. The tendency to preserve all administrative powers in the hands of the central executive has left the elective institutions with very limited powers indeed. In the first place the conseils, being merely copies of the councils of prefecture in France, are vested with no legislative powers, subordinate or sovereign. The Chambers alone have the right of legislating for the colonies. Such matters as do not come strictly within the legislative power are regulated by presidential decrets. In fact, decrets largely take the place of laws in all matters of particular concern in the colony. The application of French law to all Indians, the law relating to the personal status of the inhabitants, the constitution of the elective councils, of the courts and of the various administrative authorities, are all alike regulated by decrets. The powers vested in the conseils are therefore, purely administrative, and from the fact that they owe their origin to executive decrets, and from the absence of a power of legislative control over the executive, the powers of the conseils are not effective enough to control the administrative authorities. Besides the qualified powers which the *conseil generale* possesses in regard to the economical administration of the colony, the only substantial power it has is in the voting of the budget. But even here the obligatory expenses, that is, those which are necessary for the carrying on of the administration, must be voted by the council; else, the Governor can provide for it himself. The conseils locaux have been made purely consultative. The conseils municipaux are even more directly under the authority of the Governor. Add to this, that the decisions of the conseils can always be annulled if they are opposed to any law, decret, or even an administrative regulation, and we can have no hesitation in concluding that the elective institutions in the colony itself do not invest the demos with any effective power either over legislation or over administration.

But, such as they are, the elective institutions might have been a power for good in the colony. The moral force exerted by the opinions of duly elected representatives of the people on the executive in a country governed on the basis of universal suffrage might have been great. As it is, however, the

moral force of these conseils is very small. The reasons for this lie in the peculiar features which have attended the introduction of representative institutions in French India. It has already been pointed out how presidential decrets in 1880-1882 have introduced important alterations in the 'statut personnel' of the Indians and in the political privileges of the various classes of people in French India. The formation of the three listes with equal proportions of councillors for each liste has tended merely to introduce a factious spirit in the elections. The formation of the listes by the State itself has made it impossible that any definite political principles might grow up with each liste. It has produced the undesirable consequence of each liste allying itself with another so as to exclude the third from all participation of power. In this struggle for combination no political principles are involved. The listes have been theoretically based on supposed racial differences; they have been introduced by the State itself with the avowed object of inducing the 'natifs,' when they choose, to renounce their indigenous status. But the results of this "three listes" system have been quite different. The second 'liste,' consisting of the 'renoncants,' those who had renounced their native status, came to be composed of purely the Christian population of the colony who had chosen to 'renounce;' no other natives, consistently with their religious and social scruples, have found it possible to renounce their status as natives, although the act of 'renunciation' itself does not involve any alteration of religious or social customs. The second 'liste,' therefore, has come to be composed of mainly the Christian population of the colony, who, conscious of their having renounced their former status, have sought to attach themselves more and more to the first 'liste,' which is composed of Europeans and their descendants. Both are of the same religion and are governed by the same laws of France. In the struggle for combination, therefore, it was inevitable that the first two listes combined and left the third to its own resources in the game of politics. The consequence of this has been that the third 'liste' has been constrained to use the only effective power in its hands for the purposes of its game. This is the election to the Assemblies in France. This is the trump card in its hands. This it could use with far more effect than all the limited powers which the first two 'listes' have been able to wield and to monopolise to themselves in the conseils in India. The elections to the Assemblies are based, not on Presidential Decrets, but on the 'lois organique,' the constitutional laws, which not even the ordinary legislature could alter. The deputy is elected by pure universal suffrage; the senateur, as we all know, by an indirect process of popular election, in

which, even though the first two 'listes' exert considerable influence, the third liste by its numerical strength, or rather by the want of it in the other two 'listes,' generally manages to secure a majority of senatorial electors from its ranks. In the elections to the Assemblies then, the numerically strong third 'liste' gets the mastery over the other two 'listes' and always secures its own deputy and usually its own senator. It therefore makes the best out of this. Among the many candidates in France who seek the suffrages of the people in India, who aspire to the lucrative and influential position of deputy or senator, they choose the one who promises them most. This is no new feature in French politics. The policy of subsidizing the populace by promising works of beneficence to the electoral areas is well established in France and is only too well followed in the case of French India by those retired officials and functionaries from India who seek to sit in the Assemblies.

But what is the aim of these parties in the government of the colony? The colony is regarded politically as a part of France and the elective institutions within it possess no legislative powers, but only very limited administrative powers. Consequently any interest which the people might evince in politics, must be in those of France itself, nay of Paris, for that is the centre of political life in France. The system by which the institutions of a department of France have been reproduced in a distant colony has placed a French Indian in the same position towards politics as a Frenchman, say of the Department of the Seine. Needless to say that while a Frenchman is directly and intensely interested in the political questions discussed in the Chambers at Paris and makes his opinions felt on the Government, the Indian, as represented by a single deputy and a single senator among a six hundred, feels but the remotest interest in them. The elections to the Assemblies in France, therefore, are conducted not on the basis of the political principles on which opinions are divided in France, nor on any principles regarding the administration of French India itself; but they are conducted on the basis of obtaining as much influence over the Government as possible by the election of a powerful or influential man with the ministry at home who might be moved in all cases in which the local executive are not well disposed towards the 'third liste.' It is clear then that neither the elections to the Assemblies nor those to the local councils are calculated to inspire a certain moral responsibility of the government to the people. Neither of them is based on any definite political aims. The first is conducted on the basis of procuring indirect influence over the Government, the second on the basis of a class repre-

sensation which has given rise to factions and intrigues for power.*

It is therefore apparent that the French elective institutions, as they have been introduced into India, have not tended to foster the political education or political progress of the people. The populace are, indeed, vested with a political power which they are in a position neither to understand nor to appreciate. The result is that the mass becomes liable to move at the beck and call of scheming politicians. If the masses in the most advanced countries are liable to be led, it is still more natural that a population who cannot understand the sovereign political power vested in them should be entirely under the control of the popular leaders. The aim in the elections, as managed by these leaders, is, as has been pointed out above, to obtain influence with the ministry at home so as to bring pressure to bear on the executive in India, by electing an influential representative. The conflict of the power of the 'listes,' with the power of the populace, practically the third 'liste,' has had for its effect a general lowering of tone in the politics of the colony, and since the only aim of the parties is to obtain influence with the administration, the moral force of the elective institutions which might otherwise be felt by the executive is reduced to a minimum.

The executive is swayed between these two influences, the influence of the conseils, the local legal representatives of the populace, and that of the deputy or sénateur—the central representative of the people; in other words between the power of the first two listes and power of the mass, *i.e.*, the third 'liste,' as manipulated by its leaders and wire-pullers. It not unoften happens that the superior and more effective, though limited, power of the third 'liste' makes itself felt on any official who chooses to run counter to the opinions of the third 'liste,' or rather its leaders, in the shape of a private order of rebuke or censure, or transfer of the functionary through the good offices of the sénateur or deputy who exerts his influence with the ministry on behalf of the third 'liste.' Nevertheless one might have expected that the position and powers of the Governor would place him always in a position of independence of the intrigues of party leaders or the evils of class representation. As a matter of fact, however, it is not so. The

* Certain material alterations were made in the elective privileges of the 'renoncants;' under which 'renoncants' satisfying certain qualifications of merit have been incorporated into the first liste along with the Europeans, while the rest have been added to the native 'liste' which is now the second 'liste.' A redistribution of seats has taken place in consequence of this; but the principle of according special privileges to the special classes of people, in civil as well as political rights, of encouraging renunciations of native status is yet maintained.

Governor has, like all the rest of us, his own sympathies and antipathies, his own interests and those of the public to serve. Even he fears to displease the *senateur* or *deputy* who might be very influential and might perhaps hold a minor place in the ministry; he himself aspires to become *deputy* or *senateur* on his return to France by the suffrages of the third 'liste' or its leaders. He cannot choose to defy the third 'liste' or its leaders and wire-pullers. But there are other considerations also. In the first place the Governor is generally a Christian, or professes to be one. Whatever might be the attitude of France towards the religious orders, there is no doubt that the clergy in French India exert a very great influence in the social life of the Christians of the colony and indirectly on their behalf exercise a great influence over the administration and its authorities. The first two 'listes,' consisting of Christians, naturally have the sympathy of the Christian Governor, and the clergy—the respect for whom, quite apart from any religious convictions, is imbedded far more among the French than among the English. Besides, the more educated men come up from the first two 'listes' partly on account of the educational activity of the congregations, which are more free in French India than in France, and partly on account of the policy of the administration in merely subsidizing institutions for higher education, which in French India are maintained by the religious orders. In the matter of all State patronage, of appointments, subventions, charitable reliefs, the Christians generally get the preference. Between these two difficulties the Governor manages as best as he can. He can only denounce the elective system as a curse on French India. He can only press, as more than one Governor has done under these circumstances, for the total abolition of the electoral privileges of the population. Politics, in French India, have therefore tended to become corrupt, to become the object of intrigue and jobbing by interested self-seekers, or by powerful religious orders, or by ambitious popular leaders.

Nevertheless the phenomena presented by the working of democratic institutions in French India are not altogether discouraging. Notwithstanding the fact that the introduction of universal suffrage has placed no effective power, legislative, or administrative in the hands of the demos, the maintenance of a government democratic in form has produced many salutary results in the territories. The formal recognition of the people as the ultimate source of all power in the State has led in the first place to an identification of the interests of the government and the governed, of the interests of France and those of the colonies. It has consequently led to a thrifty and economic administration under which all officials are

imbued with a sense of responsibility to the people, who, whatever may be their immediate disability to control the administration, are yet in the last resort the theoretical fountain-head of all authority. The formal declarations of the equality of man, of the *liberté, égalité and fraternité* of the *Republique Française* has, notwithstanding the great practical limitations to which the doctrine has been subjected in French India, nevertheless, led to a free social intercourse between European and Indian, and to the absence of a spirit of exclusiveness in the superior race which a purely paternal government tends to foster. In the next place, the establishment of the French democracy has led to the adoption of the broad educational policy of that government and has consequently tended to the wide diffusion of a general education and culture which may eventually lead to an awakening of the people to their responsibilities as citizens of the French Empire.

To conclude these observations, we have seen that the introduction of the highly-centralised administrative system of France, while it has on the one hand secured an efficient and economic administration of the colonies, has, on the other hand, proved alien to the growth of free institutions and the development of ideas of civil liberty among a population democratically governed. The concentration of wide discretionary authority in the hands of the executive and the absence of the rule of law and supremacy of the courts of the lands, tending to restrict the powers alike of the legislature and the courts in regard to matters affecting French India, has greatly restricted the freedom of individuals. In France, the existence of these powers may not be of much consequence; for, in such an advanced country the limits of executive authority are clearly perceived by the people, whose ultimate sovereign authority is always respected and whose very inclinations are always obeyed by the executive authority. But in a country like India just feeling the force of western civilisation, where the mass of the people have not yet learnt to differentiate between the executive, legislative and judicial authorities, the maintenance of legal limits to authority, and the supremacy of the law and the law courts over official and non-official alike would seem to be primarily necessary for securing the liberty of individuals and the developing of free institutions.

We have next seen that the scantiness of local government has furnished the people with no common political standpoint from which the political life of the colony may develop, and that the possession of sovereign political powers by the inhabitants, since it could not be effective enough in the councils of the French

Empire to cause a legislative or constitutional control over the local administration, has only tended to degenerate the politics of the colony into a clamour of the various 'listes' for obtaining influence with the administration in French India, through the medium of the representatives in the Chambers, and with no higher political aims. We have also seen that the local institutions are vested with no legislative powers and with very little effective power over the administration; that their moral influence over the latter is inconsiderable.

Any sound system of initiating a politically infant community into methods of popular government must prepare the ground before the seed is sown. There is no one political system indiscriminately suited to for all peoples. Each must be based on a model suited to the character, disposition, wants and circumstances of the people. The successful working, again, of a democratic government based on universal suffrage in a new country demands certain essential qualities in the individuals composing the body politic, and the dangers to be apprehended from the introduction of democracy are increased when the transformation is effected by sudden changes. To neglect these considerations and to reproduce the institutions of advanced France in their entirety into French India is merely to introduce confusion into the existing state of things. Political progress is a slow and painful affair, and the adoption of an alien political system must accord with the national life if it is to be enduring and beneficial. The competency of a community to exercise political functions depends upon the extent to which it has developed the qualities necessary for exercising them. These are the qualities afforded by a sound political education, by habits of self-reliance and self-discipline and self-government. To neglect the exercise and begin with the power is, as Buckle points out, a fundamental error. It is only to be expected that the experiment of democracy under such circumstances should not produce any satisfactory results in the political life of the community. The beneficial effects of the democracy in French India are, therefore, to be found rather in the free social intercourse and civilising influences which it has induced, in the general education and culture which it has diffused, results which might ultimately improve the political life of the community and make democracy a success among them, than in securing the liberty and freedom of the people and advancing their political progress. That the administration of the colony is, notwithstanding, highly satisfactory is due to the innate strength and high centralisation of the French executive Government, to the economy and efficiency of its officials, and to the extremely limited power which the people themselves possess in the local government,

To us in British India, the political system of French India is full of lessons. Trained as we are in the free institutions of the Anglo-Saxon, the political education of our people has already begun in the powers of self-government conceded to us by a paternal Government. Let us hope, therefore, that the French Indian democracy may serve as an example, both in the way of warning and in the way of precept, in attaining the ideal of the political evolution of our great country.

A. RANGASWAMI.

ART. VIII.—ART EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE educational branch of the Indian administration has not, on the whole, been conspicuous for its success. After many experiments and failures, it may be said to be adapting itself gradually to the peculiar and diverse conditions of the country; but it has hardly yet passed through the experimental stage, and many of the mistakes of its first organisation have yet to be remedied. For years England herself lagged far behind many European nations in educational matters, and it was only human, therefore, that Indian administrators, overburdened with all the complicated and delicate problems connected with the Government of the Empire, should fail to achieve a conspicuous success in a question which the mother-country had so much neglected. But there is the peculiarity about Art education in India, that, whereas, in every other department of the service, profit has been derived from failures and progress evolved from mistakes, this one alone seems to be always enveloped in difficulty and doubt, without a prospect of enlightenment, and always the subject of discussions ending in the most lame and impotent conclusions. This is the more extraordinary, since in India the general conditions are altogether favourable for Art progress. Ever since the dawn of history, India has been known as the nursery of Art and, from before the British rule was established, the artistic instincts of the people have never been suppressed. Every religious sect—Brahmin, Jain, Buddhist, Sikh or Mahomedan—has left its mark on the Art of the country; all the conquering hordes which, century after century, swept down from the North and ravaged the country, have brought Art in their train and written the history of their times in masterpieces which will ever command the admiration of the world. We have established a peace such as India has never known before—Liberty of the subject, law and order, material progress, in fact all the first conditions favourable to the development of Art, among a people whose traditions and instincts are always artistic—all these we have established in the India of to-day; why is it, then, that the last half century, so far from being a great Art epoch, finds Indian Art year by year becoming more corrupt and degraded?

No one who knows India well can fail to see how the taste of the native aristocracy and plutocracy has been utterly vitiated; how indigenous Architecture has become almost extinct; how the Art handicrafts of the country are only exploited for the sake of gain by the Philistine dealer, whose

standard of taste is regulated by the demands of tourists and curiosity-hunters. Indian Art has fallen into such disrepute among the natives themselves that everything which does not come straight from Europe is looked upon as something inferior. The native nobility affect a taste for the Brummagem Art we have introduced into the country, and a sentimental passion for spurious "Old Masters" supplied to them at fancy prices by unscrupulous agents and picture dealers. What remains to-day of the real, living Art of India must be looked for in out-of-the-way places, and is regarded by the natives as old-fashioned and behind the times. Even the curiosity dealer finds his business not what it used to be. The not too discriminating taste of the Globe-trotter is getting rather nauseated with the common-place bric-à-brac which is palmed off upon him as Indian Art, and even the glamour of the gorgeous East hardly spreads a halo of romance over the crude and tasteless ornament manufactured for the European and American markets. The painful fact must be admitted that, whatever the cause may be, since our rule has been established, the old Art of India has been almost killed; the taste of the people, formerly led into safe paths by the splendid traditions of the Indian handicraftsmen, has been changed and corrupted, while we have given nothing from our own national Art to compensate India for what has been lost.

This is not an exaggerated picture of the present state of Art in India. The facts have been more or less fully realised by the Indian Government for some time past. The causes which have produced such a state of things have been far less perfectly understood. Generally the question has been treated more from the standpoint of a Municipal Council than as a matter of great Imperial concern, and though it has been dealt with in innumerable despatches, resolutions, reports of Committees and other documents, hardly anything but vague suggestions and rhetorical platitudes have ever come out of them. Of late years the general drift of policy has been to treat Indian Art as something too abstruse and mysterious to be interfered with, even for the purpose of saving it from annihilation. But, as a scape-goat must always be found when the wheels of official administration do not run smoothly, the Indian Schools of Art have most unjustly been held responsible for a state of things which they could never, under the most favourable conditions, have prevented. For how could four Schools of Art, separated from each other by many hundreds of miles and under different Administrations, which have never yet been able to decide a definite and continuous policy for the development of Art education, be expected to effect a revolution in the Art feeling of 350,000,000 people, or to influence, to any

appreciable extent, those adverse conditions which, in the nature of things, must have been very deep-seated and wide-spreading to have produced such disastrous effects on the Art of the whole country ?

Whether the Schools of Art have been as successful as they might have been is quite beside the question. Certainly, within the scope which has been allowed them and in spite of many disadvantages, they have accomplished a great deal of solid, useful work, but no reasonable being, acquainted with the real condition of things in India, would ever believe for a moment that the salvation of Indian Art depended solely on the efficiency or inefficiency of the Schools of Art at present existing.

Indian Art was certainly in a state of decadence before the British ascendancy ; but we need hardly look for any other explanation of this than in the political unrest, internal disorganisation, disorder and misgovernment which accompanied the dissolution of the Moghal Empire. When these causes were removed, one would naturally expect that Art would have revived under the benign influence of the "pax Britannica." No doubt there were some influences, originating with the very foundations of our Indian rule and long before we had any pretence of a policy in Art education, which, the more British influence predominated, acted more and more injuriously to Art in India. One of these was the circumstance that Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, the centres from which the ascendancy of our rule radiated over the whole of India, were not centres of Indian Art. The early settlers of the old John Company were in no way concerned, as is the Government of India to-day, in the administration of a great Empire. They were hard-headed merchants, absorbed in their own affairs, which were the development of the Company's trade and the protection of their lands and factories. There were no reasons of State why they should concern themselves with the influence their example might have on Indian Art. It pleased their national pride and kept alive home memories to retain the architectural style then fashionable in the country mansions, public offices and churches of England, and to imitate, as far as conditions of climate would permit, the life of the old country. When our influence became paramount in India, the style and standard of taste thus created in the capital cities became the model for all the native aristocracy under our protection. With the native princes it became the mark of modern culture and a sign of sympathy with the British domination to build and furnish their palaces in the same style. This was the beginning of the degradation of Indian Art, for nothing more hopelessly irreconcilable with Oriental ideas of Art could ever have been adopted than the cold, formal classicism then

fashionable in England. It was the greatest misfortune for India that, at the time when the foundations of our Indian administration were laid, the national taste in England had sunk to the lowest depths. It was the time when Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's were being filled with those horrors in marble, intended to glorify the deeds of the great departed, which still disfigure those two noble monuments of English Art; when the old Art handicrafts of the country were being almost extinguished by the crushing competition of machine-made products, and when all individuality in Architecture and the Fine Arts was drowned in a vapid affectation of classic taste.

It may be doubted, however, whether, even if Art taste in England at that time had been better than it was, we should ever have arrived immediately at a right appreciation of the policy required for the development of Art in India. It is one of our national prejudices that what is good enough for the Anglo-Saxon is good enough for the rest of the world, if not too good. That was the key-note of our policy in educational matters in India, as well as in many other things.

However indifferent to the true interests of the country the Honourable East India Company may have been in their artistic ideas, the old Anglo-Indian architecture had at least this merit—it was the best that England could produce at that time, and, in spite of their monotony and baldness, the houses, churches and other buildings of fifty years ago and older are not without a certain grim solemnity and dignity, in keeping with the prim fashions of the time and suggestive of the character of their occupants, while the honesty of purpose of the builders is shown by the strict regard to comfort and adaptability to the climate with which all the old buildings were designed. Very few modern Anglo-Indian buildings are equal to the old ones in these respects.

Since the Crown assumed the responsibilities of Imperial rule, it must be admitted that some progress has been made in Art education, though very little has been done to repair the injuries unconsciously inflicted on Indian Art by the early settlers of the East India Company. It is a great step gained that, in educational matters generally, it is now being recognised that India is a country with an ancient civilisation, literature and Art, containing within itself the means of development and requiring different methods of administration from primitive colonies like Australia, New Zealand or "Darkest Africa." The Schools of Art have generally improved upon the crude systems of Art education imported from England when they were first instituted, about 50 years ago; but Indian Art on the whole still goes on the downward path. The mea-

asures which have been devised or proposed to arrest its decay amount to very little. Though Indian state-men are always deploring the decline of native industries, it has never yet occurred to them that the degradation of popular sentiment in Art may be an important factor in this great question. As long as Art is regarded only as a hobby, a means of distraction from the worries of serious official duties, but not a subject of sufficient importance for the close personal attention of those who have the heavy care of Government on their shoulders, so long will Indian Art continue to decay. The practical British mind looks to railways, canals, roads, bridges, famine prevention, sanitation and police, and the development of mills, factories and warehouses as the chief means of India's re-generation. Art is a mere question of sentiment which may be left for a more convenient season. Perhaps the artists of the nineteenth century are themselves greatly to blame for the attitude which the British public has taken in regarding Art as only a subject for Society functions and drawing-room conversation, to be put aside in the serious work of every-day life. Art in the present century has been too much of a sham, and the general public, seeing the deception, have fallen back on pure utilitarianism, preferring honest ugliness to pretentious art. If Art in England during the last quarter of a century has begun to assert itself again, to some extent, as an essential part of our national life, it is only because the better education of our artists and Art workers of all classes has begun to convince the public that the elementary basis and justification of all technic Art lies in the ultimate perfection of utility, and that even the highest forms of Art gain in dignity from being associated with a utilitarian purpose.

India is a conservative country and, before such advanced ideas are generally acknowledged there, indigenous Art may be dead and buried; but it is not too much to hope that a serious consideration of the causes which have led to the deterioration of Indian Art may convince the Government, before it is too late, that it lies in their power to arrest, to some extent, the mischief which has been done. It ought to appeal to the practical sense of Englishmen that, in discussing Indian Art, we are chiefly confined to Art handicrafts, for the Fine Arts of the painter and sculptor, from various causes which need not be discussed here, have never developed far in the same directions as they have in Europe. The taste of the modern native aristocracy has certainly not been improved by a partiality for European pictures and sculpture. They are astonished and pleased by the vividness and realism of European Fine Art; but they neither look for nor understand any higher artistic qualities. Neither in England have Fine Art Aca-

demies and Exhibitions had any important influence in creating the great Art movement of the last few years. The impetus was given by wider views of Art Education and the opening of the eyes of the British artisan and of the public through the magnificent collections of the South Kensington Museum, resulting in a revival of Architecture and a better understanding of Art in its industrial forms.

Modern Indian Art is corrupt and decaying, because for the most part it has lost hold of the sentiment of the people of the country. It is like English Art of fifty years ago, affected and insincere. No Art can ever flourish if the national sentiment is not in it. To find the causes which have led to the decay of Indian Art, we must, therefore, first investigate the reasons for this degradation of popular sentiment. At first thought any one who is not closely acquainted with Indian affairs might imagine that the explanation is easily to be found in the changed political conditions of the country. It might be argued plausibly that, as the Art of every country has its periods of rise and decay, so India, under the domination of the practical and unsentimental Anglo-Saxon, now turns its attention to purely industrial pursuits and looks less to the imaginative and spiritual side of life. Against this argument we have the indisputable facts, which Indian statesmen are always deploring, that the proportion of the artisans to the rest of the population is either stationary or steadily diminishing, and that the native capitalist is even now very shy of any industrial undertaking, preferring to invest his money in landed property or in usury. Furthermore, Indian Art in all times before the British rule has always shown a wonderful power of assimilating foreign influences, whether drawn from Europe or Asia. What, then, is the reason for the apparent blighting influence of the last fifty years on the Art of India?

The history of the Art of every country is contained in the history of its Architecture, at least in countries where Architecture has reached the dignity of an Art. Every national movement in Art has first found expression in building. A decline in Architecture means a decline in national taste, and thus, when Architecture decays, the rest of the Arts suffer with it. The general truth of this proposition every student of Art will admit. Architecture has given birth to all the arts of the painter and sculptor, the carver and inlayer of wood and stone, the glass painter, the plasterer, the gesso, or lacquer worker, and minor arts, while it has exercised an enormous influence on the development of the arts of the weaver, potter and workers in iron, bronze, brass and other metals.

When, therefore, we begin to enquire into the causes of the

decay of Indian Art, the first and most important question to be asked is—how has British rule affected the Architecture of the country? The answer to this question is the key to the whole difficulty. It is astonishing that, in all the official enquiries which have been held, this point has been hardly alluded to. Committees and Commissions innumerable have been appointed to enquire into mere side issues, such as the working of the Schools of Art, and for some years past the whole discussion has been centred upon the merits or demerits of these four institutions. It is not surprising, therefore, that such beating about the bush has ended in nothing save an accumulation of paper in Government offices. The Secretary of State, in despair, once proposed to abolish the schools altogether, or, what would have been worse, to place them under municipal control, thus practically washing his hands of the whole affair and leaving Indian Art severely alone.

It has been pointed out above how, even in the early days of the John Company, Anglo-Indian taste, or want of taste, in Architecture had exerted an evil influence over Indian Art. But the evil was perpetuated and intensified a hundred-fold when, on the formation of the Department of Public Works, the Government instituted what was practically a monopoly of the whole civil Architecture of the country. That in itself might have done no harm if those who organised the Department had reflected that by this monopoly the Government practically took into their own hands the future of Indian Art. But so little were the interests of Art understood or cared for, so little were Indian administrators then concerned with the most obvious teachings of Art history, that, in organising the Department, practically no provision was made for training any of its officers as architects. Architecture, in the Indian Public Works system, has always been treated as a minor branch of Civil Engineering; it could not be otherwise in a course of training, only of three or four years duration, combining both Engineering and Architecture. Indian styles are not recognised as Architecture at all. Even in European styles the mere smattering of architectural grammar, such as committing to memory the five classic orders and the forms of Gothic mouldings, which is the most the Public Works officer acquires at college, is worse than useless to him, for it leads him off the path he ought to go when he comes to India. The inevitable result of this system of training is that minor architectural works, which the young officer has to supervise when he first comes to India, are regulated by a sealed-pattern, machine-made, departmental style, which has been evolved out of a long series of departmental mistakes, leaving as little as possible to the discretion or indiscretion of the officer. The more important architec-

tural works, such as are found in the large towns, are handed over to any senior engineer, either one who has had special opportunities or has shown a predilection for architectural design, improved and developed by a course of experimenting on Government buildings.

The horrors which have been perpetrated in the name of Architecture under this happy-go-lucky system, it is needless to particularise. They offend the eye and haunt the imagination in every station of India from Simla, Calcutta and Bombay down to the smallest mofussil town. Of course, there have been exceptional men, self-taught, architecturally speaking, who have overcome the disadvantages and difficulties in which they are placed by the departmental system; but even these, as a rule, have only striven to excel in architectural design as it was understood in England before the present revival in Art began, and have failed entirely to appreciate the immense resources, now going to waste, which India places in the hands of architects and designers who know and are willing to make use of them. It is no disparagement of the splendid and devoted services done for India by the Public Works Engineers in their own special branch to say that this treatment of the noblest of all the Arts is unworthy of England's reputation as a great civilising power and unworthy of the great mission she has set herself to achieve in India. It is the ruin of Indian Art and a source of great material loss to the country, which can and should be avoided. We give with one hand and take away with the other. We build splendid railways, roads and bridges; we dig canals and irrigate hundreds of thousands of acres, prevent famines, or strive to alleviate suffering when they occur; but, on the other hand, we corrupt the artistic sentiment of the people, and by so doing cause the ruin of the ancient handicrafts which have always been the pride of India. Fortunately for Art, in some parts of India, notably in Rajputana, Central India and the Punjab, the natives have shown themselves more independent and less imitative of European fashions than in Bengal, Madras and other more modernised provinces. Generally speaking, with the "educated" or English speaking natives, Art is not an individual feeling—it is merely a fashion, and when the fashion they imitate is only that set by the Public Works Engineers, it is easy to understand that the hopes of raising the standard of their taste are not promising.

Most of the Princes and rich men of India, when they require a new palace or mansion, requisition the services of a Public Works officer, who designs a pretentious edifice in the Anglo-Indian style. So, instead of affording occupation to a small army of the hereditary Art workmen of India, wood carvers, stone carvers, fresco painters, inlayers of wood and

stone, potters and others innumerable—each of these buildings is handed over to a set of workmen trained in the traditions of the Public Works Department to copy mechanically, from working drawings, things without beauty, and to pile up a mass of brick or stone, without any sort of artistic expression, testifying only in size and empty display to the vanity of its occupier. The furnishing of the building must follow the same style; the walls must be hung with European pictures and the rooms upholstered with European carpets and furniture by the most fashionable European firms. This is typical of what has been going on ever since our rule was established in India. Is it a wonder that Indian Art decays, and that the old handicraftsmen are driven to agriculture for an occupation? The whole system strikes at the very foundation of Art, and, unless it is altered, the entire ruin of Indian Art is inevitable.

People may suppose, when they see the considerable trade in bric-à-brac and so-called curiosities which has resulted from the Great International Exhibitions in Europe and America, that Indian Art has found a new market abroad to compensate for the loss of the old one at home. But can any one imagine for a moment that Arts which have been created by the spontaneous sentiment of a people, finding its first and chief expression in Architecture, can ever thrive and develop by the manufacture of cheap curiosities for foreign export? The first condition for the healthy development of Art is its sincerity. Sincerity, as Lord Leighton said at the first meeting of the Society for the Encouragement and Preservation of Indian Art in 1891, is the true element of life in Art. In these Indian curiosities there is no sincerity; for the workmen who manufacture them on contract they have no meaning; for the purchasers they are only curiosities. Those who have been able to compare the standard of design and workmanship in all branches of Indian Art exhibited at the great Exhibition of 1851 with recent Exhibitions, know well how great the falling off has been. Quite apart from any question of artistic merit or sentiment, the new export markets which have been opened for the Indian workman are not a hundredth part of the home market which has been for the most part closed to him. It is futile to argue that the splendid engineering works of the Public Works Department more than compensate for the injuries done to Indian Art. That is quite beside the question. The fault is that we impose upon the Public Works Engineers a double responsibility and only train them for a single one.

There are many who, while admitting the deficiencies of the present system, argue that this system has been forced upon us by economical necessities. Half a loaf, they say, is better than no bread: the Public Works Department has given India

more than half the loaf. The State cannot afford to employ all these Art handicraftsmen in its public works; the country wants plain, economical court houses, hospitals, post offices, police stations and similar works of utility, in which there is no room for Art. That Art in India cannot be reconciled with economy is the fault of the Public Works Department, not of Art. "Ugly is only half way to a thing," says Meredith's "Old Buccaneer" in one of his wise maxims. The Indian Public Works Department believes the other half unattainable because it does not know how to get it. The engineer, as a rule, regards Art as synonymous with ornament, to be added more or less lavishly, according to the means at his disposal, when he has finished with his engineering. He has no knowledge of constructive design in Architecture, or believes it to be only a matter of calculation, like the thickness of an iron girder. But if the untrained peasant in Italy and many other parts of the world can evolve from his inner consciousness, in the infrequent intervals of repose from the labours of cultivation, a style of Architecture at once practical, economical, comfortable and pleasing to the eye, into which no vestige of ornament enters, it ought not to be impossible in India to adapt architectural design to the capacity of the public purse. For in India there still exists, unrecognised by the Public Works Department, a class of native workmen, passing rich on fifteen rupees a month, who are at the same time most skilful builders, decorators and architects.

These men are exactly of the same class as the master-builders of the middle ages, to whom we owe the great master-pieces of Gothic Architecture; they inherit all the traditions of Indian Architecture; they can draw, design, build, carve and decorate, in good taste and with understanding of constructive principles; but they know nothing of Public Works *formulae* and therefore are held of no account. All this artistic and architectural wealth goes to waste in India because the Public Works Department does not know how to make use of it. There have been one or two distinguished exceptions, of men, like Colonel Jacob at Jeypore, with artistic instincts which have revolted against departmental traditions, who have, by a study and practice of native architecture, done splendid services to Indian Art; but individuals do not count for much in India against the established rules of a great Government department. The ordinary Public Works officer ignores altogether the Art of the country, and borrows his Art and Architecture from European professional periodicals, trade catalogues or illustrated works. A typical example will show the injustice done to Indian Art in this way. Not many years ago, a number of important buildings

were being erected in Calcutta, and for their external decoration terra-cotta to the value of a lac of rupees was obtained from England. This terra-cotta was not of exceptional artistic merit, to set an example to the Bengalee artisan, but the ordinary commercial ornament which is sold by the square yard by European manufacturers. Now Bengal is a great brick-making country, and there once existed a beautiful Art in moulded brick-work, still to be seen in old buildings in many parts of the Province. If a lac of rupees had been spent in reviving this decayed art, public buildings in Calcutta would have had far better ornament and an old industry might have been revived.

In the same way, through the influence of Anglo-Indian taste, the old process of fresco decoration, in which some of the finest examples of Indian Art have been executed during the last 1000 years, will soon be a lost art, replaced by less sanitary, less durable, and less artistic European wall-papers and hangings. For adapting architectural design to local art it only requires officers with a proper architectural and artistic training. Which is the more economical, and statesmanlike policy to continue to crush out the artistic sentiment of a people by a badly thought out system of departmental organisation, or to reform that system so as to allow Indian Art and industry the scope it had in former times?

What reforms are needed? First, it must be the declared policy of the different Governments to adopt indigenous styles of architecture, as far as possible, in all public buildings. Only to employ professional architects in place of Public Works engineers would not meet the case at all. That has been tried occasionally, and has failed simply because the ordinary European architect in India is too much prejudiced by the pedantries of modern European eclectic architecture to strike out a new path by devoting himself to a study of living oriental styles. Neither would an improved style of European architecture benefit Indian Art, because the average Native, like the average European, is quite incapable of distinguishing good architecture from bad. What is wanted is a revival of Indian architecture to give an outlet for the hereditary Art instincts of Indian handicraftsmen. Oriental architecture should be made a special branch of the Public Works Department. We have established in India schools of Medicine, Law, Agriculture, Forestry, Engineering and Art; why not also Architecture? If it were notified that special advantage in pay and promotion would be given to officers of the Public Works Department possessing a diploma in both Engineering and Architecture, competition for Government appointments is so keen in India that there would be no lack of students.

To afford facilities for study, and as a means of instructing the public, Museums of Architecture should be established in connection with the colleges of Engineering. The example public buildings might then present would be of far more value to India than the actual monetary aid given to native Art in the building of them. When once the native Princes and aristocracy saw that the seal and sign of official approval had been set on Indian Architecture, an immense step would be gained. The native *mistri*, or hereditary master-builder, would find that his services were once more sought after; every rich man's mansion or Rajah's palace which was built would afford employment for hundreds of Indian art workmen; Art industry, restored to its legitimate place, would lift up its head again, and Art as a whole would prosper and develop, because its foundations rested, not on an obsequious imitation of official styles and fashions, but on the artistic instincts of the people. Art Education in India would then at last stand on a firm and rational basis.

It is not to be expected that this consummation would be reached immediately. The mistakes of fifty years cannot be put right in a day; nor is it practicable to pull down and rebuild all the official edifices in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which tend to mislead native taste in architecture. But every student of Art history, indeed every man of any artistic knowledge, must admit that Indian Art would gain more by the restoration of indigenous Architecture to its proper position than by any other possible reform. There have, no doubt, been other and quite different causes which have led to the decay of particular Art industries, especially the great weaving industry, but the extinction of native Architecture is the great avoidable cause of the degeneration of Indian Art. Schools of Art may be developed; Art Museums may be established; Exhibitions may be subsidised; Indian Art may be advertised in Europe and America; these are merely as props to a fabric whose foundations are crumbling away.

From a political standpoint it is not a small thing that the artistic sentiment of the Indian peoples is being extinguished under our rule. A people devoted to Art is a happy and contented people. A people without Art is restless and unhappy. Mrs. Besant, in her crusade for promoting religious education among the Hindus, has received official countenance and support, because Indian statesmen recognise that the decline of religious belief is a danger to the Empire. The decay of Art sentiment is also a danger, for Art, if not a part of Religion, is a door leading to it. From a commercial standpoint India suffers a heavy loss by the ruin of her Art industries. Every ruler who has earned from posterity the title of Great,

or Wise, has spent the resources of the State in encouraging the industrial arts, and money so spent has been well invested, for many States have risen to prosperity and power through the skill of their art handicraftsmen. Art in India, though corrupt and decaying, is still more a part of national life than it is in any European country to-day. Is it not a duty we owe India to preserve for her, while we can, what remains of a splendid inheritance ?

E. B. HAVELL.

June, 1899.

ART. IX.—MAGIC AND SCIENCE.

ANCIENT magic was ancient science. To surprise the secrets of nature, and, by surprising them, to control phenomena and turn them to his purposes, has everywhere been the irresistible longing of man, placed amid unseen forces with nothing but his wit to aid him. How marvellously his wit has aided him need not be told ; but the help came slowly, and the victories were gained only after a succession of defeats. That which mainly thwarted him was Impatience, and its offspring, Credulity ; that which mainly aided him was Patience. From the first sprang magic ; from the second, Science. Passion is ever credulous, and when the mind is greatly excited, it is ready to believe almost anything which favours its desires.

The credulity of early ages has also another source. In ignorance of the true order of nature, we find no difficulty in believing that one thing takes place rather than another. What to the cultivated mind seems a physical impossibility, to the uncultivated seems as probable as anything else. It is, therefore, not only far from incredible, it is highly probable to the savage, that the ordinary phenomena of nature should be the actions of capricious beings, whose caprices may be propitiated. He observes the rain falling, the seed sprouting, his cattle perishing, his children sickening, all by agencies unseen, which he at once supposes to be Spirits resembling the spirit within him, though mightier : superhuman in power, they are conceived to be human, in feeling, because no other conception of power is possible to him. In animating nature, man necessarily animates it with a soul like his own. He therefore cannot help supposing that the varied phenomena which pass before him are acts of arbitrary and capricious volition. Like the potentates of his tribe or nation, these Unseen Agencies require to be flattered or intimidated. Incense, sacrifices, ceremonies of homage, prayers and supplications, may captivate their favour. Failing this, there is the resource of incantation, exorcism, amulets and charms ; the aid of some more powerful spirit is invoked, or the secret of some weakness is surprised. Sometimes the malignity of a spirit may be thwarted by the mere invocation of the *name* of a mightier spirit ; and sometimes by the mere employment of a disagreeable object—holy water or a strong smell—before which the demon flies. This is the condition of the mind in all half-civilised peoples, and this is the condition which determines Magic.

In the slow travail of thought, and by the accumulation of

experience, another condition is brought about, and Science emerges. Before it can emerge, the most important of all changes must have taken place: the phenomena of nature, at least all the most ordinary phenomena, must have been disengaged from this conception of an arbitrary and *capricious* power, similar to human will, and must have been recognised as *constant*, always succeeding each other with fatal regularity. This once recognised, Science can begin slowly to ascertain the *order* of nature--the laws of succession and co-existence; and having in any case ascertained this order, it can predict with certainty the results which will arrive. If I know that the order of nature is such that air which has once been breathed becomes imperfectly adapted for a second breathing, and becomes poisonous after a repetition of the process, I do not, when I see my fellow-creatures perishing because they breathe this vitiated air, attempt to propitiate the noxious spirit by supplications, or to intimidate it by charms and exorcisms. I simply let in the fresh air, knowing that the fresh air will restore the drooping sufferers, because such is the order of Nature. I have learned, O Thaumaturgus! that your Unseen Agencies, mighty as you deem them, are not free, but are fatally subject to inexorable law; they cannot act capriciously, they must act inexorably. If, therefore, I can detect these laws--if I can ascertain what is the inevitable order of succession--it will be quite needless to trouble myself about your Unseen Agencies. You promise by your art to give me power over these Agencies, by which I shall be able to bend Nature to my purpose, to harness her to my triumphant chariot. But if I can once discover the inexorable laws, I can do what you only delusively pretend. With each discovery of the actual order of nature, it has been found that man's power *over* Nature has become greater. He cannot alter that order, but he can adapt himself to it. He cannot change the Unchangeable, but he can predict the Inexorable. And Science thus fulfils the pretensions of Magic; it is Magic grown modest.

In proportion as regularity in the succession of phenomena became ascertained, the domain of superstition and magic became restricted. When it was seen that the seed sprouted and the rain fell in spite of all incantations, and that the direction of the wind was a surer indication than the medicine-man's formula, credulity sought refuge in phenomena less understood. Long after the course of Nature was felt to be beyond the influence of magicians, there was profound belief in their influence over life and death. The phenomena of Disease seemed wholly capricious. An invisible enemy seemed to have struck down the young and healthy warrior; an enraged deity seemed to be destroying tribes. When the epidemic

breaks out in the Grecian camp, Homer attributes it solely to the rage of Apollo, whose priest has been offended. Down from Olympus the far-darter comes, "like night," sits apart from the camp, and for nine days keeps pouring in his dreadful arrows. The soldiers are struck by this invisible, but too fatal, enemy. The only rescue is by appeasing Apollo's wrath. Thus the cause, or order, of Nature was unsuspected; and ignorant imagination was free to invent the explanation which best pleased it.

The early priests were necessarily magicians. All early religions had a strong bias towards sorcery; because their priests, believing that all the forces of Nature were good and evil demons, necessarily arrogated to themselves a power over these demons, either by propitiation or intimidation. These men never attempted to make mankind better, or to make them wiser; their object was rather to inspire terror, and to propagate the superstitions of which they themselves were dupes. Some secrets they learned, especially the effects of certain herbs in stimulating and stupefying the nervous system, so as to produce visions and hallucinations. They learned, also, how the imagination may be impressed by ceremonies, darkness, lugubrious music, and perfumes, so that the semi-delirious devotee saw whatever he was told to see.

Hecate, for example, was the personification of the mysterious rays which the moon projects into the darkness of night, and only appeared when the moon veiled her disc. To Hecate were attributed the spectres and phantoms of darkness, and all over Greece the rites were celebrated by many practices common to sorcery. Thus everything was brought together to appal the imagination, deceive the senses, and foster sombre conceptions: exorcisms and weird formulas, disgusting philtres, hell-broth made of loathsome objects, such as Shakespeare describes in *Macbeth* :—

*Fillet of a fenny snake,
In the cauldron boil and bake:
Eye of newt, and toe of frog,
Wool of bat, and tongue of dog,
Adder's fork, and blind-worm's sting,
Lizard's leg, and owl's wing,
Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf;
Witches' mummy; maw, and gulf,
Of the ravin'd salt sea shark.*

And to these he adds, with his terrible energy of expression,

*Liver of blaspheming Jew;
Finger of birth-strangled babe,
Ditch-delivered by a drab.*

The mind of a cultivated man in these days, unable to conceive any *direct relation* between the liver of a blaspheming

Jew, and control of the course of Nature, finds it difficult to believe that minds as powerful as his own, under less favourable influences, could seriously credit such incantations. Yet the history of mankind shows that no amount of failure, no argument, no ridicule, no priestly warning and exhortation, could detach men from the practices of sorcery. The temptation to penetrate the secrets of Nature was too strong. Nothing could overcome this temptation while the belief in witchcraft lasted. Nothing could destroy the belief but the slowly-growing conviction that the succession of phenomena was not capricious, but inexorable—every single event being rigorously determined by its antecedent, and not to be altered so long as the antecedent remained the same.

No one believes in Astrology now, because the order of celestial phenomena has been ascertained with remarkable precision. Yet how natural was the belief in starry influences! In the serenity of Asiatic skies, the majestic aspects of the stars would naturally attract incessant notice. It is a tendency, observable in children and savages, to suppose that whatever interests them must also be interested in them. If we look up at the stars, do they not look down on us? If we follow their course with interest, will they not likewise with interest follow ours? Hence the belief in astral influences. The child upon whose cradle Mars has smiled, will be credited with a martial career; the child born under Venus will be under her protection. These are the spontaneous beliefs. Before they can be discredited men must, by a long process, have learned to check this tendency to suppose a direct relation between events which are simply coincident, and must have learned that the course of the stars and the course of human conduct are in no direct relation to each other. But this is a slow process; and until Science has been thus far established, Astrology, and all other superstitions, are unassailable. History proves that no amount of religious reprobation has been able to uproot the belief in, or check the practices of, sorcery.

The early Israelites, in common with all primitive peoples, had their magic, consulted sorcerers, explained dreams, and believed in talismans. In vain Moses proscribed these superstitions. On their return from captivity they brought with them a number of Babylonian sorceries, together with the belief in angels and demons. By a natural process they came to regard certain formulas written on parchment, and containing the names of celestial spirits, as veritable talismans. Like the Egyptians, they believed that, if they summoned demons by their names, these demons were thereby compelled to appear, or to obey orders.

Respecting the gods of other nations, the Jews held two

different opinions. One opinion was that these gods were vain idols; the other that they were agents of Satan; and this was the opinion that finally prevailed. Beelzebub, for example, was originally the god of the Philistines; Astaroth was the lunar goddess of the Phœnicians; Lucifer was a god of the Assyrians; and so on. The early Christians adopted this notion, and attributed all the Pagan miracles to agents of Satan. In their view the ancient polytheism was but an extensive demonology. "Idolatry," says Eusebius, one of the great authorities among the Fathers, "is the adoration, not of good demons, but of bad and perverse demons." The Church became very liberal in its admittance of demons among the agencies of human affairs. Not only did it attribute bad passions and criminal acts to these demons, but it also chose to detect their agency in every form of error and imposture; by which was meant every form of opinion or pretension inconsistent with the opinions and pretensions of the Church. Once grant the existence of these demons, and it is difficult to assign a limit to their agency. And who then questioned their existence? Dwelling in noisome retreats, among the putrid exhalations of rotting graves, they were ready at any moment to issue forth and walk among men, to tempt the saints and delude the sinners. Not only did they tempt men, they sometimes managed to get "possession" of them, entering their bodies, and making them mad. Nay, they entered into houses and pieces of furniture. Exorcisms consequently formed a large proportion of the priestly duties. So late as Pope Sixtus V., the Egyptian obelisk, which was brought to Rome, and now adorns the Piazza del Popolo, was publicly exorcised before it was permitted to stand in a Christian city. There were many formulas of exorcism, but the sign of the cross was naturally considered the most efficacious, and was generally used in addition to all others. Holy water also had great virtues. This continual intervention of exorcism is attested by the great number of conjurations adopted in the liturgy. It was an incessant litany of anathema against Satan. He was described as a perfidious intriguer, a thief, a serpent, a wild beast, a dragon of hell, a Belial, etc.; and in order not to be forced to repeat always this long list of insults, they were engraved on amulets, which hence acquired the virtue of driving Satan away. What wonderful ideas of causation are implied in the conception. Epidemics, meteors, and prodigies of all kinds were attributed to demons. Plagues, tempests, and hailstorms, by one party believed to be visitations of divine wrath, were by another and larger party believed to be the work of malignant demons; and this opinion was held even by so subtle and remarkable a thinker as Thomas

Aquinas. It is to this belief that is due the practice of ringing the Church bells during violent storms—that being the readiest mode of exorcising the demons. Formerly the storm was exorcised by the presentation of the cross, and by sprinkling holy water. As the worst storm comes to an end at last, the exorcism was certain to be successful.

Curious it is to notice what multitudes of Pagan superstitions passed into the ordinary beliefs of the Christians. The Neophytes were unable to disengage their minds from all the associations of childhood, from all the prejudices in which they had been reared. Among these were the belief in, and use of, amulets and enchantments. Even Saint Augustin believed that demons were to be influenced by certain signs, certain stones, certain charms and ceremonies; and if Saint Augustin could believe this, we may imagine that less vigorous intellects would be still more credulous. There was universal belief in the evocation of departed spirits, upon evidence as cogent as modern mediums consider sufficient, and with considerably more excuse. In the ninth century we find the Bishop of Aosta excommunicating serpents, moles, mice, rats, and other beasts, because in these bestial forms the agents of Satan delighted to hide themselves—somewhat stupidly, it would seem, seeing how little fascination these beasts, generally, have for mankind. But the demons were never held to be very wise. Saint Bernard, from the same cause, excommunicated flies, and all the flies in the district shrivelled up at once. In the year 1200, Saint Walthen, of Scotland, proclaimed that the devil assumed the forms of a pig, a bull, a black dog, a wolf, and a rat. The black dog and black cat were generally believed to have some secret understanding with the devil; and if owned by a wise man or a bleary-eyed old woman, the evidence was sufficient.

There is abundant evidence to prove that the spirit of Polytheism and its sorceries survived long after the official Polytheism was extinct. Its temples were in ruins, or were converted into churches; its idols were broken, or were re-baptised as saints and angels. Many a temple of Diana or of Venus is now crowded by worshippers of the Madonna, in very much the same spirit, and with not a little of the old forms. The traveller in Italy is constantly being surprised by some living tradition of Polytheism thinly veiled. In every Neapolitan hut may be seen the ancient Lares; only they assume the form of the Virgin, before whose image a lamp is kept for ever burning. Such images are transmitted from generation to generation. They are implored on every occasion, more even than the Saviour. When the supersti-

tious Neapolitan meditates a crime, he covers these images with a veil, to hide the crime from them.

Sometimes the change from Pagan to Christian has been very slight indeed, as in the case of Aidoneus of Epirus, who has been altered into Saint Donatus, and Dea Pelina, who has become Saint Pelino, and Felicitas Publica, who has become Santa Felicità. In festivals meant to please the populace, we expect to find the old traditions of worship, and to find the old divinities under the masks of saints. The festivals of Geres and Vesta, for example, have been slightly changed in the Neapolitan festival of the Madonna. The persons of the merry-makers are covered with every variety of ornament; the heads of both men and women are crowned with wreaths of flowers and fruits; in their hands they carry garlands and poles, like thyrsi, surmounted with branches of fruits or flowers. On their return homewards, their vehicles are decorated with branches of trees, intermixed with pictures of the Madonna purchased at her shrine, and their horses are gay with ribbons of all hues, and frequently with a plume of snowy feathers on their heads. The whole scene as fully realises the idea of a Bacchanalian procession as if we could now see one emerging from the gates of old Pompeii.

The processions and prayers of priests and augurs for the plantations, vines, and public health, have all been consecrated anew. The sign of the cross, the use of holy water, and the *Agnus Dei*, have replaced the old exorcisms, charms and talismans. The Hebrew names of God, or the names of the angels, and of Abraham or Solomon, took the places of the names of Pagan deities. If oracles disappeared, the tombs of martyrs and confessors were not silent, and were interrogated with the same credulity as had formerly been shown to the oracles. In vain the Church forbade sorcery and witchcraft; it encouraged many kindred superstitions, and did not destroy the source of all superstition. Paternosters were murmured over wounds, in the perfect belief that Paternosters were curative, and that wounds did not follow any strictly inexorable course. The relics of saints were (and still are) devoutly believed to have a wonder-working power—the same power as was formerly attributed to charms and talismans. The evil spirits who caused the drought, the sickness, or the wrecks, would shrink away in terror at the sight of the relics. And when the Church encouraged such beliefs as this, how could it expect to warn men from believing in chaplets which had the power of arresting bleeding, or in any other superstitions?

To this day the practice of placing a fee for Charon (passage money across the Styx) is not quite unknown. In

some districts the money is placed in the mouth of the corpse. By the inhabitants of the Jura it is placed under the head of the corpse, attached to a little wooden cross. In the Morvan it is placed in the hands of the defunct. The statue of Cybele used annually to be plunged into the sacred bath; she is still publicly dipped, only Cybele has become a saint. In Perpignan they solemnly dip the relics of Saint Gulderic in the waters of the Tet, confident by this ceremony that they shall secure rain. Rain falls, sure enough; and if it sometimes falls too scantily, or too tardily, this is only attributed to meteoric influences by infidels and materialists.

Many are the traces of the past which scholars find in the present. The Lupercalian festivals have become our Lenten carnival—rather a dreary festival, it must be owned! The January offerings have become our New Year's gifts—pleasant enough when they do not assume the shape of dreadfully good "gift-books." The salutation of "God bless you," when you sneeze, is thoroughly classical. No doubt the ingenious device of securing "luck" to a newly-married couple by throwing an old shoe after the departing carriage, is equally ancient, and impresses the philosophic mind with a lively sense of how men imagine the course of nature to be determined. The evil eye is not only very ancient, but seems to be universal. The ancients believed that when any one's ears tingled it was because somebody was talking of him; they believed, also, that it was unlucky to spill the salt.

We have already said that the Church, although appropriating many of the rites and ceremonies of Polytheism, energetically repudiated many others; but, in vain. The demons which could not be evoked at the altar, were invoked in secret. Magic was called upon to perform what religion refused. The Church fulminated, and assured men that they perilled their souls by commerce with demons; but it did not discredit the agency of the demons, and its menaces were futile. In vain also was the secular arm employed against those whom the fear of hell could not restrain: the superstition was ineradicable, irresistible. Curiosity, the desire of vengeance, the passion for some secret means of superiority—these motives were stronger than fear, and these motives could only cease to impel men when men ceased to believe in supernatural agency. But against this belief the Church raised no voice. The wisest of men devoutly accepted it. Gregory the Third, in his edict against the use of Magic, especially addresses himself to the clergy as well as to the laity; but his edict is against the *use* of Magic, not against the *belief* in Magic.

Magic, no less than Science, rests on the *explanation* of

phenomena. The only difference is that Magic seeks its explanation in some analogy drawn from human nature, and Science seeks its explanation in some analogy drawn from other phenomena. No preliminary knowledge is required for the former; man instinctively dramatises the events, and interprets them by such motives as sway his own conduct. For the latter explanation it is necessary that a vast amount of knowledge shall have been accumulated; man must know a great deal about many phenomena before he can detect their laws. Let us see this illustrated in the views held about Dreams.

In Egypt, Assyria, Judæa, and Greece, there was a regular class of dream-interpreters, men who undertook to *explain* what was prefigured by dreams. No one doubted that the phenomena were supernatural. Dreams *came* to a man; they were not suspected to be the action of his brain. We see this belief naively exhibited in Homer, who makes Jupiter summon a dream to his presence as he would summon any other personage. He bids the dream descend to the camp of Agamemnon, and appear before that King of men, to whom he must deliver a most delusive message. The dream departs, and repeats the very words of Jove. Nor is this conception wonderful. If you consider dreams, you will notice as one peculiarity that in them the mind is, as it were, separated into two distinct entities which hold converse with each other. We are often astonished at the statements and repartees of our double; we are puzzled by his questions; we are angered or flattered by his remarks—and yet these have been our own creation. It is natural to suppose that we have actually been visited during sleep by one of the spirit world; and until the science of psychology had learned to interpret the phenomena of dreams by the phenomena of waking thought, especially of reverie, this supernatural explanation would prevail.

The same may be said of insanity. It was necessarily regarded as supernatural, until science had shown it to be a disease of the nervous system. The dreadful aspect, the incoherent language and conduct, of mad men, seemed only referable to an evil demon having got "possession" of the man; and this belief was of course strengthened by the general tendency of mad men to attribute their actions to some one urging or forcing them. They fancied themselves pursued by fiends, whom they saw in the lurid light of their own distempered imaginations. But before science could have ascertained even the simplest laws of insanity, what an immense accumulation of knowledge on particular points was necessary! Instead of believing that a mad man is "possessed," we say he is "diseased;" instead of a demon within him to be exorcised, we say there is a functional disturbance in his

nervous system which must be reduced to healthy activity once more. We know as certainly that a disease of this nervous system will produce the phenomena of insanity, as that an inflammation of the mucous membrane will produce a catarrh, or that disease of the lungs will produce consumption. But what vast labours of many generations before it could have been ascertained that the nervous system was specially engaged in all mental phenomena, and that insanity was a disease of this system! It was so much readier an explanation to suppose that a demon had entered the unhappy victim; and, this once suggested, it became a question how best to get rid of the demon. Incantation was an easy resort. Among the means of purification many nations seem to have fancied that "fumigation" must hold a high rank, demons decidedly objecting to evil smells. To this day the Samoyedes and Ostiaks burn a bit of reindeer-skin under the nose of the maniac. The patient falls into a sort of stupefaction from which he oftens revives considerably calmed, the action of a narcotic on his nervous system being mistaken for an action of evil odours on the olfactories of the demon. The old superstition of hanging odoriferous plants over the door of the house of one "possessed" points to the same belief that odours drive away demons.

In this rapid survey of a wide subject we hope the reader has been able to see that Magic, which was the Science of the ancients—and the only science they could have for a long while—is wilful nescience in moderns who have ample means at hand for ascertaining the fundamental fact that the *order* of nature is not capricious, but constant, and is not to be altered by incantations, even by those powerful incantations which still take place in some Western drawing-rooms, somewhat darkened. The ancient thaumaturge was to a great extent his own dupe; if he did practise certain tricks, he had profound belief that there *was* an art to which he pretended. But the modern thaumaturge is generally an impostor; and those who believe in him and his miracles, ought to be consistent, and believe in all the grossest superstitions of the early ages. For if the order of nature is *not* constant, as we suppose, there is no assignable limit to the power of Magic.

J. NEWMAN.

ART. X.—A TRAVANCORE STATE CEREMONY.

THERE are few State ceremonies in Southern India which are conducted with such *eclat*, or whose observance, occasionally lasting for days, is attended with such lengthy and elaborate ceremonial, and withal involves such vast and lavish expenditure on the part of the *Sirkar*, as is the grand sexennial religious feast, known as the *Murajapom*, the celebration of which has recently closed at the capital of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore. *Murajapom* (*mura* = turn and *japom* = prayers) is the praying by turns of the many hundreds of Nambudri devotees who generally gather at Trivandrum at this season, and repeat prayers and chant the Vedas in the grand Sri Padmanabha's Pagoda there from six to ten in the morning and from eight in the evening. A chief feature of the ceremony is the chanting of Vedic hymns. Hymns or invocations are recited in serial order (a whole Canto daily) from the Rig, Sama, and Yajur Vedas, it taking eight days in all for the completion of a cycle or "turn." Seven such "turns" conclude the ceremony, which occupies fifty-six days, attracts the whole Nambudri and Embran population of the surrounding country and costs the State over ten lakhs of rupees.

The first *Murajapom* was celebrated in 1749 A. D. by the soldier-king Martanda Varma. He was a warrior of mark and a born administrator, who welded the Travancore State into a united sovereignty, put down disaffection by the sword, and brought the refractory chieftains under the yoke of his absolute authority. Prior to 1729 A. D.—the date of his accession—the princesses appear to have exercised authority themselves, with the result that the country was convulsed by intestine feuds and came to be split up into a score of petty chiefships, all of which claimed independence. About this period, too, the power of the *Ettu Vittil Pillamar*—originally collectors of the temple revenue, but latterly powerful barons with separate territorial and *quasi* independent jurisdiction—had attained its high water mark; and these implacable and inveterate foes of the royal house, who, like Achiophel, were resolved to ruin and plunder the state, aggravated by their excesses the general confusion and misgovernment. With the petty chiefs, or *Madempimars*, and the authoritative ecclesiastical council of "the eight and a half" (*Ettara yogakar*)—in which the sovereign or "half member" had no vote—they had united themselves into a strong combination; and the confederates usurped and monopolized all authority.

Their Machiavellian counsels and secret designs culminated in a series of horrors in 1677 A.D. On a certain night, the royal palace at Trivandrum was burnt down by incendiaries ; the Maharaja himself soon after was removed by poison ; and the young princes, six in number, after being decoyed to a tank south of the Trivandrum fort, were suffocated under water by hired assassins. A similar fate awaited the soldier-poet, Kerala Varma, who befriended the helpless Queen Regent, Umayamma Ranee, in 1680 A.D., when a Mogul Sirdar overran South Travancore and penetrated as far as Edavaye.

In the hour of need and Travancore's greatest agony—when, for the first time in history, the Crescent waved before Trivandrum, and the city had all but fallen before the conquering sword of the Muslim, Kerala Varma was foremost in repelling the invader and was mainly instrumental in overturning his victorious arms. The accomplished prince and brilliant soldier who signalised himself in the action at Manacand and nearly annihilated the Mogul troops on that field of blood, fell soon after mysteriously by the hand of the assassin. The Travancore house was, however, saved from extinction by the adoption in 1684 A.D. of two princesses from the Kolathanad family, the younger of whom gave birth to one of the most remarkable—perhaps, the most interesting—of Travancore Maharajas, Martanda Varma. Under his strong and remorseless rule, the broken up and disorganised Travancore dominions were knit together into a compact and homogeneous whole ; the race of fierce and turbulent chieftains known as the *Ettu Vittal Pillamar* was extirpated ; and the rival houses of Kottayam, Kayaulam and Chunganacherry were reduced to subjection and their territories annexed to Travancore.

Martanda was endowed with that mysterious instinct which impels men to great enterprises and makes for sovereignty, and an imperious will which blinds them to the possibility of defeat and baffles all opposition : so, in the words of Fra Bartolomeo,* “ it needs excite no wonder, that agreeably to his character he should conceive the idea of making conquests, and of enlarging his unproductive dominions by the acquisition of new provinces.” He effected this mainly by the aid of a formidable body of disciplined troops, numbering 50,000 of all arms, drilled and equipped in the European fashion and led by European officers—soldiers of fortune who came out in quest of adventure and found an opening in the Maharaja's service—among others, by a Flemish General of note, Eustatius D'Lanoy.

*Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo : *A Voyage to the East Indies*, first published at Rome in 1796.

D' Lanoy—or the “Great Captain” (*Valia Kappithan*), as the Travancoreans called him,—constructed the strong lines of fortification, consisting of a ditch, earthworks and batteries, on the north-eastern frontier, known as the Travancore* lines; wrested in 1755 A. D., in conjunction with Moodemiah and the Poligar Pulithaver, the fort of Kalacand and the territories appertaining thereto from Maphuz Khan, brother to Mahomed Ali of the Carnatic, after the recall of the British troops to Trichinopoly; and gained a variety of successes against the Dutch, the Zamorin, and the Cochin Rajah. The Travancore dominions attained their widest bounds about 1758 A. D.—the date of Vira Martanda's death—when they extended from Cranganore to Cape Comorin, the Dan and the Beersheba of the kingdom.

The *Murajapom* is essentially a ceremony of atonement and humiliation. After the Kanravas who were engaged in Homeric contests with the hapless Pandavas were finally defeated in battle, the noble Yudhisthira, instead of exulting in his victory and glorying over his accession to the Raj of Hastinapur, is represented in the immortal epic as being not only worn with war and strife, but also weighed down with heavy grief for the loss of his friends and kinsmen—who, like good Kshatriyas, having drunk delight of battle to the lees on the ringing plains of Kuru-Kshetra, had now entered the heaven of Indra. If, like his Burmese contemporary, Alompra, or the Napoleon of the East, Ranjit Singh, Maharaja Martanda Varma had in him the stuff of which conquerors are made, he was also, like the Mameluke King, Nazir-ud-din, intensely pious and austere in his daily life, and in his latter years, almost a religious devotee in the purple. So, after the subjection of the rival chieftains and the ruthless extirpation of the *Ettu Vittil Pillamar*, he, Yudhisthira-wise, began to reflect on the wickedness and iniquity of war, and the losses and sufferings he had brought on many a brave man. Fearing, in accordance with the popular Hindu belief and the principles enjoined by the doctors of Brahmanic theology, that, in the next world, some dreadful punishment would befall him for his sins, he convened an assemblage of holy Brahmans, learned in the Vedas, from Malabar, Tinnevely and Madura. The king desired them to consult the Vedas and find out therefrom the most effective form of prayer to be adopted for expiating the sin incurred by war, and for averting the wrath of Yama's dread myrmidons in the world of shades; and the Brahmans recommended the *Bladradipam* and *Murajapom* ceremonies.

*These are equal in extent to the famous lines of Torres Vedras, erected by the Duke of Wellington for the defence of Lisbon in 1810, and from behind which with a small force, he defied the French legions led by Marshal Massena. See “Stocqueler's Familiar History of British India,” page 126.

No description of the *Murajapom* would be complete that did not extend from seven days before the *Bhadradiyam* to the *Lakshadiyam* illuminations which conclude the whole celebration. These ceremonies consist in the lighting of a sacred lamp on the 1st of *Makaram* (January-February) ; after seven days' prayers and offerings, this is repeated on the 1st *Karkudagam* (about July), the ceremony being performed twice annually for five consecutive years. In the sixth year, you have the grand ceremony of *Murajapom*, which begins towards the end of November and lasts for eight weeks. The last week of the *Murajapom* always corresponds with the *Bhadradiyam* which is sacred to Vishnu, and is conducted at Thiruvettar, Sucheendrum, Tinnevely, and certain pagodas in Northern India. With the *Lakshadiyam*, or the lighting of one hundred thousand lamps, the *Murajapom* festivities are brought to a close. These illuminations, which form indeed a part of *Bhadradiyam* and are quite unconnected with *Murajapom* proper, are intended as a token to mark the good results which are supposed to accrue immediately from the great periodical celebration.

The *Murajapom*, then, is a unique old-world ceremony of prayer and devotion, having remission of sin for its object, instituted by a great but penitent Maharaja, whose strong personality dominated the critical epoch in which he lived, and rendered the perils and predicaments which beset his path innocuous—a Maharaja whose character and times mostly resembled those of Henry the Second. The first Angevin, King of England, evolved order out of anarchy. He augmented his territories, conquered Ireland, and established a national militia. He freed the country from the throes of feudal tyranny which marked Stephen's reign, put down the wild barons and warlike knights who roamed and revelled and ran riot in "adulterine" castles ; and he anticipated, so to speak, Maharaja Martanda Varma by doing penance at the tomb of Thomas à Becket. "Much pain must expiate what much pain procured," and Martanda, amongst other things, held the first *Murajapom* no less as an expression of his penitance than as a means of increasing the prosperity of the state.

The ceremony partakes of the nature of a *yagam*, or sacrifice.* In addition to the chanting of the Vedas—an essential feature of the ceremony which comes before and above every rite or festivity connected with it—it is customary, every afternoon, to repeat the *Nahasranama* to procure the favour of the god Sree Padamanabha. At eventide, with the conch sounding the call to *Sandhya-vandanam*,* the Nambu-

* Evening prayers.

dries, standing breast-deep in holy water, pray for the destruction of the enemies of the Maharaja, who himself now enters the sacred precincts. In company with the other princes, his ministers and attendants, he worships the deity with closed hands, and in the dim religious light of the pagoda, takes his devotional turn round the pool *Palma-thirtha*. Not content with the establishment of the *Murajapom*, Martanda had recourse to an expedient for the consecration of the kingdom and for the safety of his ancient house. Early in 1750 A. D., accompanied by the heir-apparent, and the other members of the royal family, and by the *Dalavah* Rama Iyen, he proceeded one morning to the great pagoda at Trevandium, and before the assembled priests and *yogakars* laid his State sword at the feet of the deity, and in the most solemn manner made over his crown and kingdom to Sree Padmanabha, in much the same way as King John surrendered his kingdom to the Pope and received it back from him as his vassal—Martanda assumed the title of "*Sree Padmanabha Dasa*" (a title borne by the Maharajas of Travancore to this day), declaring that henceforth he was the servant of the deity and would conduct the affairs of the kingdom as a trustee of the *Devaswam*, or State Ecclesiastical Department.

In the following year, Martanda celebrated the *hiranyagarbham* (literally, "golden womb")—a religious coronation ceremony the performance of which is imperative on the part of every sovereign of Travancore—the other ceremony of *Tulabharam*, or "scale-weighing," having been performed by him two years before. The former ceremony has partly for its object the elevation of the celebrator in caste or rank, and its performance alone can render a prince eligible to wear the crown of Travancore. The Maharaja is weighed in a scale against his weight of gold. This is made into a hollow vessel or tub which is half filled with holy water and *panchagavya*—the five products of the cow—"into which the Maharaja enters, is covered in with the lid, bathes, and comes out again." The *Tulabharam* is primarily a religious donation as atonement for sin, or as a deed of merit. It is the more expensive ceremony and requires a large quantity of gold, corresponding with the weight of the prince. The Maharaja is seated in one of the scales and gold is poured into the other till it rests on the ground, and the other scale rises aloft. Half of the gold is distributed as a reward among the priests, the other half is taken to the Mint and coined into special coins. Every Brahmin receives a certain number of these coins, large sums of money, moreover, being given away as donations to several pagodas and to attendant Brahmins. It has long been the recognized and invariable

practice with the princes of Travancore, as soon as possible after their succession to the *gadi*, to perform these ceremonies; and since the time of Martanda Varma every sovereign appears to have performed them, with the exception of the two who were excluded, by reason of their sex, from their performance.

These extraordinary ceremonies are usually celebrated only once in the lifetime of each Maharaja, although Martanda's successor, Rama Varma—who reigned forty years, was a contemporary of George III. and was Tippu Sultan's enemy—performed a golden *Tulabharam* in the beginning and a silver *Tulabharam* at about the end of his long reign. The quantity of gold used to weigh the Maharaja in the latter ceremony—an essential condition of it being the donation of a human figure of equal weight with the donor—cost about £12,000, the whole ascertained expense for the ceremony of 1870 having been Rs. 1,55,427. The weight of gold used in the scale on this occasion was 7934·80 tolas approximately, or 18,150 *kalanjus* 19 *manchaties*, as against 22,924 *kalanjus* 3 *manchaties* used for the *Tulabharam* of 1850. (1 *kalanju* = 78·65 grains, or about $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a tola, and 1 *manchatu* = about 3·979 grains).

The preparatory rites of the *Tulabharam* extend over eight days, the weighing being on the eighth or last day. "The *Acharyah* * (high priest) makes a puja early in the morning to the Tulapurusha Pratima, after which the Maharaja goes to the pagoda, bathed and religiously attired. After worshiping and making offerings, he proceeds to the Tulamandapam, where, in the south-east corner, he is sprinkled with *Punyaham* (holy) water. Thence he goes to the side-room, where the "nine grains" are sown in silver flower pots, and where the *Acharyah* anoints him with nine fresh water *kolasas*. Thence the Maharaja retires to the palace, changes clothes, puts on certain olden jewels specially made for the occasion and, holding the state sword in his right hand and the State shield of black leopard's skin and scimitar in his left, proceeds to the pagoda, and, having presented a bull elephant at the foot of the great golden flagstaff, and silks, gold coins, jewels and other rich offerings in the interior, he walks round by the Sivaimandapam and re-enters the Tulamandapam. • He walks thrice round the scales, prostrates before it, prays, performs certain preliminary donations, bows before the priests, and elderly relatives and obtains their sanction to perform the Tulapurushadanam. He then mounts the western scale, holding Yama's † and Surya's Pratimas in his right and left

* Pamphlet by "A Travancorean," 1870.

† Yama is the Pluto, and Surya, the sun-god of Hindu mythology
Pratimas are effigies.

hands respectively. He sits facing the east on a circular heavy plank cut out of fresh jackwood and covered with silk. The sword and shield are placed in the lap. He repeats *mantras* in this position. The opposite or eastern scale then receives the gold, both coined and in ingots, till it not only attains equality, but touches the ground, and the scale occupied by the Maharaja rises high. The Maharaja then comes down, and sitting facing the east, places the gold, the Tulapurusha Pratima and other *Pratimas*, with flowers, sandal paste, &c., in a basin of water, and meditating *Brahma* or Supreme Being, he offers the contents to Brahmins generically."

One of the sixteen great donations (*shodasa maha danams*) enjoined in Sanskrit works is the other ceremony of *Hiranyagarbham*, the performance of which is indispensable and can alone enable the Maharaja to assume the crown and bear the title of "Kulasekhara Perumal." This, according to the requirements of religion and the custom of the country—or, it may be, urged by the pressure of caste necessity—he cannot do, till he is re-born by passing through the womb of a golden cow, or bathes in a golden lotus. Hence, as a prelude to the ceremony of coronation, the Maharaja enters and sits for a few minutes within the belly of a cow or the corolla of a lotus flower, made of pure gold, and issues therefrom advanced in caste purity and restored to the privileges of the "twice-born"—the ceremony being termed *Hiranyagarbham* or *padma garbham*, according as the vessel employed is made in the shape of a cow or of a lotus flower. "The king, after performing his devotions, approaches the place where the vessel is kept, accompanied by all the high priests, Brahmans of note and learning in Malabar, Tinnevely, Madura, Canara, etc., and gets into the golden vessel by means of a beautifully lined ladder, expressly made for the purpose. When His Highness enters it, the cover is put on and he dips himself into the holy water five times, while all the assembled priests and Brahmans continue praying and chanting Vedic hymns. This ceremony lasts about ten minutes, after which the king comes out of the vessel by the same ladder, and after going through certain other ceremonies prostrates himself before the image of Sree Padmanabha Swamy, when the high priest, who is the chief celebrant of the ceremonies, and who acts the part of a bishop, takes the crown, and placing it on the king's head pronounces the title 'Kulasekhara Perumal.'" The Maharaja now has full authorization to reign over his subjects and the place resounds with Vedic hymns and prayers. The golden vessel or tub is cut up and distributed amongst Brahmans. This ceremony costs the *Sirkar** about £14,000.

* Pers. The word means Government.

Regarding the real nature and significance of the *hiranya garbham* ceremony, there has been much doubt and controversy. Day, Mateer, Anquetil du Perron and others are of opinion that its object is the regeneration of the Sudra king. According to the first-named writer, "the Rajahs of Travancore are always manufactured into Brahmins on ascending the *musnad*, an important part in the transmigration being sometimes played by a golden cow, at the mouth of which the Rajah enters a Sudra, and, having crawled along its interior arrangements, emerges under the animal's tail as one of the twice-born." *Land of the Perumals*, 1863 Edn., page 314). The social effect of the ceremony is also striking. "The Maharaja* ceases to partake of food, as formerly, along with the members of his family, but is yet not allowed to eat with Brahmins, only admitted to be present at their meals." On the other hand, the idea that the *hiranya garbham* advances the celebrator in caste or rank, the Historian† of Travancore repudiates as ridiculous. But whether we adopt the Rev. Mateer's view that the Travancore house, although of Nair or Sudra descent, has, by extreme subservience to the Brahmins to the extent of devoting the whole country to religious service, and by extravagant donations and costly ceremonies, been requited with sundry Bramanical privileges and distinctions; or that of Mr. Shungoony Menon, that the Travancore prince stands in no way in need of performing any ceremony to raise him either in caste or dignity, there can be little doubt that the ceremony has been repeatedly performed by others for similar purposes. Not many years ago, "the illegitimate‡ son of a Collector by a Moor-woman was privately raised to the Brahmanical order, the child's weight in gold poured over its head being the preliminary ceremony." Rughunath Rao, or as his name appears in the English records of the eighteenth century, Ragoba—who became uncontrolled Regent at Poona during the minority of his nephew, Madhu Rao I, and who later on held the proud Presidentship of the United States of Maharashtra—when down in his luck and a fugitive and suppliant at the British Presidency of Bombay, in consequence of the revolution of 1774, passed through a golden cow in hopes of better fortune; and two Brahmins whom he sent as ambassadors to England were, on their return, before being admitted to caste, compelled to pass through the sacred *yoni* §, made of the finest gold, which, with other costly gifts, was

* S.^d Mateer. *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 390.

† P. Shungoomy Menon: *A History of Travancore from the earliest times*. Madras, 1878.

‡ Taylor's *First Century*, p. 363.

§ —Womb.

afterwards made over to one of the temples.* The Tanjore Rajah also appears to have performed this ceremony.†

The first *Murajapom* was held a century and a half ago, the one last held being the twenty-fifth of its kind. The festival usually commences towards the end of November. During the whole festival season, that is until its close in mid-January, all Trevandrum and his wife goes holiday-making, there is revelry in the air, and the fort and city alike wear a brisk and busy aspect, and are full of the sights and sounds of the great celebration. Turn where you will, you see newly-improvised *Murajapom* sheds and temporary structures. Everywhere are gathered groups of Nambudri young men, light-hearted and gay, and on practical jokes intent, and never tired of poking fun at their less pampered *confreres*, the Patter Brahmins. Vast and inexhaustible are the stores collected to carry the *Murajapom* through. Wells of cocoanut oil, pyramids of vegetables, forests of bananas, mountains of molasses, and rivers of curd, ghee, preserves, plantains, *et hoc genus omne*, are gathered and stored up with a liberality or rather profusion that has acquired for the State the epithet of *Dharma Samastanum* or "Land of Charity."

Until lately, it was the duty of the large body of *viruttikars*, or service land-holders, to supply the provisions necessary for the ceremony; but this practice, which wrought untold misery on them, has now been happily done away with. The *viruttikars* had *Sirkar* lands (*viruthies*) given them, free of all assessment, except a succession duty (*Adukkuvathu*) payable on every change of incumbency; and in return, they were bound to make the necessary supplies "for pagodas, *Ootooperahs* ‡ and for the royal birthday, to erect sheds, to thatch public buildings, to watch them in some places, and to do peon's duty occasionally."§ This service tenure is of a very ancient date, most of the fiefs having been conferred on the original holders by former chieftains, as remuneration for personal service rendered, or on condition of such service when demanded, in much the same way as *jagluers* were bestowed in lieu of salaries on governors and favourites by the Mughal emperors. The primary obligation of military service, from long abeyance, came in course of time to be lost sight of, and eventually became converted into a permanent contract with Government to supply provisions for State needs; and though prices steadily rose in the market, yet no relief was afforded to the *viruttikars*, with the result that they gradually sank under the weight of

* See Day, Mateer, &c.

† *Manual of Madura*, p. III.

‡ Charitable feeding houses.

§ *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 358.

their obligation and became reduced to poverty. In March 1883, the Dewan Ramienger declared that "about 5,000 families, consisting of 25,000 souls, are directly subject to the operation of this system; that the full assessment of the lands held by them on favourable rent amounts in round numbers to Rs. 2,00,000, and that the amount of the loans of money to them or their ancestors in satisfaction of the interest on which service is rendered, amounts to a further sum of Rs. 2,00,000. In process of time, the obligation has become extremely onerous and oppressive, and the source of much abuse and demoralization. Prices of provisions and wages of labour have risen at least three or four times since M. E. 948 (1773 A. D.), when the contract was entered into. Still, the *Vrittikars* are bound to supply provisions at the rates fixed in that year."

No doubt, the evils and annoyances of the *viruthi* system have now been happily, to a great extent, removed; but recent rearrangements, which have substituted money payments for the old service, have swelled the expenses of the ceremony two or three fold, and thrown on the state coffers a burden which formerly certain private families had to bear. Thus, in the Administration Report for M. E. 1063 (A.D. 1887-88), we read that, as in the case of pagodas and *ootooperahs*, the supplies needed for the *Murajapom* "were paid for at the market rates, affording great relief to the *vritticars*." Again, the higher prices of the supplies required, and the larger number of visitors in connection with the ceremony have contributed to raise this expenditure (under "Devaswam," or religious institutions) above the amount estimated in the budget. The supplies were either purchased in the open market, or, when obtained from the *vritticars*, were paid for at higher rates than they usually get from the *Sirkar* for such supplies. The expenditure on account of the *Murajapom* that year—leaving alone the amount expended on certain special ceremonies in the Trevandrum temple, and the increased charge on feeding-houses, due to the influx of Brahmin visitors at the capital—is officially reckoned at Rs. 2,17,391. This certainly shows no marked increase of expenditure, seeing that the outlay on the first *Murajapom* was over two lakhs of rupees, in accordance with the fixed scheme of State expenditure (*pathivu kanaku*) then introduced by the celebrated statesman and prince of *Dalavahs*,* Rama Iyen. In quite recent years, however, it would appear that the *Murajapom* expenses have gone up by leaps and bounds.

Great numbers of Nambûdries and other Brahmins (excepting the Pandies) assist at the *Murajapom*, and while it lasts, are fed and maintained without distinction. Prayers

* Captain, Minister of State. Kesava Dass thought the title antiquated and was the first to assume the title of "Dewan."

are periodically chanted in the grand Sri Padmanabha's Pagoda, and the Vedas recited daily by certain learned Nambudries, whose hereditary privilege it is to officiate on such occasions. Nambudri dignitaries from Trichur, Thiruvayalpur and other parts of *Kerala*,* including the Alvancherry Thamprakkal, are invited by the Maharaja to take part in the ceremony, and the arrival and welcoming of these ecclesiastical grandees heralds the opening festivities of the *Murajapom*. These Nambudries are, in a word, the Brahmins *par excellence* of Malabar. They are admittedly Vedic Brahmins of the purest Aryan type in Southern India. The renowned polemic and apostle of Vedantism, Sankaracharya, † belonged to this community. There is no section of the Hindu community which is so generally regarded with veneration and honour as are the Nambudripads and Nambudries in Malabar. And perhaps not a few of them are noted for the purity and the simplicity of their lives,—are great repositories of Vedic love and men of marked wit and considerable Sanskrit learning.

The latest panegyrist ‡ of the Nambudries thus describes them:—"Unlike the Brahmins of the remainder of the Presidency who so largely absorb all appointments under Government worth having, who engage in trade, and in, one may say, every profitable profession and business, including the stage, the Nambudries hold almost entirely aloof from what the poet Gray calls: 'The busy world's ignoble strife,' and more than any class of Brahmins retain their sacerdotal position, which is of course the highest. . . . They are the aristocracy of the land, marked most impressively by two characteristics—exclusiveness and simplicity. . . . He is, perhaps, as his measures seem to prove, the truest Aryan in Southern India, and not only physically, but in his customs, habits, ceremonies, which are so welded into him that forsake them he cannot if he would. . . . The moral element certainly enters largely into the life of the Nambudri. And, if it be true, as there seems little reason to doubt, that a religion may be classed high or low according as it does or does not influence the morals of a people, we must class the religion of the Nambudri high, for his whole life, his moral life we will say, is dominated by it. A peace-loving people, and devoted to their religion, the

* The ancient name for the modern "district" of Malabar.

† The Great Saiva Reformer and author of the *Bhashya*, who flourished in the eighth or ninth century A.D.

‡ Fied. Fawcett. See Madras Government Museum Bulletin Series, Vol. III, No. 1, Anthropology. Notes on some of the people of Malabar, &c., 1900.

Nambudries are beyond doubt. Long may they remain as they are, untouched by what we hear called 'progress,' but which is really *change*—for better or worse, who knows? 'Long may they be what they are, the only undisturbed vestiges of Vedic Brahmanism.'

The Alvancherry Thamprakal, whose seat is at Adavanad in South Malabar, is not only the supreme head among the Nambudries in matters religious, but also the chief preceptor to the Travancore royal house. The ancestor of the present Thampurakal whom Dr. Francis Buchanan visited at the dawn of the last century, traced his descent in the male line from the founder of the family, who derived his authority from Parasurama,* after the demigod had, in expiation of a matricidal crime, recovered Malabar from the ocean and left it as a heritage to the Brahmins. The Thampurakal, who was the contemporary of Sankaracharya, was far from acknowledging the superiority of the great Vedantist: he not only repudiated as innovations, the sixty-four *anacharans*, or exceptions to established rules, ordained by the latter for the purpose of regulating the discipline of his co-religionists, but also excommunicated him as a heretic. The Thampurakals consider themselves as much higher in dignity than the Srīngagiri Swami, † who is the successor of Sankar Acharya and chief of the Smartal Brahmins. The last week of the *Murajapom* season differs from the rest, seeing that during this period all Brahmins, including the Pandies, are fed, over 10,000 men having been thus fed daily this year. Besides being fed well during the whole *Murajapom*, the Brahmins are dismissed with handsome money presents, according to the class they belong to—Nambudries receiving 5 fanams each, Embrans 4, and other Brahmins 2. A Brahmin who attends the *Murajapom* thus realizes in all a sum of Rs 40. The last week of the *Murajapom* again always corresponds with the *Bhadradiyam* or "Lamp of Good Fortune," which is one of the principal religious ceremonies in which the Maharaja himself takes a principal part. It is a kind of sun worship, "like the Pongal of the Tamils, ‡ which occurs at the same time, and in which offerings of boiled rice are made to the sun. It is performed at the two *ayan*s, or solstices of the year, calculated by the Hindus as occurring about the 12th January and 14th July. The *Bhadradiyam* chiefly consists in the priests transferring, by means of *mantrams* or invocations, the spirit of the sun to sacred lamps." A *siveli* or circumambula-

* Rama of the Axu, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu.

† Sringeri or Srīngiri is the name of a famous *Math*, or Convent, on the Western Ghats near the sources of the Tungabadra.

‡ Native Life in Travancore, p. 131.

tion of the temple with the images is made the evening preceding the *Bhadradiyam*. At these times, the Maharaja is secluded and fasting, and does not see European visitors.

The chief feature of the *Murajapom* is its enormous expense. Otherwise, there is little that is striking or admirable in connexion with this cumbrous old ceremony. Vast sums of money are also expended every year by the Travancore *darbar* on the *ootoopeerahs*, or charitable feeding-houses, and the *Devaswom*, or State Ecclesiastical Department. Of the former, there are about 45, including *conjee*-houses, the chief one (known as the *Agrasala*) being at Trevandrum. The *conjee*-houses dole out some 460,000 meals annually, costing the *Sirkar* about Rs. 7,000. In about half the number of wayside *ootoopeerahs* * breakfast alone is provided; in a few supper alone; while in the others both meals are provided, but only to Brahmin travellers. The total number of meals served by the *ootoopeerahs*, and the *Agrasala*, is said to be about 3,000 per diem, or 10,50,000 annually. The greatest pagoda in the State is the one named after Sree Padmanabha Swami, situated in the Trivandrum fort. This pagoda has a government of its own, unconnected with the State—the sovereign, two Nambudri *Sanyasis* †, ten Pótti Brahmins and one Nair nobleman constituting its governing body. The supervision and management of the temple is vested in the hands of the reigning prince. The revenue derived from the lands attached to this pagoda amounts to Rs. 75,000; and this goes towards defraying the daily expenses of the institution. The surplus, if any, is credited to the public treasury and any deficit made good from it. The extra expenditure incurred in connection with the pagoda out of the State coffers is on account of certain extraordinary festivals, which absorb large sums of money. The temples maintained by the State number in all over a thousand, the charges under *ootoopeerahs* and the *Devaswom* yearly amounting to nearly 10 lakhs. True, the expenditure on temples has been mainly provided for by ancient endowments; but the indiscriminate feeding of Brahmans from State funds is an undue advantage lavished on a single and microscopical section of the community, at the expense of the other classes. There is, indeed, no parallel in Native India to the immense expenditure incurred on Brahmins and temples in the “Land of Charity;” but how far such expenditure is prudent, beneficial, or equitable, is another matter.

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR.

* The *ootoopeerahs*, or free inns for Brahmins, were instituted by Rama Iyen Dalavah, who was the favourite minister of Maharaja Martanda Varma, and the friend and co-adjutor of General D’Lanoy.

† The last of the four conditions of life prescribed for a Brahmin is that of a *Sanyasi* or Ascetic.

ART. XI.—STUDIES IN ARABIAN PHILOSOPHY.

I.

THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE.

The Third of the Metaphysical Tracts of the *Brothers of Purity and the Friends of Sincerity*.

THE *Rasā'ilu Ikhwān-us-Safā*, though comparatively little known in India, has in recent times engaged the attentions of European scholars. By the generality of the Arabic students of the Madrasahs of India, it is regarded only as a work on *Mundzarah*.^{*} Although through its Urdu and Persian translations its name has been rendered familiar, only an unimportant portion of it (which is wrongly supposed to be the entire book) has been prescribed as a text-book in literature for the lower classes of Madrasahs. Nevertheless it is a book worthy of the serious attention and study of the advanced scholar. There is a general ignorance as to the contents of the book and the wide range of subjects over which it extends, and few know that the 'Allegorical Controversy between Man and the Lower Animals,' between Reason and Instinct, is only one of the 51 tracts of which the book consists. While some are entirely ignorant of the existence of other tracts bearing the name of *Rasā'ilu Ikhwān-us-Safā*, others, from what they have seen or heard of the tract already named, regard the rest as of a similar controversial nature.

Before I give an account of its scope and method, I think I should examine the data for the determination of its authorship, and the date of its composition, as to both of which scholars are divided.

Muhammad Ali Rāmpūri ascribes the authorship to Syed Ahmad b. Abdullah on the authority of Idris Imāduddin, author of the *A'yān-ul-Akhibār* (عين الاخبار) the authenticity of which, he says, cannot be questioned. He altogether rejects other suppositions; for "none could be the author of such an admirable work, but a descendant of the learned apostolic Imām Jāafer-as-Sādiq, 'the founder of the chief philosophical schools in Islam.†'"

* "This is a sort of writing in the form of a dialogue in which two persons are imagined disputing with each other on the merits and demerits of two different things, each trying to give preference to his own chosen object." *Essay on the Arabic Language and Literature* by Maulavi Obaidullah al-Obaidi Sohraworthy, p. 223.

† *Rasā'il-o-Ikhwān-us-Safā* published in 4 vols. at Bombay in 1305 A. H. by Haji Nuruddin, vol. iv, p. 409.

'It was compiled,' says Muhammad Bahâuddin, 'by Maulanâ Ahmad b. Abdullah, but according to others by a number of the leading scholars of the second or fourth century A. H.' *

In Miẓâ Muhammad Shirâzi's edition of the Tarjama-i-Ikhwân-us-Safâ, an abstract of the 51 tracts translated into Persian in the reign of Timoor, the following account, quoted from the *Riyâz-ul-Jinân* by Mulla Ashraf b. Abdul Wali Ismâili, is given:—The book was written by Syed Ahmad b. Abdullah b. Muhammad *al-Maktoom* b. Ismail †, son of the apostolical Imâm Jâafer-as-Sâdiq. On account of the persecutions to which the descendants of the Prophet were subjected, Syed Ahmad, whose son, Obaidullah *al-Mahdi* ‡, became the founder of the Fatimide Caliphate in Africa, lived in humble retirement. He passed his days disguised as a merchant sometimes in Kûfa, sometimes in Salmiyéh, and sometimes in *Surra-man-râa*. In the reign of the Angustan son of Haroon, when the study of Greek philosophy had engaged the attention of the learned, Syed Ahmad wrote the 51 treatises and sent them as an anonymous present to the Caliph, and the Caliph learnt from their perusal that the world was not free from 'the Philosophers of the House of Muhammad.' He wrote a *résumé* of the 51 tracts and called it (*الجامعة*) *al-Jâmi-éh*, or the *Compendium*, and another work of his he styled the *Jâmi-at-ul-Jâmi-éh* (*جامعة الجامع*), the *Compendium of the Compendium*.

The Rasâil-o-Ikhwân-us-Safâ, says Hajee Khalfa, in his Bibliographical Dictionary, were dictated by Abu Sulaimân Muhammad b. Nasr-al-Busti, better known as *al-Mokaddasi*, Abûl Hasan Ali b. Hâroon az-Zanjâni, Abu Ahmad an-Nahrejauri, al-Aufi, and Zaid b. Rifâ-ah. They were philosophers who met together and by their joint labour produced 51 tracts. §

'The author,' says Mr. T. T. Thomason, 'is not known

* *Rasâil o Ikhwân-us-Safâ*, p. 411.

الفقه الامام الهمام . . . مولانا احمد بن عبد الله رح و قيل الفقه جملة من صدر الصدور الاول في القرن الثاني وقيل في القرن الرابع بعد الهجرة .

† The 7th Imâm of the *Ismâiliâs*.

‡ Ibn Khaldoon and Makrizi mention two different names (Jâafer *al-Musaddak* and Muhammad *al-Habib*) for Syed Ahmad and Abdullah, in Obaidullâh's Genealogy.

§ رسائل اخوان الصفا املها ابو سليمان محمد بن نصر البستي المعروف بالمقدسي و ابو الحسن علي بن هارون الزنجاني و ابو احمد النهرجوري و العوفي و زيد بن رفاعه كلهم حكماء اجتمعوا و صنفوا احدي و خمسين رسالة .

Kashf us-Zunoon, vol. iii, (ed. Fluegel).

One great authority ascribes the work to Ibn Jaldi; another to a Society called the *Ikhwân-us-Safâ*, a title which is prefixed to no less than 51 pieces on different subjects of science and philosophy.*

From these conflicting accounts all that I can infer with tolerable certainty is that there was a 'Society of the Brothers of Purity,' and that these tracts are the results of their labours; and it is quite probable that Syed Ahmad b. Abdullah, to whom exclusively the authorship is attributed by not less than three authorities, was also a member of this Society and had a large share in the composition of these tracts.

Commenting on the encyclopædic character of the Arabian writers—the simultaneous cultivation of the whole field of investigation, which is reflected from Aristotle on the Arabian School—Professor Wallace says: "Towards the close of the tenth century the presentation of an entire scheme of knowledge, beginning with logic and mathematics, and ascending through the various departments of physical enquiry to the region of religious doctrine, was accomplished by a society which had its chief seat at Basra, the native town of al-Kendî. This society—the Brothers of Purity, or Sincerity—divided into four orders, wrought in the interests of religion, no less than of science; and though its attempt to compile an encyclopædia of existing knowledge may have been premature, it yet contributed to spread abroad a desire for further information. The proposed reconciliation between science and faith was not accomplished, because the compromise could please neither party. The fifty-one treatises of which this encyclopædia consists are interspersed with apologues in true Oriental style, and the idea of goodness, of moral perfection, is a prominent end in every discourse. The materials of the work come chiefly from Aristotle; but they are conceived in a platonising spirit, which places as the bond of all things a universal soul of the world with its partial or fragmentary souls." A fuller account of the 'Brothers of Purity' and of the scope of their encyclopædia, is given by the learned author of the *Spirit of Islam*, and I cannot do better than give it in his own words.

"It was at this epoch † of travail and sorrow for all lovers of truth that a small body of thinkers formed themselves into a Brotherhood to keep alive the lamp of knowledge among the Moslems, to introduce a more healthy tone among the people, to arrest the downward course of the Islamists towards ignorance and fanaticism; in fact, to save the social fabric from utter ruin. They called themselves

* Catalogue of Arabic Mss. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 69.

† The close of the tenth century.

the 'Brothers of Purity,' *Ikhwân-us-Safâ*. The society of the 'Pure Brethren' was established in Bussorah, which still held rank in the fast-dwindling Caliphate as the second city of the empire, the home of rationalism and intellectual activity. To this 'Brotherhood' none but men of unsullied character and the purest morals were admitted; the passport for admission into the select circle was devotion to the cause of knowledge and humanity. There was nothing exclusive or esoteric in their spirit; though, from the necessities of their situation, and working under a rigid theological and political despotism, their movements were enshrouded in some mystery. They met together quietly and unobtrusively in the residence of the head of the society, who bore the name of Zaid, the son of Rifâa, and discussed philosophical and ethical subjects with a catholicity of spirit and breadth of view that are difficult to rival even in modern times. They formed branches in every city of the Caliphate, wherever, in fact, they could find a body of thoughtful men, willing and qualified to work according to their scientific method.* This philanthropic-scientific movement was led by five men, who, with Zaid, were the life and soul of the 'Brotherhood.' Their system was eclectic in the highest and truest sense of the word. They contemned no field of thought; they 'culled flowers from every meadow.' In spite of mysticism, which slightly tinged their philosophical conceptions, their views on social and political problems were highly practical and intensely humane. As the result of their labours, they gave to the world a general *résumé* of the knowledge of the time in separate treatises, which were collectively known as the *Rasâil-o-Ikhwân-us-Safâ wa Khullân-ul-Wafâ*, "Tracts of the Brothers of Purity and Friends of Sincerity;" or shortly *Rasâil-o-Ikhwân-us-Safâ*. These *risâlat*s range over every subject of human study—mathematics, including astronomy, physical geography, music and mechanics; physics, including chemistry, meteorology and geology; biology, physiology, zoology, botany, logic, grammar, metaphysics, ethics, the doctrine of a future life, etc. They constituted, in fact, a popular encyclopædia of all the sciences and philosophy, then extant. The theory of these evolutionists of the tenth century as to the development of animal organism may be compared with advantage with that

* There might have been a branch of this Society in Spain, for says Hajee Khalifa: 'The *Rasâil-o-Ikhwân us Safâ* by Hakim al Majariti of Cordova, died 395 A. H. (inc., 18 Oct. 1004), is a different work on the model of the *Ikhwân-us-Safâ*.

رسائل اخوان الصفاء المحكيمة المخرطة القرطبي المتوفى سنة ٣٩٥ هـ

نسخة مغايرة على نمط اخوان الصفاء.—*Kashf uz-Zunoon*, (ed. Fluegel. Vol. iii.)

entertained in present times. But we are not concerned so much with the scientific and intellectual side of their writing as with the ethical and moral. The ethics of the "Pure Brethren" are founded on self-study and the purification of human thought from all impurities. Moral endowments are prized above all intellectual gifts, and the strength of soul founded upon patient self-discipline, and self-control is regarded as the highest of virtues. "Faith without works, knowing without doing, were vain." Patience and forbearance, mildness and loving gentleness, justice, mercy, and truth, the sublimity of virtue, the sacrifice of self for others, are taught in every line. Cant, hypocrisy and deceit, envy and pride, tyranny and falsehood, are reprobated in every page; and the whole is pervaded by a purity of sentiment, a fervent love of humanity, an earnest faith in the progress of man, a universal charity, embracing even the brute creation in its fold. What can be more beautiful, more truly humane, than the disputation between the 'Animals and Mankind?' Their ethics form the foundation of all later works. Their religious idea was identical with that of Fârâbi and Ibn Sinâ,—the universe was an emanation from God, but not directly; the Primal Absolute Cause created Reason, or the Active Intelligence; and from this proceeded the *Nafs-o-Nufûs*, the Abstract Soul, from which sprang primary matter, the protoplasm of all material entities; the active intelligence moulded this primary matter, and made it capable of taking shapes and forms, and set it in motion, whence were formed the spheres, planets, etc. Then morality is founded on this very conception of the Primal Absolute Cause being connected by an unbroken chain with the lowest of His creation; for the Abstract Soul individualised in humanity is always struggling to attain by purity of life, self-discipline, intellectual study, the goal of Perfection,—to get back to the source from which it emanated. This is *Madd* (مَعَاد); this is the 'Return' which the Prophet taught; this is the rest and peace inculcated in the Scripture. It was thus that the 'Pure Brethren' taught. Whatever we may think of their psychology, there is no denying that their morality was of the purest, their ethics of the highest, that can be conceived, standing on a different plane from those of the theologians who induced the bigot Mustanjid to burn their encyclopædia in Bagdad, before Bagdad itself was burnt by the Mongols."

THE THIRD* RISALAH ON THE BELIEFS OF THE 'BROTHERS OF PURITY' AND THE CREED OF THE GODLY.

In the name of God the Clement and the Merciful and on Him is our reliance.

Praise be to God and peace on his chosen servants who do not associate anyone with Him. Know, O Brother, may God strengthen thee and us with his spirit, that we have just finished the description of the path leading to God, and how to arrive at a knowledge of him, and this is the highest end. Now we intend to state in this tract the Beliefs of the "Brothers of Purity" and the Creed of the godly and to show that the soul exists after its separation from the body (which is interpreted as natural death) by way of satisfactory evidences (مقتنع) and not by way of conclusive proofs (برهان). So we say: In ancient times, it is said, a sage versed in medicine entered a city and found the inhabitants suffering from a secret, subtle internal disease. But the people were not aware of, and could not perceive, the existence of the disease in their constitution. The sage began to meditate as to how to make them see their disease and how to cure them of the malady which had continued in their system. He knew, too, that if he were to tell them of it, they would not listen to him, would not accept his admonitions; rather they would attribute it to hostility, would consider his judgment defective, his manners ill, his knowledge imperfect. So he betook himself to the following device on account of his excessive benevolence and philanthropy and his ardent desire to cure them, with a view to secure the pleasure of God. He laid hold of one of the leading men of the city afflicted with the disease and gave him a *sherbet* to drink and caused him to inhale a certain perfume. The man sneezed immediately and found a lightness in his body, comfort in his senses, health in his body and strength in his soul. He thanked the sage and wished God to give him a good recompense and said to him: 'Is there any service I might render you in return for the kindness you have done me?' He said: 'Yes; help me in curing a brother of thine.' He said: 'With all my heart—I hear and obey.' So they agreed upon this and went to another man whom they considered nearest to reform. They treated him with that medicine and he was instantly cured. When he recovered from his illness he thanked them and said: 'Can I be of any service to you?' They said, 'Yes; help us in curing a brother of thine.' So they agreed upon this and met another person and treated and cured him in the like manner, and he said to them on his recovery as the others had said and

* The 3rd *Risalah*, Vol. iv.

received a similar reply. So they went about the town, curing in secret one man after another, till they had cured quite a large number of people, and the number of their brothers, helpers and advocates also grew large. Then they appeared before the public and effected cures openly and forced the people to submit to their medical treatment. They used to throw the people on the ground, and a group of men kept them down by holding their hands and feet and another group caused them forcibly to drink the *sherbet* and inhale the perfume. This they continued to do till the whole town was cured of the disease.

CHAPTER I.

Know, O righteous and merciful brother, may God strengthen thee and us with his spirit, that this is the similitude of the prophets in the beginning of their call to the people—to make them remember what they forgot of a Hereafter (امر الآخرة) and of the 'Return' (معاد), to awaken them from the sleep of ignorance, and the slumber of forgetfulness, which are the diseases of the soul.

The Prophet at the commencement of his Mission began first with his wife, Khadijeh, then with his cousin, Ali, then with his friend, Abu Bakr, then with Mâlik, then Abu Zarr, then Suhayb, Bilâl, Salmân, Jâbir and Bishâr, etc., etc., till the number rose to 39, men and women. Then the Prophet prayed that God might honour Islam by (the addition of) one of the two men, either Abu Jahl or Omar b. Khattâb. His prayer was granted in respect of Omar and he entered the pale of Islam and they became forty in number and preached publicly, and the story is long and well-known as to how it succeeded.

So did Moses, when he entered Egypt, at the commencement of his Mission, and began secretly with his brother Aaron and with other learned men of the Israelites, children of Jacob, till they were ten in number. Then they came out and intended the summoning of the Pharaoh, and the story is long and well-known.

And so did Jesus in Jerusalem at the commencement of his ministry.

Know, O brother, that the departments of Science are two—Physical Science and the Science of Religion.* The prophets, their apostles and vice-gerents, are the physicians of the soul. This is the creed of our Honoured Brotherhood and towards this we call the rest of our brethren. So be, O virtuous and kind-hearted brother, a helper to thy brethren and an aid to them.

Know that many of the people believing in the life to come are in a state of perplexity and bewilderment. Neither do

* A reference to the saying of the Prophet :

العلم علمان علم الابدان و علم الاديان -

they comprehend its reality (حقيقت), nor know its path (طريقت), but sheepishly relate (the same thing), the successor from the predecessor, and the follower from the followed; and they are in this respect like a company of blind men walking, the hand of one placed on the shoulder of another and formed like a string of camels. If there were no leader possessed of sight, all of them would go astray. And I conjure thee, O brother, that thou be not one of the blind, but rather be the leader possessed of sight, the kind physician who cures the born-blind and the leper, and be not the ailing patient who stands in need of medical aid. And know that when the physicians are unanimous in their opinions as to the treatment of a patient and are agreed upon a certain medicine and have discovered the seat of the disease and help each other in his treatment, loving, counselling, and not wrangling with each other, God cures the patient through them in the shortest time and at their least effort. But if they differ and wrangle with and oppose each other, the patient is neglected and dies. God cures him not for them, nor do they profit by their knowledge.

So be thou, O brother, a help to thy brethren in harmony with, and advising each other, and God will benefit his servants through thee and will better their conditions; as God has promised: "Send an umpire out of his family and an arbiter out of her family: if they intend good and reconciliation, God will cause them to be unanimous.*" I have heard from traditions that the two arbiters of the Day of Siffin did not mean good and reconciliation; rather they deceived each other and concealed treachery. So they did not agree as regards peace according to the righteous way. And the Commander of the Faithful† returned dissatisfied with the umpires.

CHAPTER II.

Know, O virtuous and kind-hearted brother that we, the band of the pure brethren and noble and sincere friends, were asleep for a long time in the Cave ‡ of our father Adam, whirled by the revolution of time and the vicissitudes of fortune, till the appointed time was come after dispersion in the lands of the Kingdom of the Lord of the Great Law (صاحب الزاموس الأكبر) and we witnessed the Spiritual City raised aloft in the air, which we have mentioned in the second *risalah*. It is this city

* Koran, ch. iv.

† Ali, the fourth Caliph.

‡ An allusion to the story of the 'Seven Sleepers.' Seven Noble Youths of Ephesus, who, to avoid the persecution of the emperor Decius (by the Arab writers called دقيانوس, Dekianus), having fled to a certain cavern for refuge, were made to fall asleep, and in that state were miraculously kept for centuries. Koran, ch. xviii.

from which Father Adam, his wife and their children were expelled, when they were deceived by their accursed enemy, Iblis. He said: "Shall I guide thee to the Tree of Eternity and to the Kingdom which does not decay?" They were deceived by his speech and they were impelled by ardent desire and haste. So they hastened and sought that which was not theirs to take before the time was ripe. So they fell from their high position, their rank was lowered, their private parts were disclosed, and they were expelled, they and their descendants, enemies of each other, and it was said to them: "Get ye down and there shall be a dwelling place for you on earth and a provision for a season;*" 'in it ye shall live and in it ye shall die and from it ye shall be brought out †' on the day of resurrection; when ye shall wake from the sleep of ignorance, be roused from the slumber of forgetfulness, 'when the trumpet shall be blown and the graves yawn and yield their dead †' and when ye shall 'come out of the graves hastily as if towards an idol they are pouring.†'

Haste thou, O brother, may God strengthen thee and us with his spirit (a desire) to hasten and embark with us on board the Ark of Salvation built by our father Noah, and thou shalt escape the Deluge of Passions (الطبيعة) before the 'sky brings forth a manifest smoke,†' and shalt be saved from the waves of the Sea of Matter (بحر المادي), and thou shalt not be of the drowned; or hast thou, O brother, (a desire) to gaze with us till thou seest the Kingdom of Heaven which our father Abraham saw 'when the shadows of night had gathered round him,†' and till thou beest of the believers; hast thou, O brother, (a desire) to fulfil the covenant and come towards the appointed time from 'the right side†' (of the valley) where it was said 'O Moses' and thy work shall be done and thou shalt be of those who witness (the glory of the Lord); or hast thou, O brother, (a desire) to do what the people performed in order that it may breathe the spirit into thee and remove the reproach from thee till thou seest Jesus to the right of the Throne of God (who) had approached his seat as the son approaches the father, or till thou beest of the spectators round him. Or hast thou, O brother (a desire), to come out of the darkness of Ahriman § till thou seest Yazdân, irradiating a flood of light in the expanse of *afri-*

* Koran, ch. ii.

† Quotations from the Koran which may easily be traced to their respective contexts.

‡ Koran, ch. xxviii, cf. also ch. xx.

§ The principle of darkness and evil, according to the Zoroastrian system, opposed to Ormuzd (Yazdân), the principle of light and good, and creator of all things.

hoon (أفريجون) ;* or hast thou, O brother (a desire) to enter the altar of Adimoon† (هيكل عاديمون) till thou seest the spheres (أفلاك) described by Plato. Verily they are spiritual spheres, not those towards which the astronomers point—the knowledge (علم) of God encompasses all which Intellect (عقل) contains of comprehensibles (معقولات) ; and Intellect encompasses all which soul (نفس) contains of forms (صور), and soul encompasses all which Nature (طبيعة) contains of be-ents (كائنات) ; and Nature encompasses all which Matter (هيوولي) contains of the created (مهنوعات). Behold that the spiritual spheres encompass one another. Hast thou, O brother (a desire), not to sleep at the beginning of the Night of Power and excellence (ليلة القدر), till thou seest the Ascension (معراج), towards the dawn of morning, where is Ahmad, the messenger, in 'the honourable station ; ‡' then thou shalt ask thy object (which is as it were) already accomplished, and (which is) neither forbidden nor lost, and thou shalt be of those near (مقربين).

O righteous and kind-hearted brother, may God grant thee and all our brethren the grace of comprehending these hints and mysteries, and open thy heart, expand thy chest, purify thy soul and illumine thy understanding so that thou mayest witness with thy mental eye (بصيرت) the real nature of these mysteries. And do not be frightened at the death of the body when thou hast abandoned it, for in this (separation of the soul from the body) is the life of the soul ; and thou shalt be one of the friends of God who longed for death, not out

* I think أفريجون is a misprint for افريجيون which is the opposite of افريجيون, Greek ἀπόγειον, apogee or that point in the orbit of the sun, or of a planet, which is at the greatest distance from the earth—

الافريجيون هو الادج باليونانية والافريجيون هو الحضيض - الودج هو ارفع موضع من الفلك الخارج المركز اعني بعدة من الارض وهي كلمة فارسية وهي اوك وقيل اورة-الحضيض هو مقابل الودج و هو اخفض موضع في هذا الفلك واقربه من الارض - Lib Masā'ih Al-Ōlūm, (ed. Vloten), p 221. † يقال ان عاديمون وهرمس هما شيت وادريس عليهما السلام - ونقلت الفلاسفة عن عاديمون انه قال المبادي الأول خمسة-الباري تعالى والعقل والنفس والمكان والخلاء وبعدّها وجود المركبات ||

"It is said that 'Azimoon ('Adimoon) and Haimēs are (identical with) Seth and Idīs (on them be peace). The Philosophers relate from 'Azimoon that he said, "The first principles are five, God, Intelligence, Soul, Space, Vacuum and after these the existence of the compounds."

‡ Koran, ch. xvii. According to a tradition of Abu Horeira, 'the honourable station' here intended is that of intercessor for others (Beidhāwai). But according to the Sūfi-istic interpretation, it is 'the state ecstatic union with God.'—*Kashshāf-o-Isilāhāt-ul-Funoon*, p. 657.

of the notion that He is one of them (?). God says: 'O ye who Judaize, if ye claim to be the friends of God, exclusive of the rest of mankind, long ye for death if ye are truthful.'

And know, O brother, that he, who does not think that he shall be rewarded after the dissolution of the body and be recompensed for his love towards thee, shall not be sincere in his love and unselfish in his counsel. So be not deceived by those who, in helping thee, (pretend) not to have in view some reward—(positive) good to the body or averting an evil from it. And know that all mutual helpers in search of gain in which there is liability of the destruction of the body of some and the safety of others, (in such a case) every one desires his own safety and the destruction of the bodies of his companions, so that he may monopolise the gain and be the envied of others, while his companions would be the deceived and the perishing.

Know, O brother, that such are not the views of our 'Brotherhood,' neither is such their belief about the helping of each other in the search after religious and secular good (صلاح الدين و الدنيا). Rather it is quite the reverse. And their noble ethics and beautiful beliefs are best illustrated by what is related of a sage who was vizier of al-Khaishawân (الخيشتوان), King of the Hayâtelites.* When Firoze, King of the Persians, marched against him, and when the news reached al-Khaishawân, and he perceived that he was unable to make a stand against Firoze, he summoned all his courtiers and sought their counsel. Some advised him to fight, some to flee and some to have recourse to stratagem. And said one of those who had advised the king to have recourse to stratagem—and he was a sage: 'O king, I have a subtle and cunning device; if you adopt it and act according to it, you, your army and your subjects shall be saved, your country delivered and your enemy destroyed.' Said the king: 'Quick with your counsel and wisdom.' He said: 'Empty for me the council hall.' The king did so. Then said the sage: 'I am of opinion that you collect your treasures, and start for such a place, which is an impregnable position, and halt you and your troops there, and then pass to such a place; and cut off my hands and feet, put out my eyes and leave me in this place, and put on an appearance of being angry with me, and tell those around you and at the gate that you have discovered my treachery and evil design and this is the punishment thereof. Then march

* A Scythian or Indian race that was formerly powerful.

الهياغلة جيل من الناس كانت لهم شوكة وكانت لهم بلاد طخارستان

و اترك خلع و نجيعة من بقاياهم - *Kit. Masâlik-al olâm*, p. 119.

off when you perceive the King of the Persians approaching, and leave me where I am and wait till my plans are matured.' Said the king: 'By God, I never saw a man giving away, nor ever thought that a man would give away, what thou givest away—thy life.' Said the sage: 'Similar spirit of self-sacrifice had been evinced before me by a cunning but wise man.' The king said, 'Relate his story to me.' Said the sage: 'They relate that a company of divers went to an island to bring out pearls and a cunning deceitful man accompanied them to rob them of some of the pearls. When they obtained what they had desired and were returning, and the man was not successful in his intentions (of robbing them, and had nothing with him) except what they gave him of the smaller pearls in lieu of service rendered by him, they were attacked by a band of highwaymen. When the divers saw the robbers approaching they swallowed the precious pearls, fearing the losing thereof; but there was nothing with the cunning and deceitful man which he would fear the losing of; so he did not swallow anything. When the robbers took them prisoners, they searched their persons, but found nothing except the small pearls. They said: 'Where have you concealed the large pearls?' They said: 'These are all that we have.' Said the highwaymen: 'Rather ye have swallowed them, and we shall rip open your bellies.' They kept them prisoners that night and determined to rip open their bellies (in the morning). And the divers began to meditate all the night through, and the cunning man reflected within himself, and he was a wise man; so he took them aside and said to them: "I inform you that I did not accompany you but for such and such a purpose; I am not successful in getting what I desired and I know that every one of you has swallowed pearls except me, and if the belly of one is ripped open, and is found to contain pearls, all of us would certainly be killed. I think, therefore, that the correct view is that I ransom you all with my life; perchance you may be saved. I shall say to the robbers: 'If you are determined (and there is no escape) then rip open the belly of one of us, and if it is found to contain pearls, you are at liberty to do what you like with the rest; but, if you do not find anything, know that we are truthful. But leave us to draw lots amongst ourselves and do what you like with the person whose name is drawn.' If they agree to this proposal, I shall so devise that my name shall be drawn. And if my life is lost and you are saved, I request you to do good to my children and to treat them kindly and console them, when you escape (God willing), with what you have with you." So it was done with him and nothing was found in his belly and the men were saved.

"So, O King, I know that if our enemy is victorious, I shall doubtlessly perish, but I hope that if my stratagem succeeds, the king, his retinue, his subjects and those around him shall be saved and our enemy shall be destroyed, even though my body shall perish. Besides, I see that that young man was more generous than I am. For he was a youth longing for life, and I am an old man sick and tired of life ; besides I know that the king, when saved, will do good more to my progeny than the man could except of his companions ; and it will be one of the noble stories after me as in the case of that man ; besides, those whom I ransom with my life are more in number than those whom he ransomed."

At the approach of Firoze, King of the Persians, the King of the Hayâtelites ordered the hands and feet of the sage to be cut off, and, leaving him where he was, he marched off with his troops. When the companions of Firoze saw the sage in such a plight, they enquired of him, 'Who has done this to you?' He said : 'I am one of the ministers of the King of the Hayâtelites. When the king sought my counsel regarding fighting against Firoze, I advised him to sue for peace and pay the tribute. He disliked this and has done to me what you see.' This news was carried to Firoze, and the sage was sent for and interrogated, and he answered as above. Firoze believed what he said and told him that he was right in his advice. Said the sage : 'O king, let thy kindness reach me, carry me along with thee so that the beasts may not make a prey of me ; and I shall guide thee to a way shorter and more sequestered than the one you are wending.' The king accepted his offer, and he said : 'Take with you two days' provisions,' and traversed with them a distant desert. When they had travelled for two days their provisions were exhausted, and they said, 'How much is there left of the way?' He said, 'A little ; march a forced march.' So they travelled all the day long and when the morrow dawned, they asked him, 'How much is there remaining?' Said the sage, 'I do not know ; I traversed this path when I had my sight, and now you see my plight ; seek safety for yourself.' So they dispersed and most of them lost their lives, and Firoze escaped with only a handful of his chosen men and returned to his country. Then al-Khaishawân made peace with Firoze and returned to his country in safety, he and his retinue. And the children of the old man became the most honoured in the Kingdom and the richest ; and the noble story of his self-sacrifice continued to be narrated amongst his brethren, friends and contemporaries and handed down from generation to generation.

Similar to the above are the views of our brethren, the

accomplished and the generous, in regard to helping each other in aid of religion and search of livelihood, when they perceive that in the destruction of their bodies lies the good of society in religious and secular affairs. Their souls are ready to give their bodies to destruction, because they hope like the old sage and the wise young man, and they hope more—they think and believe that whosoever sacrifices his self, seeking the pleasure of God and the succour of religion and the good of society, his soul after separation from the body shall mount towards the Kingdom of Heaven (ملكوت السماء), shall enter the circle of the angels, shall live in the Holy Spirit (نحي بروح القدس), and shall travel in the space of the spheres, in the expanse of the heavens, with joy, happiness, delight, pleasure, bliss, honoured and envied. And in the Koran by 'unto him ascendeth the *good speech*, (الكلم الطيب) and righteous work exalteth it,* the soul of the faithful is meant. God says 'Thou shalt in no wise reckon those who have been slain in the path (cause) of God, dead; nay, they are sustained alive with their Lord, rejoicing for what God hath granted them of his bounties etc., etc.†

And every one knows that the *bodies* of those slain (at Ohod) decomposed and decayed and crumbled into dust; but the privilege of immortality (mentioned above) is meant for the *souls* which gave their bodies up to destruction for the sake of religion and the good of society.

When the prophet emigrated from Mecca to Medina he issued a proclamation to the faithful commanding them to migrate to him. Some of them hastened to emigrate, and some of them lagged behind pondering over the deterrent causes—the loss of little children, or old parents, or brothers, or friends, or agreeable wife, or beloved home, or accumulated wealth whose loss they feared, or trade whose decline they were afraid of. Then God revealed this verse to the Prophet, and the Prophet sent it to them—'Say, if thy parents, and thy sons, and thy brethren, and thy wives, and thy relations and thy wealth which ye have amassed, and *thy* trade whose decline ye are apprehensive of, and *thy* abodes wherein ye delight, be dearer unto you than God and his Messenger and fighting in his path; wait, till God sends his sentence, for God guideth not the ungodly.‡' When they read it they hastened to the Prophet, and only the weak and infirm were left behind, their exodus not being possible, owing to shortness of provisions and the distance of the journey. So they remained with their longing unsatisfied.

And the infidels of Mecca began to persecute them, abusing,

* Koran, ch. 35.

† Koran, ch. 3.

‡ Koran, ch. 9.

imprisoning, beating and killing them. So they complained to God and prayed for speedy relief, and they wrote to the Prophet informing him of the persecution they met with at the hands of the infidels. So God revealed the following verse and permitted the Prophet to war against the infidels of Mecca in order to deliver them (the Moslems) from their hands :— ‘And what has come to you, that ye fight not in the path (the cause) of God, and for the weak among men, women, and children, who say, O Lord, bring us forth from this city the inhabitants whereof are tyrannical; grant us from before thee a protector, and grant us from before thee a defender.*’

So the Prophet marched out to fight the infidels of Mecca at Bedr.

When the two armies met each other and hastened to the fight, the *Ansârs* (Helpers) pressed forward, and the infidels called aloud, ‘Send to us our peers.’ And the Prophet said, ‘O Children of Hâshim, aiding your Prophet has already become incumbent on you.’ So Hamza, his uncle, Ali, and Abu Obaida came forward and fought in single combat. And the fight became general and raged round the infidels. There were with the Prophet about 70 men of the *Mohâjirîns* (Emigrants) and there was hardly any one who had not in the ranks of the infidels either a son, or a father, or a brother, or a friend, or a relation; but they did not reply to them (their war-cry) and fought with them unmindful of their death or of their own. For they knew that in it lay the advancement of religion, the good of their brethren the faithful, and obedience to the Prophet and the pleasure of God.

In the same way at Ohod, when the fight grew hot, and the faithful were defeated, and the Prophet was left with a handful of men, he said, ‘Who helps me this day and ransoms me with his life, for him is Paradise.’ Hereupon three men of the *Ansârs* came forward and stood in front of the infidel archers and protected the Prophet with the shield of their bodies, till all of them died the death of martyrs. They sacrificed themselves because they knew that in his existence consisted the advancement of religion and the good of society; and that the Prophet did not ask them to ransom him out of fear of death or out of longing for the present life, but because the religion was yet in its infancy and the Law was not yet perfect. When the verse, ‘This day we have perfected thee thy religion, and exhausted for thee our bounties,’ and the verse, ‘When the assistance of God comes and victory, etc.,’† were revealed, the Prophet said, ‘I am announced the news of my death.’ They said, ‘O Messenger of God, would that thou ask God to let

* Koran, ch. 4.
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† Koran, ch. 110.

thee live in the midst of thy disciples till doomsday that they might be edified by thy society.' Said the Prophet, 'To God do we belong and to Him shall we return; God has denied his friends eternity in this world.' Then he said, 'How I long for the companionship of my brethren, the prophets.'

After this he did not live long, but died and passed unto the Lord.

CHAPTER III.

Know that the prophets, their followers and successors and those who hold similar opinions, *viz.*, the sages and philosophers think lightly of bodily affairs when the soul is in an exalted state; for they regard the Body as the Prison of the Soul, or a Veil, or a Path, or Purgatory (برزخ)* or Limbo (اعراف)† and we have explained these terms in our previous tracts. The soul is apprehensive of, and loves the body so long as it is not in a state of exaltation, but when it is excited, its separation from the body becomes easy. And the burning of their dead by the Brahmans, and they are Indian philosophers, supports our assertion. I do not mean those who do that ignorantly (without understanding its deep significance), but I mean their thoughtful, deep-sighted philosophers. They believe that the body is to the individual soul (النفس الجزوية) what the egg is to the young of fowls, or the membrane which wraps the foetus to the embryo; and that nature is its nurse and takes care of it so long as its formation is not developed and its shape is not perfected. But when the formation is completed and the form perfect, it thinks lightly of it, and does not mind if the egg breaks or the membrane is torn when the chicken or child is safe. Such is the relation of the soul to the body. It is anxious for the body, protects it and loves it so long as it does not know that it has an existence separate from the body and that that existence is better, more lasting, more delightful and more beautiful than this present existence wedded to the body.

When the individual soul has attained its full development, when its form is complete and its knowledge perfect, when the soul awakes from its slumber and is aroused from the sleep of forgetfulness, when it perceives that it is an exile in this physical world (العالم الجسماني), that it is in the bondage of

* The boundary between Paradise and Hell: by some supposed to resemble a veil; by others a thick wall. It is in general considered as the Muhammadan Purgatory. The Arabs seem generally to express by it what the Greeks did by the word Hades—the interval or space between this world and the next, etc., etc. For the various meanings of *al-barzakh*, *vide* Koran (Sale's trans.), chs. 23 and 25.

† Koran, ch. 5. *Vide* Sale's Prelim. Disc. Sect. iv.

Nature, in the Sea of Matter (بحر المادي), bewildered in the depths of corporealities, enslaved to the service of the flesh, deceived by the meretricious glow of the perceptibles (محموسات), when the reality of its substance (ذات) becomes manifest, when it comes to know the superiority of its essence, when it surveys its universe, when it contemplates that spiritual *form* separated from *matter*, and witnesses those hues and tints and intellectual delights (الملاذء العقلية), when it beholds those splendours, glories and lights, those blisses and delights, those graces and blessings (روح وريحان), (then) easy becomes to it the leaving of the body and it agrees to its destruction for the pleasure of God and the aid of the faith and the good of society.

The prophets also believed in the immortality of the soul and its good condition after the destruction of the body, as did Moses and Jesus and other prophets.

Said Moses to his disciples and brethren, 'O my people, verily ye have injured your own souls, by your taking the calf *for your God*; therefore be turned unto your Creator, and slay your own selves; this is better for you in the sight of your Creator; '* i.e., slay your *bodies* with the sword, for the sword does not affect the essence of the soul. The people had created dissensions by the worship of the calf during the absence of Moses to the mountain, but when he returned and it became clear to them that they had strayed, they repented and asked for forgiveness. When Moses perceived that those who had been free from (the guilt of) worshipping the calf were those who stood fast by his traditions, and those who had worshipped the calf were those who held the traditions of the (Time of Ignorance) previous to his mission, he thought that, if they were allowed to outlive him, he would not be secure of innovations in his religion, traditions and Law. Therefore he thought that the correct decision was to banish them from the quarters of the Children of Israel, and God also permitted him to do so, for there was good in it for the majority, and public benefit. Moses said unto them, 'If you wish God to pardon you, make requitals to those you have oppressed; write out your testaments, put on shrouds, go out to the place of prayer and call unto the Lord to have compassion on you and pardon you or to pass his sentence on you.' They did so willingly and unwillingly—willingly did they who knew that good was there for his soul in the destruction of the body; and unwillingly did they who were blind (deaf?) to those (good) tidings. Then Moses commanded those who had

abstained from worshipping the calf to draw their swords and strike off the heads of the calf-worshippers and ordered no one to have pity on any of them or to be moved with compassion.* They did what they were commanded to do and were patient ; for they knew that in this obedience was the life of their souls. And there was no one but had amongst the slain a brother, or a son, or a relative, or a friend ; but this did not prevent them from executing the sentence, since they knew that in the destruction of their bodies was the good of their souls, the aid of the faith, good of the rest of their brethren, obedience to Moses and the pleasure of God.

CHAPTER IV. (*The gist of ch. IV.*)

That the prophets believed in the immortality of the soul and in its blessed state after separation from the body, is evident from the action of Jesus † and his advice to his disciples (حواريين) who endured manifold sufferings for the spread of their faith and suffered martyrdom for the sake of truth. And the actions of the monks, hermits, anchorites and ascetics who deny themselves all sorts of earthly enjoyments, prove that they firmly believe in a future and a better life.

CHAPTER V.

Abraham and Joseph also believed in the immortality of the soul, as is evident from their prayer to God to grant them 'companionship with the good' after death.

CHAPTER VI.

The People of the House (اهل البيت, the members of the Prophet's family), also believed in the immortality of the soul, as is evident from the fact of their giving their bodies up to destruction in the field of Kerbela, where they suffered martyrdom for the sake of truth. They patiently endured without a murmur all the pangs of intense heat and thirst, sword-cuts and lance-thrusts, till life was extinct and the soul abandoned the 'tenement of clay.'

CHAPTER VII.

The sages and the philosophers also believed in the immortality of the soul.

Socrates willingly suffered death for the sake of truth and cheerfully drank the cup of hemlock. It is plain, from what he told his friends, pupils and disciples at the time of his death, that he was a staunch believer in the immortality of the soul.

* See Exod. xxxii, 24. Moses ordered the Levites to slay *every man his brother ; and there fell of the people that day about 3,000 men.*

† It is noteworthy that in his account of Christ's crucifixion the author follows the Christian scriptures and not the Koran, according to which 'they slew him not, neither crucified him, but he was represented by one in his likeness ; . . . they did not really kill him ; but God took him up unto himself.' See Koran, ch. iv.

CHAPTER VIII.

Plato said, 'If there were not a Hereafter where we expect good, the world would have been an opportunity for the wicked,' He said also, 'We are here in exile, in the bondage of Nature, in the neighbourhood of the devils; the sin of our father Adam has driven us out of our home.'

From what he wrote in his treatise '*The Apple*' (التفاحة), his speech at the time of his death and his lecture on the superiority of the study of philosophy, it is clear that Aristotle, the founder of the science of Logic, was a believer in the immortality of the soul.

From his '*Golden Treatise*' (الرسالة الذهبية), his parting advice to Diogenes and his other writings, it is evident that Pythagoras of the science of Numbers, (صاحب العدد) was also a firm believer in the immortality of the soul.

CHAPTER IX.

Another proof of the immortality of the soul can be obtained if a thoughtful man carefully analyses the grief of people over their dead. If they weep for the person of the dead they have no reason to weep, for the body is before them apparently unchanged, and they may embalm it, if they like, to prevent it from decay for a long time. If it is said that the grief is due to the absence of motion, action, etc., which used to proceed from the body, it may be asked, why do not they weep when the patient sleeps? For then all signs of life are absent except pulse and breathing. Do not you see, O Brother, that all these, love, affection and friendship are for the pure soul and the precious essence; and all the weepings and wailings are for the loss of the soul which manifested itself through the body by those motions, actions, speeches, etc., etc.

The frequenting the shrines of saints, prophets and holy men in fulfilment of vows, in search of pardon, intercession, grant of prayer, etc., also show that those people who do so tacitly believe in the immortality of the soul.

CHAPTER X.

There was a city on a mountain-top in an island whose soil was rich and fertile, whose climate was pleasant and agreeable, whose water was sweet and whose air salubrious. It had plenty of trees with abundance of delicious fruits. And its inhabitants were cousins and brothers descended from one man. Their life was the sweetest of lives, (passed) in love, friendship and affection, free from hatred, malice, enmity and envy.

It happened that a band of the citizens of this Blessed Isle put to sea and were wrecked and the waves cast them on another island full of rocky, rugged, uneven mountains, lofty trees, deep springs, foul water and dark caverns. It

was inhabited by wild beasts, mostly by apes. And in an adjacent island there was a large gigantic bird which used to fly past this island every day and every night and to carry off a number of the monkeys. These shipwrecked persons scattered themselves over the island in search of food. They ate of the fruits, drank the water of the springs, clothed themselves with the leaves of the trees and took shelter from the heat and cold in the caverns. They soon became familiar with the monkeys, as of all the animals they are the nearest to man in appearance. As time went on they made the island their home and took refuge in the mountains and found their condition pleasant and forgot their original home and its pleasures and blessings. And they built houses with stones, took possession of lands, and hankered after gathering as much of the fruits as each could. Hatred and malice were generated, they began to envy each other, and thus dissensions broke out amongst them.

Then one of them saw in a dream as if he had returned to the Island, and the inhabitants, when they heard of it, rejoiced at his return and his relatives and people came out of the city to welcome him. As he was changed in appearance on account of his long exile, they bathed him in a neighbouring well, had his nails pared and hair cropped. They clothed him in the best of dress, perfumed him and arranged his toilette and then took him on horseback to the city. The people rejoiced at his return exceedingly and congratulated him and began to interrogate him about his companions. They convened a meeting and made him occupy the most prominent place and the people sat round him wondering at his unexpected return ; and he was beyond himself with joy and grateful to God for delivering him from the strange banishment. When he awoke, and found himself still surrounded by monkeys, his heart became contracted, and he became grieved, sad, dejected and thoughtful, and began to long for return.

He related his dream to a brother of his, and it awakened in him the memories of his home, wife, children, friends and relatives, and they began to devise means for returning. They hit upon the plan of building a boat by their joint exertions wherewith to escape from the island, and they made a solemn vow of working indefatigably without respite till their object was accomplished. Then they thought that the greater the number of the workers, the sooner would their object be attained. Therefore, they began to revive in others the memories of their home and to persuade them to return, till a large number of men resolved to build a ship ; and they bestirred themselves with felling trees and sawing planks.

When they were thus engaged, behold, the bird which used to prey upon the apes, pounced upon a man and flew off with him. But, while on the wing, it perceived that he was not an ape on which it was accustomed to make a meal, so it dropped him. The man found himself on the roof of a house which, on inspection, he discovered to be his own, and he found himself amongst his own people. And the man rejoiced exceedingly at his good fortune and earnestly wished that the bird might every day snatch away one of his companions and drop him down as it did with him. But his companions, when they saw the bird fly off with him, were sad and grieved ; they wept and wailed at his fate. But, had they been aware of his good fortune, they would have wished the bird to pounce upon them as he had wished.

Similar to this ought to be the belief of the 'Brothers of Purity' regarding those who die before them. For the Barren Island is the world ; Apes are the men inhabiting it ; those shipwrecked citizens are the saints and holy men ; and the Blessed Isle they sailed from, the Next World—their original Home ; and the gigantic Bird, Death.

POSTSCRIPT.

I.

The following passages from the 47th * Epistle or Tract of the 'Brothers of Purity' clearly show that the author of the *Rasdyil* was, if not Ahmad b. Abdullah, a Shiah or a follower of Ali :

Leaf, 626†.

اعلم يا اخي بان شيعتنا و اخواننا الخ -

Know, O brother, that our *Shi'ahs* (followers, adherents) and brethren, etc.,

Leaf 642.

اعلم يا اخي باننا قد عملنا احدي وخمسين رسالة ... لكيما اذا نظروها
اخواننا و سمع قراتها اهل شيعتنا و فهموا بعض معانيها عرفوا حقيقة ما هم مقررون
به من تفضيل اهل بيت النبي الخ -

Know, O brother, that we have composed 51 tracts so that when our brothers peruse them and our *Shi'ahs* hear them read and understand some of its meanings they may perceive the rightness of what they profess, which consists in *regarding the members of the prophet's family superior*, etc,

Leaf 646.

و مما يجمعنا و اياك ايها الاخ محبة نبينا و اهل بيته الطاهرين و ولاية
امير المؤمنين على عليه السلام خير الوصيين -

And (one), of (the distinguishing traits), which we possess and thou, O brother, (is) the love of our Prophet and of the holy and pure members of his family and the *affection* ('*vildyet*)† of the Commander of the Faithful, Ali (on him peace) the best of the executors.

ابو سليمان محمد بن مشعر النسبي و يعرف بالمقدسي و ابو الحسن بن زهرون
الوبحاني و ابو احمد النهرجوري و العوفي و زيد بن رفاعه كلهم حكماء اجتمعوا
و صنفوا رسائل اخوان الصفاء و الفاظ هذا الكتاب للمقدسي ،

" Abu Solaimán M'd. b. Mosh'ar an-Nasabi, known as al-

* Or the 7th of the (الناموسية الالهية) metap̄isical tracts

الرسالة السابعة من القسم الرابع في كيفية الدعوة الى الله عزوجل -

† Ms. in the possession of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, Old No. 104.

‡ Perhaps a *double entente*.

Moqaddasi, Abu'l Hasan b. Zahroon ar-Raihani, Abu Ahmad an-Nahrajauri, al-Aufi and Zaid b. Rifaa are the philosophers who composed jointly the *Rasayil Ikhwan-us-Safa*, and the words (language) of this book are al-Moqaddasi's."

Compare the above extract from the *Tarikh-ul-Hokam* of Shahrzuri with that quoted from the *Kashf-uz-Zunoon*. Shahrzuri does not mention the date, but his work is arranged in chronological order and this passage occurs after the life of Farabi (d. 319 H.). And the *Rasayil Ikhwan-us-Safa* is said to have been imported into Spain by al-Majariti (d. 395 H.) or al-Karmani (d. 458 H.). These two dates (319 H. and 395 H.) therefore, form the two termini of the period during which the tracts were compiled, and it is pretty evident that the author or authors flourished about the beginning or middle of the 4th century, Hijrah.

In a preceding note I have stated that there might have been a branch of the society of the 'Brothers of Purity,' in Spain. We find the following passage in the *Nash-ut-Tib* which throws more light on the subject:—

وَمِنْهُمْ أَبُو الْحَكَمِ عَمْرُ الْكُرْمَانِي مِنْ أَهْلِ قَرْطَبَةِ مِنَ الرَّاسِخِينَ فِي عِلْمِ الْعَدَدِ
وَالْهِنْدَسَةِ وَدَخَلَ الْمَشْرِقَ وَاشْتَغَلَ بِحِرِّانَ وَهُوَ أَوَّلُ مَنْ دَخَلَ بِرِسَائِلِ إِخْوَانِ الصِّفَاءِ
إِلَى إِبْنِ أُنْدَلُسٍ * .

"And of the (number is) Abu-l-Hakam 'Omar al-Karmani, an inhabitant of Cordova, (who) acquired great celebrity in arithmetic and geometry. He travelled to the east and was engaged (in study) at Harran. He is the first to introduce into Andalusia the epistles of the Ikhwan-us-Safa."

Commenting on the above extract, M. Pascual de Gayangos says:—"اصحاب الصفاء or اخوان الصفاء or ارباب الصفاء as they are called elsewhere, are supposed to be the authors of various treatises upon moral and political subjects, forming together a sort of Cyclopædia. See Pococke, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, p. 369, *ed. nov.*; De Sacy, *Not. et Ext.* vol. IX., p. 407; D'Herb. Bib. Or. voc. *Ekhwan*."

I believe the author to be wrong in his statement that this individual was the first who introduced into Spain the collection of philosophical treatises known by the title of *Rasayil arbabi-s-safa*. Kheyr Ibn Khalifah, in his Bibliographical Index (Ar. Ms. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1667), states that Abú-l-Kásim Moslemah Ibn Ahmed Al-majariti was the first who brought them to Spain from the east, and this fact is further

* Al-Makkari, (ed. Dozy, Dugat, Krehl, et Wright) Tome II., p. 255.

كَلَامُ نَفِيعِ الطَّيْبِ . مِنْ غَضَنِ الْإِنْدَلُسِ الرَّطِيبِ - الْمَجْلَدُ الثَّانِي - مَعْمَد ٢٥٥ -

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strengthened by the circumstance that the copies of this work preserved in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon, (see Nicoll's cat., p. 189) and in the Escorial (No. 923) are all attributed to Al-majaritī, although they are the production of well-known eastern authors. (See Hájí Khalfah. voc. *Rasayil*.)*

But see the quotation from Hájí Khalfah, cited by me in a previous note, where there is no mention of al-Majaritī's having introduced the *Rasayil* into Spain, although he must be supposed to have known the work before he himself could write his *Ikhwān-us-Safā* on its model.

Al-Makkari's assertion is corroborated by Ibn Abi Osaybi'ah

(الكرماني) هو ابو الحكم عمر... الكرماني من اهل قرطبة ورحل الى ديار المشرق ثم رحع الى الاندلس واستوطن مدينة سرقسطه .. وجلب معه الرسائل المعروفة برسائل اخوان الصفاء ولا نعلم احداً ادخلها الاندلس قبله -

(Al-Karmani). He is Abū-l-Hakam 'Omar-al-Karmani, an inhabitant of Cordova. He travelled to the east, and, on his return to Andalus, settled at Saragossa. He brought with him the epistles known as the '*Epistles of the Brothers of Purity*,' and we know no one to have imported it to Spain before him.†

It is strange that M. Pascual de Gayangos, who gives particulars of al-Karmāni's life from Ibn Abi Osaybi'ah,‡ seems not to have noticed this passage.

Al-Karmāni died in 458 H. at the advanced age of ninety§, and even if al-Majaritī died in 395 H., he might have composed his work on the model of the *Ikhwān-us-Safā* which al-Karmani had brought from the east. For al Karmāni was still young when he left Andalus for the east.

II.

'*Azīmoon* is the corruption of the Greek *Agatho démon*. *Agatho démon* or the 'good genius' was an Egyptian god.' According to general belief, this denomination is the approximative translation of *Knef*, or 'the good principle.' According to some authors *Agatho-demon* was the Egyptian *Chetnuph*; and to him are attributed a number of works, a list of which is given by Fabricius in his '*Bibliotheca Græca*'—*Dabistān* (Shea and Troyer's trans.), vol. III., p. 105, n. 1.

* *Hist. of the Muhammadan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. 1., p. 129.

† *Oyūn ul-Anbā*, vol. ii., p. 40. (Egypt. ed., 1886.)

ابن ابى أصيبعة - الجزء الثاني صفحة ٤٠ -

‡ *Hist. Mdn. Dyn.*, vol. i. p. 429, Note 45.

§ Seventy according to de Gayangos' Ms.

Till the appointed time was come ; then we awoke when the cycle of sleep* was over, so we assembled for the appointed time after dispersion, etc., Great Law.'

To purify thyself from the impurities of the body so that he may breathe the spirit into thee and take off the reproach from thee till thou seest Jesus.'

افريجون *Afrijoon*.

cf. Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting
 The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
 Hath had elsewhere its setting,
 And cometh from afar :— Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intima-
 tions of Immortality*.

ART. XII.—LONDON.

Omnia Romæ cum pretio.

Though Smith's departure gives one cause to grieve—
One scarce can say that he was wrong to leave,
To cross the Channel in a cranky bark
And give one more inhabitant to Sark :
Tobacco there is cheap, the scenery grand,
And life at least as safe as in the Strand :
Storms may be rough, solitude hard to bear,
But Tax-collectors will not vex you there.

* * * *

I went to see him off at Waterloo—
Where five-and-twenty shillings booked him through—
(Himself and baggage to the station got
An average four-wheeler held the lot)
And as we waited for the tardy train,
We took our glass of bitter at the bar,
Drinking to 'when we next may meet again,'
While passengers came straggling from afar.

* * * *

'In all this town,' said Smith, I find no scope
For honest work ; no elbow-room, nor hope ;
I cannot carry on here, day by day
I see my small resources melt away :
So, before health and strength be also sped,
And every shilling's ghost one has to spend
Appear as a white hair upon one's head,
I think it best toward yonder Isles to wend
Where Hugo sang his land's lost liberties
And Gilliat toiling in the angry seas.

* * * *

Let magnates and adventurers remain,
 Brewers, and collier-peers, and Rogues-in-grain,
 The journalists who, as they are bidden, write,
 Prove—— a patriot and black, white ;
 Contractors with false books and falser bills,
 And patentees of universal pills ;
 Or country lawyers, borough-mayors at most,
 By hook or crook advanced—and crook for choice—
 They cook their country's goose, they rule the roast,
 And shape our fortunes with imperious voice.

* * * *

' I cannot lie, and would not if I could ;
 I was not born to live by rolling logs ;
 If a book's bad, I will not call it good,
 Prove *Genesis* by galvanising frogs,
 Coin paragraphs about My Lady This,
 Tell how Lord that is hastening to the dogs,
 Or set the world agog about a kiss ;
 I can't afford to speculate or bet,
 Give tips for Ascot or consult Planchette.'

* * * *
 * * * *

" Nothing from nothing " is a law of Fate,
 Yet keys of brass unlock the golden gate ;
 What prospers, not to beat about the bush,
 Is euphemistically known as " push ;"
 And push is hard in London, where the cost
 Of ~~simple~~ ^{simple} living is too often lost,
 When School-board-cess and Country-rates have reft
 The savings which the Income-Tax had left.

* * *

' Think of your lodgings and your scanty table,
 I'll wager that with care you'd well be able
 To find a home in Cornwall, Essex, Kent.
 —Taxes and all—for half your London rent :
 And then your clothes ! Your knickerbockers there
 Would never make your country-neighbours stare,
 Nor need you, when you ask a friend to dine,
 Pretend to keep a cellar-full of wine,
 Give cookshop delicacies served on plate,
 Or hire a greengrocer in black to wait ;
 Your maid on earthenware would bring the chops
 And a bright pewter hold the malt and hops :
 Abroad, your wife no costly head-dress rears,
 A hat of modest height adorns her ears,
 No humming-birds upon the summit perch,
 Nor does she mind ; no better decked appears
 The Vicar's lady in her place at Church.

* * * *

' Better to live at Stagnum-in-the-Mere,
 Where your house costs you forty pounds a year :
 Above, the sheltering cliffs frame out the sky
 With fir-trees, tossing plummy crests on high,
 While at your feet, in undulating reach,
 The changeful sea makes music on the beach :
 There you may sleep a sleep that was not known
 Where care and sickness claimed you for their own,
 And softly smile, lapped in your fragrant sheets,
 At all the distant tumult of the streets. '

* * *

' Here, you're not quit for cost of house and dress,
 And endless sleep comes after sleeplessness,

Justly the town-pedestrian learns to fear
 The Hansom-cabman's violent career,
 Vainly his wife has trimmed the smouldering log
 Where sings the kettle for his nightcap-grog ;
 Bloody and crushed, he thinks no more of her,
 But in the dead-house waits the Coroner."

* * * *

' You think, no doubt that I have prosed enough,
 Yet nothing has been said about the rough
 Who takes your watch in Fleet-Street. It is true,
 An equal danger is the rough in blue—
 " Move on, my man ! You're drunk." You argue ? quick
 Appears the officer's crown-headed stick ;
 You face the Magistrate in Court next day,
 And, fined or cautioned, take your weary way,
 Sighing for days of Sheridan and Fox,
 When harmless Charley slumbered in his box.

* * *

' The poor indeed escape what irks the rich,
 And Mayfair lives no merrier than Shoreditch ;
 Yet who can reason where experience fails.
 Or weigh unknown extremes in equal scales ?
 We mourn the fields deserted, and the streets
 That tempt retainers from the country-seats,
 Driven to the town, but often wandering thence
 To seek in suburb-slums a squalid home—
 Evicted victims of benevolence
 That holds its nose and forces them to roam,
~~Because~~ some hot reformer bids us fell
 The rookeries where the crowded toilers dwell :
 And yet they neither murmur nor dispute,
 For pride—or something better—keeps them mute,

While Christian priests and speculative Jews
 Applaud their patience in the ————— .

*

*

*

‘ Distinguished by the daily use of Tubs
 “ The classes ” leave their comfortable clubs,
 Some to slay deer upon the Highland-moors,
 And some to Africa, to shoot the Boers,
 (A sort of deer, these last, who shoot again
 Till those who went to slay, themselves are slain
 Our ancestors, in mediæval fight,
 Used archery to make their foemen run :
 The Boers, more dangerous by far, unite
 The Longbow to the latest type of gun).

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*

*

‘ The wise depart, the ignorant and base
 Remain, who will not, cannot, leave the place
 Till “ wealth accumulates and men decay ”
 And London grows more hateful, day by day.

‘ More reasons might be given did time allow,
 But not another word I’ll utter now ;
 For the train trembles, and I see the guard
 Raising his arm ; be sure to post a card ;
 Good-night ! Farewell ! be warned in time and go
 By next excursion-train to Westward Ho !’

THE QUARTER.

THE past three months have witnessed a transfer of the centre of political interest from South Africa to China, where events have assumed an even more serious complexion than was anticipated when we closed our last retrospect.. We shall not attempt to follow in detail the occurrences which have led to Peking being occupied, and the precincts of the forbidden city entered, for the second time by an army of outer Barbarians—one of much more heterogeneous composition on this occasion, it may be added, than on the last. The list of nationalities co-operating in the invasion reminds one of nothing so much as the catalogues given in the inscriptions of those peoples of the Isles and shores of the Mediterranean who, three thousand years ago and more, were wont from time to time to descend upon the Egypt of the Pharaohs.

The course of events—the murders of the Japanese Chancellor and the German Minister, the latter by troops of the Dowager Empress' body-guard, when on the way to a conference at the Tsung-li-Yamen; the investment and bombardment of the foreign settlement at Tientsin by a Chinese army under the personal command of Prince Tuan; the prolonged attack by Boxers and Imperial troops on the legations at Peking; the substitution of anti-foreign for friendly Mandarins in the Tsung-li-Yamen—amply confirm the suspicion entertained from the first that the anti-foreign movement was fomented by the Dowager Empress and her party. The great age of that lady, however, makes it less probable that she should have planned the movement, than that she should have allowed herself—willingly or reluctantly—to be made the tool of some younger and more impetuous spirit. We are disposed, in short, to see, in the Empress Regent only the figure-head, and in Prince Tuan the mainspring of the movement. In its development party and personal motives, of the precise nature of which, however, outsiders have no means of forming an accurate conception, have doubtless, as in most similar cases, played an important part. At the same time it seems to be beyond reasonable doubt that the movement possesses a national character and represents a last despairing effort of the conservative party to roll back the tide of foreign influence which threatens to engulf the old order in China. The series of acts of aggression on the

part of the Powers that followed the close of the Japanese war, notably the seizure by Germany of Kiao-Khao, and, as much as anything else probably, the construction of a Russian railway through the heart of Manchuria, had created a widespread and not unnatural conviction that a determined effort to save the ancient civilisation, if not the independence, of the Empire must be made at once or never.

The Chinese not improbably believed that the mutual jealousies of the Powers would prevent their co-operation; and, had they acted with more politic discrimination, this might have been the case. The cue of Russia has long been to champion Chinese independence and stiffen the backs of the Court party against the other Powers; and there is some reason to think that, had the leaders of the movement, or their instruments, adopted less violent tactics, and at the same time made it clear that Russia was not included among the objects of their hostility she would have adhered to this policy on the present occasion. But either they had not the astuteness to do this, or they were unable to control the forces they had called into action, and Russia found herself compelled in self-defence to make common cause with the allies.

Her attitude throughout, however, has been of a more or less ambiguous and embarrassing character. But for the obstacle placed by her in the way of such an arrangement, there is every probability that the relief of Tientsin and the legations at Pekin would have been greatly expedited by the despatch of an overwhelming Japanese army to the scene of action at an early stage of the disturbances. Though she disavowed all desire to limit the extent to which Japanese aid would be welcome, there is every reason to believe that she refused to consent to the only condition on which, reasonably enough, the Japanese were willing to take on their shoulders the principal part of the burden of bringing China to reason; and eventually, though they bore a conspicuous and gallant part in the operations of the allies, the advance on Pekin was so long delayed that it was through little less than a miracle that it was not too late to save the legations, while a large number of lives that might have been saved were sacrificed. No sooner, again, had the legations been rescued, than Russia hastened to emphasise the provisional nature of her co-operation by withdrawing her forces to Tientsin and urging the adoption of a similar course on the other Powers, her only conceivable object in thus detaching herself being to place herself in an advantageous position for making her own terms with China. At the time of writing, it is uncertain whether the Powers will adopt a course which would leave her practically mistress of the situation and be highly damaging to their prestige.

In the meanwhile, though a Commission has been appointed by the Dowager Empress to negotiate terms of peace, its composition is of a kind which shows her hostility to be unabated, and the anti-foreign movement, in spite of the check it has received in the Province of Pechili, continues to spread elsewhere.

The principal events of the war have been the bombardment and destruction of the Taku forts by the allied fleets—British, French, German, Russian and Japanese—on the 17th June, the operation being attended with little loss on the side of the allies, who ultimately stormed the forts; the relief of Tientsin, after several days severe fighting, on the 23rd July; and the capture of the native city three weeks later; the defeat of the Chinese at Peitsang; Yangtsun; Hosi-Wu, and Hsi-ku, and the capture of Peking by the British, Japanese, Russians and Americans on the afternoon of the 14th August, after a day's bombardment, the Empress Dowager and Prince Tuan having previously made good their escape to Hsian-fu. The British force engaged consisted mainly of Indian troops under the command of General Gaselee. The opposition encountered by them was slight; but the Japanese, who met with an obstinate resistance, suffered heavily. Up-to-date two brigades of Indian troops have landed in China; a third is on its way there, and a fourth has been mobilised, the entire force, including followers, numbering about 30,000. The German Marshal Waldersee has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the allied forces by the common consent of the Powers concerned, and is now on his way to China.

The course of events in the Transvaal, though it does not entirely justify the declaration made by President Kruger, after the taking of Pretoria, that the war was just beginning, has been disappointingly slow and inconclusive. The forces on both sides are split up into a number of small commands the manœuvres and counter-manœuvres of which, as reported from day to day in the telegrams, constitute a puzzle beyond the power of the ordinary reader, or, indeed, of the military expert, to unravel. The protraction of the struggle is an inevitable result of the difficult nature of the country, combined with the fact that the Boer forces, though greatly inferior to their pursuers in point of numbers, are incomparably superior to them in the matters of mobility and knowledge of the ground. On the whole, the advantage has been decidedly on the side of the British, though they have suffered several more or less serious reverses, and there is every indication that the end is now only a matter of weeks. Large numbers of the burghers and several of their commanders, including Prinsloo and Olivier, have surrendered; but De Wet, Botha

and Delarey are still at large, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of half a score of Generals to surround and capture them. The most important events of the past few weeks have been the occupation of Belfast, after the key of the enemy's position had been carried by Buller, and subsequently of Machadorp. The main army of the Boers, under General Botha, is now strongly posted, with heavy guns, near Lydenburg, where Buller is confronting him, and any hour may bring news of an important action.

The annexation of the Transvaal, which was proclaimed by Lord Roberts at Belfast on the 1st instant, had long been a foregone conclusion. Why the particular place and moment were selected for the act is not apparent. The proclamation has been made the subject of severe criticism by a section of the Continental Press, which pronounces it unwarranted by the situation and unjustified by international law. It would be interesting to know on what authority the latter allegation rests.

Among the incidents of the last stage of the struggle has been a somewhat hare-brained plot to capture Lord Roberts and murder the British officers at Pretoria, which was discovered at the last moment, and the prime mover in which, one Lieutenant Cordua, having been tried by Court Martial and found guilty of breaking his parole and conspiring for the purposes named, has been condemned to death and shot.

The period under review has been marked by two of those dastardly and senseless outrages against the representatives of constituted authority of which the latter half of the most civilised of the centuries has been so prolific. On the 29th July, Humbert, second King of Italy, was assassinated at Monza, near Milan, when he had just entered his carriage after attending a distribution of prizes in connexion with a gymnastic competition, by an anarchist among the crowd who fired three shots at him from a revolver. His son, the Prince of Naples, who succeeds him under the title of Victor Emmanuel III, signalled his accession by a speech which has been received with enthusiasm in Italy and deservedly created a favourable impression throughout Europe. "When a people has written in the book of history," he said, "a page like that of our *risorgimento*, it has a right to hold high its head and to aspire to the greatest ideals. Holding high my head and aspiring to the greatest ideals, I dedicate myself to my country with all the warmth, all the vigour within me, all the strength derived for the examples and traditions of my House. To my work will be joined that of my august Consort, who, born of a strong race, will dedicate herself entirely to the country of her adoption. Italy has ever been the efficacious instrument

of concord, and such she will continue to be during my reign in the common interest of the preservation of peace. But external peace suffices not. We need internal peace, and the concord of all men of good will to develop our intellectual forces and our economic energies. Let us educate our generation to the cult of the Fatherland, to honest industry, to the sentiment of honour, to that sentiment wherewith our army and navy are so nobly imbued—our army and navy that come from the people, and are a pledge of the brotherhood which joins in unity and in love of our country the whole Italian family. Let us draw near each other and defend ourselves with the wisdom of the laws and with their strict enforcement. May Monarchy and Parliament go hand in hand in this salutary work. Unabashed and steadfast I ascend the throne, conscious of my rights and my duties as a king. Let Italy have faith in me as I have faith in the destinies of our country, and no human force shall destroy that which, with such self-sacrifice, our fathers builded. It is necessary to keep watch, and to employ every living force to guard intact the great conquests of unity and of liberty. The serenest trust in our liberal charter will never fail me, and I shall not be wanting either in strong initiative or in energy of action in vigorously defending our glorious institutions, precious heritage from our great dead. Brought up in the love of religion and of the Fatherland, I take God to witness of my promise that, from this day forward, I offer my heart, my mind, my life, to the grandeur of our land."

The other instance referred to is an attempt on the life of the Shah of Persia, when on his way to the Paris Exhibition. His assailant, also an anarchist, sprung on to the Shah's carriage and pointed a revolver at his breast. The Shah, however, succeeded in seizing the man, while the Grand Vizier, who was in the carriage, grasped his wrist and compelled him to drop the revolver.

The debate on the annual statement on Indian Finance, which was made in the House of Commons by Lord George Hamilton on the 26th July, turned chiefly on the question of a grant in relief of the Indian revenue. On this point Lord George Hamilton intimated that, in order to make further provision for coping with the famine, he had made arrangements for the immediate issue of £3,000,000, a part of the unexpended balance of the loan of £10,000,000 which he secured a few years ago. With that and other resources at his disposal he believed he should be able to meet any demands which the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay might make upon him before the end of October. If it should become necessary, he would not hesitate to appeal to the Imperial

Treasury. He stated that the Indian Government had expended in two years in connexion with the famine upwards of £13,000,000, and defended it against the imputation that it had acted in a niggardly fashion. Having paid a warm tribute to the courage and devotion of the officials charged with the duty of combating the famine, he laid before the House his views with regard to the demand which had been made in some quarters for an Imperial grant. He showed that there was no inconsistency in asking the charitable public to subscribe for the relief of the sufferers while refraining from making a demand upon the British Treasury. The conduct of the Indian Government was regulated by the famine code, which made provision for contingencies and was founded on the principle that, while money must not be wasted, everything possible ought to be done to save life. Only in the event of their being unable to give effect to the regulations of the code would the Indian authorities apply for assistance to the Treasury. Indian finance ought, as far as possible, to be made self-supporting and independent, and it was the duty of the Finance Minister to establish an equilibrium between the expenditure and the revenue. That official would have no inducement to put money aside for famine purposes if he knew that when a famine occurred the British Treasury would at once come to his aid. He hoped and believed that, when the present difficulty had passed away, the Government of India would be able to remit taxation. That would be done if stability of exchange could be assured; and another result would be that more capital would be invested in India. Adverting to the recommendation of Lord Welby's Commission that certain charges now borne by the Indian revenue should be paid in future out of the Imperial Treasury, he said that Her Majesty's Government had considered the proposal favourably and hoped in the course of a few months to make arrangements under which an expenditure of £250,000 now borne by the Indian Government would be provided for by the Home Government. Referring to the heavy mortality which, in spite of every effort, had occurred in Gujerat, Lord George Hamilton promised that a Commission of Enquiry should be appointed as soon as the famine was over.

Sir H. Fowler contended that England ought to help her great dependency at the present juncture. Possibly India could do without Imperial assistance, but sympathy and sentiment were strong forces in human affairs, and it was right that we should express our sympathy as a nation with our Eastern fellow-subjects. To vote a grant for the sufferers from the famine would, in his opinion, be one of the wisest things that the Government could do. He drew attention to some of the

recommendations of the Welby Commission, and expressed a hope that the Government would take them into serious consideration. A transfer to the British Exchequer of a military charge amounting to no more than £250,000 would not satisfy the just claim of India to relief. The Indian forces, the Government ought to bear in mind, formed part of our military reserves.

A Resolution, moved by Mr. Souttar and seconded by Sir William Wedderburn, declaring that a large and generous grant ought to be made to India by the House to assist the famine-stricken population was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Balfour, and ultimately rejected by a majority of 112 to 65.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer doubted whether England could be required in the present crisis to increase its taxation or its debt for the benefit of India. In two years we should have added to our National Debt £37,000,000; while the whole net debt of India was not more than £30,000,000. Of course, if a request for assistance came from the Government of India, it would be taken into consideration, whatever the state of our finances might be; but, as a matter of fact, the responsible officials said that assistance was not required. To grant the demand embodied in the motion would be to set a dangerous precedent and would impair the responsibility of the Indian Government.

Mr. Balfour argued that, if the proposal before the House were acceded to, private charity would be superseded by Parliamentary charity, and in future no appeal to the charitable public would be responded to. A precedent of this kind ought not to be set up except in a case of extreme necessity, and it was not pretended that the finances of India were in such a condition as to render her unable, so far as the preservation of life was concerned, to deal with the famine crisis. India did not pretend that she required a special grant. When she was in financial straits and demanded assistance she would obtain it. It would, in his opinion, be suicidal to burden prematurely and unnecessarily the already heavily-burdened finances of this country.

Among members who supported the Resolution were Mr. J. M. Maclean, Mr. Joseph Walton and Sir M. Blownaggee.

In the House of Lords, the previous week, Lord Northbrook called attention to the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure. He expressed a hope that some scheme based on the recommendations of the Commission for the apportionment in future of the charges for troops lent by the British Government to India and by the Government of India to Her Majesty's Government would be adopted.

Further he trusted that the arbitration proposals of the Commission would be acted on, and did not think it too much to ask that eight years arrears on a basis of £300,000 a year should be given to India.

Lord Onslow said the Commission took evidence for upwards of two years, and they afterwards spent something like three years in considering their report. In these circumstances it could hardly be thought unreasonable if Her Majesty's Government had not during the three months which had elapsed since the publication of the report been able to consider it in all its bearings. The most important point in the report related to the apportionment of charges between the Indian Government and the Home Government, and it was to that question that Her Majesty's Government had in the first place devoted their attention. Her Majesty's Government had not yet carefully considered the suggestions made for the settlement of the payments for Indian troops when they were employed beyond the frontiers of India and for the establishment of an arbitration tribunal to consider the differences between the Government of India and the Imperial Government. All these matters were, however, receiving careful consideration on the part of Her Majesty's Government, who desired to treat India, not only equitably, but liberally.

Lord Kimberley did not admit that India was unfairly treated by England. Lord Salisbury expressed his concurrence with Lord Kimberley in repudiating the idea that India had any reason to complain of the treatment she had received. Apart from the question of liberality and generosity of treatment, the matter must be looked upon as one of adjustment of the burden between the taxpayers of the two countries. The common burdens of Empire ought to be borne, as far as possible, according to equal and equitable rule. He did not think we were bound to discharge this or that claim on the part of India because we had discharged a similar claim on the part of our colonies. There was no special call for expenditure which came upon us because we occupied an Imperial position. It was quite true that it depended on England to make the expenditure for the defence of India and the colonies, but it was equally true that she did not incur the expenditure for India as a matter of favour to India, or rather India did not incur the claim of allegiance as a matter of favour and consideration to her. He urged upon those who had to deal with this question to bear in mind that they were not dealing with a bottomless purse.

An important Resolution has been published by the Government of India on the subject of the conditions under

which permission is henceforward to be granted to Native Princes to visit Europe. Hitherto the power of sanctioning such visits has rested with the Local Governments. It is now required that they shall, in all cases, receive the prior sanction of the Government of India. Upon this point the Government of India observe, first, that the repeated absences from India of Native Chiefs should be regarded as a dereliction, and not as a discharge, of public duty; secondly, that the visits of Princes and Chiefs to Europe should meet with encouragement only in cases where the Local Government is convinced that benefit will result from the trip both to the Chief and to his people; that is to say, the criterion of compliance is not to be private convenience, but personal and public advantage; thirdly, in cases where such permission is recommended by the Local Governments and is granted by the Government of India, it is to be understood that, so far from this constituting a ground for an early renewal of the request, it is a reason against it, and that a suitable interval of time should elapse between the return from travel and the submission of a fresh application for leave; lastly, the Resolution states that it should be the business of Local Governments, as it is of the Government of India, in the case of Princes and Chiefs under their direct charge, carefully to watch the effects of foreign travel upon their character and habits, so as to be able to base their future recommendations not only upon general principles, but upon a careful study of the individual case.

They further say that they hold very strongly the opinion that the first and paramount duty of a Native Prince or Chief lies towards his own State and people. By the protection and authority of the Supreme Government he is guaranteed a security of tenure in his exalted station superior to that enjoyed by rulers in any other country in the world, and one which is only sacrificed or impaired by gross misconduct on his part or by some other offence of exceptional gravity. In return for these advantages the Government are entitled to claim that the ruler shall devote his best energies, not to the pursuit of pleasure, nor to the cultivation of absentee interests or amusements, but to the welfare of his own subjects and administration. Such a standard of duty is incompatible with frequent absences from the State, even though these may be represented as inspired by the pursuit of knowledge or by a thirst for civilisation. In proportion as a Chief becomes infected with these tastes and inclinations, so, in many cases, is he apt to be drawn further away from, instead of nearer to, his people. It is not denied that advantages may result to both parties from a widening of the range of knowledge of an intelligent ruler, and from the application to his local adminis-

tration of the lessons acquired in the school of Western experience. Cases have occurred of such felicitous consequences, and the Government of India have no desire, by any revulsion of policy, to preclude or retard their recurrence. But it cannot be denied that such cases are, on the whole, in the minority; that habits of restlessness and extravagance are even more likely to be inculcated in the Oriental mind by a sudden change of environment and by the temptations of European society, than are incentives to duty or aspirations for reform; and that the result of European tours, particularly if too frequently repeated, is more often a collection of expensive furniture in the palace, and of questionable proclivities in the mind of the returned traveller, than an increase in his capacity for public or political service.

Except for the excitement in military circles caused by the despatch of a large Indian force to China, the period under review in India has been uneventful. The monsoon has, after all, turned out generally favourable, the probabilities at the present moment pointing rather to an excess of rainfall than to a deficiency. Agricultural prospects are in most parts of the country, excellent; the numbers of the population on public relief works are rapidly falling off, and of those in receipt of charitable relief more slowly. The number of cases of plague is beginning to show its usual seasonal increase, and has risen from between 200 and 300 to between 600 and 700 a week, the recrudescence of the disease being most marked in the Mysore territory, and especially in the city of Mysore.

In connection with the extension of plague it may be noted that the disease has broken out in Glasgow, where, contrary to recent experience in other parts of the United Kingdom in which cases have occurred, it has shown some tendency to spread. It appears from a recent telegram that the Sanitary authorities of the place have so far departed from the modern English practice in such matters as to enforce a system of isolating contacts, a step which seems to have been attended with the happiest results.

Everything points to an early dissolution of Parliament, the exact time for which will, no doubt, depend upon the course of events during the next few days in South Africa.

Our obituary, besides Humbert, King of Italy, includes the Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, second son of Her Majesty the Queen; the Duke of Wellington; the Grand Duke of Oldenburg; Prince de Joinville; Count Muravieff; Lord Russell of Killomen; Miss Mary Kingsley; Mr. Stephen Crane; Admiral Blomfield; Sir G. A. Parker, late Madras C. S.; Colonel John Rogers, C.B.; Bishop Ryle; Dr. Julius Althaus;

Mrs. Gladstone ; Lord Loch ; Lieutenant-Colonel A. Adams, M.P.; Admiral Maxse ; Major-General Sir F. W. Jephson, C.B.; Sir Charles Sargent ; Major-General Sir C. W. D'Oyly ; Lieutenant-General C. H. Dickens ; Mr. Steinitz ; Surgeon-General D. J. O'Callaghan ; Lieutenant-General Sir W. Drysdale, and Mr. John Nugent, Bo. C.S.

September 10, 1900.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, for the Agricultural year, 1st October 1898 to 30th September, 1899. Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1900.

NO fewer than six of the District Reports reached the office of the Financial Commissioner after 1st January 1900, nevertheless, the Report was received in the Secretariat on the appointed date. During 1897-98, agricultural conditions had been gradually recovering but had not completely done so in the year under review, which was succeeded, before the Report was concluded, by a return to famine. The Monsoon of 1898 was a very insufficient one, beginning only in the middle of July, and, but little rain falling in August and September, there was much falling off in the crops of two-thirds of the districts of the Province, the inundation canals even failing. Gujrat, which was doing well, suffered in September from a hail-storm which destroyed 28,300 acres of crops, necessitating remissions of land revenue amounting to Rs. 29,407. Throughout the cold weather, 1898-99, there was but a scanty rain-fall in December and March, and this but of partial extent. The area of matured crops was 20,738,687 acres, *i. e.*, 10·7 more than in 1896-97 the worst year of the last ten, and less than in the other eight, excepting 1895-96. The Kharif harvest was 7 and Rabi 10·7 per cent. below normal and the total yield of the year was much below the average. Bajra, rapeseed and grain gave very inferior crops, and only 700,000 acres were sown with cotton, as compared with nearly 1,000,000 in the previous year. Much of the previous year's wheat was exported in the early months; but this was stopped when, in August 1899, the monsoon had failed.

Bad seasons notwithstanding, land irrigation enabled the area of cultivation to be very largely increased during the year. The only important transfer of land was of 605,386 acres of the Sandal Bar from the Montgomery to the Jhang district, which necessitated two additional Tehsils in the latter. An excess of 3,885 masonry wells were constructed, a number only exceeded in 1896-97; *Kacha* wells have been adjudged unsatisfactory save in riverain tracts or as a temporary expedient. The Mooltan district suffered most from rain failure. Half a million acres were deprived of irrigation, of which that district furnished nearly one-third. Although the extent of irrigated land was

so greatly reduced, 43·2 per cent. of the total cultivated area was furnished by it, against a normal percentage of 33·.

Crop statistics would appear to have been insufficiently attested in the Hissar, Rohtak and Jhelum districts. Mutations numbered less than 700,000, as compared with over 736,000 in the previous year, and transfers showed more satisfactorily. Fewer mortgages were redeemed, but at the same time fewer fresh ones, or sales, were effected, and the net area mortgaged was reduced during the year. Still the land area pledged was in excess of the previous year, though in defect as compared with all but one of the six preceding. Money-lenders now advance more freely on less productive land than formerly, which, in conjunction with the fact that the average price of land is now 75 rupees per acres throughout the Province, proves that the land is becoming of greater value. A noticeable fact is the increase of tenants as cultivators, to the diminution of "owners." This may, however, be caused by alienation of land to non-agriculturists. A large increase is also observable in the number kept of sheep, goats, horses, ponies and donkeys, but this may have arisen from more careful enumeration. Camels in the Dera Ismail Khan district have very greatly increased in number, the recent census showing 56,877 as against 18,933, in the previous year, which is not explained. Bulls and bullocks rose to 4,686,636, from 4,254,922. Unfortunately, mortality among animals has also enormously increased.

Nearly 251 lakhs of fixed and fluctuating revenue were collected, compared with 264½ lakhs in the previous year. The decrease of 13½ lakhs is satisfactorily accounted for ; the bad harvest of the year will probably necessitate further suspensions of revenue.

Fluctuating land revenue on the Chenab canal continues to increase, while that on other canal irrigated lands has fallen off, resulting in a diminution of total revenue. The defect is caused by diminished river floods and insufficient winter rains. Alluvion yielded an increase of Rs. 28,000 from districts affected by alluvion-diluvion rules. Miscellaneous land revenue benefited by 8½ lakhs from land sales in the Chenab colony, *i. e.*, 6½ lakhs, auction sales, and 2 lakhs *nazrana* : Tirni (grazing tax) was short by 40,000 in the Mooltan and Montgomery districts, reasons not fully explained. * The land revenue in 1898-99 is assessed at Rs. 29,94,447, a decrease of Rs. 86,268, attributed to fluctuating assessments and other causes.

Five settlements were in progress during the year ; the re-assessment of the Montgomery district was concluded, and Jhelum, Mozuffargarh, Mooltan and Dera Ismail Khan were in an advanced state. Tenants are in demand save in the most

densely populated districts, where owners want all their land to support themselves and families.

The allotments of *takavi* during the financial year 1898-99 are Rs. 371,459, under the "Land Improvement Loans" Act, and Rs. 3,71,600 under the Agriculturists Loans Act, total Rs. 7,43,059, of which nearly three lakhs were apportioned to the Hissar district. Rs. 2,45,908 remained uncollected out of loans amounting to Rs. 5,12,018, and Rs. 1,44,731 were formally suspended.

The total area over which the Government exercises the rights and powers of an ordinary proprietor is 2,036,360 acres, and 4,359,680 acres are still available for cultivation. The income of the above area is Rs. 22,51,113, including 13½ lakhs paid as water rates.

H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor conveys his thanks to Mr. Thorburn and to Mr. Tupper for the manner in which they discharged the duties of Financial Commissioner during the year, and to the latter for his Report; also to the Revenue Officers of the Province for their conduct of the administration.

Report of the Administration of Estates under the Court of Wards in the Panjab for the year ending 30th September 1899.

Published by authority. Lahore : The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1900.

AT the close of the year under report there were 66 estates in charge of the Court of Wards, of which 70 per cent. were estates of Minor Wards and 21 per cent. of persons who have been declared, on their own application, unfit to manage their property. A Bill is in course of preparation under the provisions of which the Court of Wards will be relieved of the charge of a certain number of estates with small incomes, and it is also hoped that it will be possible to utilise a larger proportion of their surplus income in the improvement of estates. In this respect, Maundot stands prominent, the sum expended for improvements amounting to seven-eighths of the total so disbursed during the year in the entire Province.

At the commencement of the year under review, there were 70 estates under the Court of Wards, of which 10 were released from management during the year, and 6 fresh ones brought under its control. The Total Assets of Estates, exclusive of value of land, stock and houses, at the end of the year, was Rs. 19,60,900 as against Rs. 17,59,913 at the close of the previous twelve months, while outstanding liabilities amounted to Rs. 7,51,614, as compared with Rs. 6,80,610. Assets have thus increased by over 2 lakhs and liabilities by nearly Rs. 71,000, but the total of Rs. 19,60,900 includes over 1 lakh of

rent arrears which, though entered as recoverable, will probably never be collected.

At the commencement of the year under report, Rs. 7,74,528, plus Rs. 182 fresh debts—Rs. 7,74,710, principal, and Rs. 31,456 interest, plus interest on former debts, Rs. 39,411 total interest, Rs. 70,867, were outstanding, of which Rs. 54,565 principal and Rs. 39,398 interest were cleared, leaving balances of Rs. 7,20,845 and Rs. 31,469 respectively ; Rs. 2,122 worth of property, however, had to be sold and Rs. 2,000 raised by fresh loans, current expenses paying the remainder. The outstanding liabilities are thus divided, due to Government on account of *takāvi* and other advances, Rs. 7,875, principal, and Rs. 102 ; interest to other estates under the Court of Wards, Rs. 1,05,052 ; and Rs. 3,410 interest, the balance, Rs. 6,07,218, principal and Rs. 27,957 interest, being due to private persons. The Babhaur Estate (Doshyarpur), is pronounced practically hopeless, and, as soon as a Government loan of 10 years' standing has been recovered, the Court of Wards will probably be relieved of its charge, but all other Estates are stated to be in course of clearance.

It is to be noted that the system of "cash" rents is gradually supplanting that of payment in "kind," which would appear to be a far more satisfactory arrangement. Total Expenditure during the year was Rs. 7,44,631, as against Rs. 7,61,639 in the previous year ; management cost Rs. 82,219, compared with Rs. 97,000, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. against 8 per cent. In over 25 per cent. of estates, either less than $\frac{2}{10}$ of the gross income is spent on management or the cost is met by the Court of Wards' rate. The total amount demanded for this rate was Rs. 20,501, plus Rs. 9,420, outstanding—Rs. 29,921, of which Rs. 9,221 remains uncollected. The total expenditure on improvements was Rs. 83,946, as against Rs. 85,027, out of which Mamdôt alone spent Rs. 60,135 on the up-keep of canals besides Rs. 952 in constructing new wells and Rs. 388 on repairs to old ones.

EDUCATION.—During the year under report, 32 Wards were studying at the Aitchison Chiefs' College, compared with 25 in the previous year. All are progressing satisfactorily. Other Wards are under education in different schools, mostly local.

Report by the Board of Revenue on the Revenue Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the Revenue year 1898-99, ending 30th September 1899. Allahabad. North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1900.

NOT only was the year under review an unfavourable one for the crops, but the outturn also fetched smaller prices.

The rainfall, $47\frac{1}{2}$ inches, would have been ample, but for its unequal distribution; in the eastern districts an excess caused much damage, while in the western, there was practically no rain after the 15th September. The spring harvest was, as a whole, below the average.

Health was good generally. A few slight outbreaks of cholera took place, but there was no other epidemic disease. Mortality among cattle showed an increase, and a few experiments in inoculation were made with promising success. The objections of the people are now, apparently, removed, and the veterinary staff are gradually diffusing useful knowledge; a large increase in the staff is, however, absolutely essential.

There was considerable fluctuation in the prices of food grains during the year, lower rates prevailing during the early part, and a general rise taking place in the latter months. Land Revenue due for 1898-99, amounted to $619\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, as against $614\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in 1897-98, enhancements having been made in Meerut, Bijnor, Budawn and the majority of the Oudh districts: 606 lakhs were collected. The real balance is, however, under 9 lakhs, as more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs are nominal. The Meerut, Agra and Kumaun districts are nearly clear and the balances in Oudh are small, but in Shahjehanpur, Jaunpur, Azamgarh, and in most of the districts of the Allahabad Division, arrears are heavy. In Jaunpore, Azamghar and Shahjehanpur, this is attributed to lax management. Allahabad, which is responsible for two-thirds of the deficit, has suffered with extra severity from unfavourable seasons: it is again on the verge of famine, and relief will have to be given if prospects do not improve. Out of 86 lakhs outstanding at the commencement of the year, 49 lakhs were recovered, and, after allowing for remissions, only 29 lakhs were actually in arrears at the close of the year, plus 13 lakhs uncollected balance from former years.

Rental demand on State properties was increased from Rs. 8,11,575 to Rs. 8,39,191.

The payment of revenue by means of money-orders appears to be looked upon with increasing favour, the only question being as to whether it deleteriously affects the lumberdar's position with his co-sharers.

Suits under the Rant Act increased by 6.29 per cent., or from 116,875 to 124,221; applications fell from 176,827 to 158,860: of the total, 91 per cent. were for arrears of rent. 21.39 per cent. were contested, and in 45.41 per cent judgment was given *ex-parte*: the number of pending cases rose from 5,886 to 6,055; the Agra Division has least, *i.e.*, 3.1 per cent. left undecided, and the lowest average of duration: Benares had 1,556 pending, with an average of over two

months to each contested case, and Ballia took no less than 3 months in each of 319 cases. In 33·70 per cent. cases ejectment of tenants took place, an increase of 1·12 per cent. Rohilkund and Allahabad showing the greatest number, and Meerut and Benares the smallest. There were 3,460 fewer "Applications" in the year under review, and out of the 13,099 pending, 10,393 were complicated cases.

Suits contesting enhancement, ejectment, or for arrears of revenue, increased by 233 and 316 respectively, and those for recovery of occupancy, or levying of distraint, declined 39 and 36 per cent. respectively. The pending file of suits for arrears increased from 1,993 to 2,378, Gonda being responsible for 1,348. In one district enhancements beyond statutory limits were reported, and in one case the rents were reduced after enquiry on part of Government. In 318 additional cases appeals were made to Collectors; 55 per cent. remained unmodified, and there were 23 per cent. of reversals. Appeals to Judges show an excess of 172, and pending cases rose from 1,441 to 1,648. In Commissioners Courts the pending file grew from 1,449 to 1,848 cases. The Board of Revenue had for disposal 3,095 cases, as against 3,761 and decided 3,326 against 3,992, the pending file being reduced from 680 to 429 cases, 10·85 per cent. of orders were modified, as regards the N.-W. P. Courts, and 15·2 from Oudh.

The severer forms of process in revenue collection, such as sale of moveable property after attachment, or annulment of settlement, appear to have been more largely necessary during the past year, the arrears demanded having been Rs. 42,69,940, compared with Rs. 39,56,620; with regard to these processes an anomaly seems to present itself, *i.e.*, that while in the N.-W. P. arrest has to be carried out, in Oudh, a simple "summons" suffices.

An accurate comparison of sales and mortgages appears not to be feasible, as data were disturbed by a revision which was taking place in the Fyzabad district.

Favourable conditions during the major part of the year rendered loans less necessary. Under the Land Improvements Loans Act, Rs. 65,086 instead of Rs. 72,138, and, was lent under the Agriculturists Loans Act, Rs. 1,48,654, in place of Rs. 3,54,100. Recoveries of arrears under the first Act were 70 per cent. and under the latter, 50 per cent., difficulties in the Allahabad Division being mainly responsible for the deficiency.

Six districts and one sub-division reported completion of settlement during the year; in four others the work is approaching conclusion, and in two, assessment has begun.

An area of 3,312 square miles was surveyed and 1,720

Patwaris, 59 Kanungos and 263 Apprentice Kanungos were under training; the Kanungos appear to have attained a satisfactory state of efficiency and the Patwaris are improving, though slowly.

When district reports were written, famine appeared imminent, but the fears entertained proved to a certain extent chimerical owing to an unexpectedly large amount of storage; when prices rose, exports reached unusual dimensions, yet did not cause diminution of necessary stocks. Trade being good, and towards end of year, artificial irrigation works having to be constructed, the labouring classes found ample employment at an appreciable advance of wages. Test works were started in the Agra and Muttra districts, but the population showed that they were not in need of famine wages; and a hand traffic in grass required for Rajputana also furnished employment, the trans-Jumna tracts of Bundelkhand alone not sharing in the general advantages, as they have not yet recovered from the previous year's losses.

Report on the Excise Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 30th September 1899.

Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Government Press, 1900.

THE area supplied by "farmed" distilleries has been considerably curtailed during the year, while that under the "ordinary" distillery system was increased by 1,025 square miles; the change has resulted in a fairly considerable increase of revenue.

The gross receipts shown are, owing to settlement of advances, etc., Rs. 1,43,347 in excess of the real receipts, the latter amounting to Rs. 59,73,691, an increase of Rs. 11,30,383, or 23.34 per cent., on the previous year.

Of the gross demand, Rs. 60,30,188, all but Rs. 22,787 had been collected, and Rs. 11,086 have been subsequently realized; Rs. 514 only will have to be remitted. Real receipts on account of license fees have increased by Rs. 2,17,147, a proof of returning prosperity among the agricultural population.

Still-head duty amounted to Rs. 22,75,633, as compared with Rs. 17,24,342 in the previous year, representing a total consumption of 1,525,138 gallons, as compared with 1,154,252 gallons, stated in terms of London proof, which is the highest recorded since the introduction of the differential scale of duties. The number of distilleries at work was 29, out of which 2 were subsequently closed. Stills within distilleries increased from 457 to 534, owing to greater demand. Issues of proof spirit

rose by 25,199 gallons, but the demand for the lower class has not diminished.

The number of combined stills and shops rose by 127, while the farming system shops fell by 45 ; an excess of Rs. 1,03,594 being netted. The consumption of Rosa rum again slightly increased, but it is not sold much outside the larger cities.

Real receipts from license fees for sale of hemp drugs amounted to Rs. 6,76,849, an increase of Rs. 1,26,122, or 22·90 per cent. Duty payments reached Rs. 3,19,091, an excess of Rs. 56,894—21·70 per cent. The noxious drug, "Charas," appears to be supplanting Ganja, on account of its more easy acquirement. Opium seems to be practically stationary, but an increased income may be expected from license fees ; Tari appears also to be unaltered. Malt liquor income has increased by 78·8 per cent., chiefly owing to exemption of the Commissariat Department from duty.

Prosecutions for breaches of the various Excise Acts have generally increased, cases being 291 in excess, and offences being chiefly respecting hemp drugs, *i. e.*, the smuggling in of Ganja from Native States. The Excise Administration cost the Province Rs. 1,04,846 for the year, being Rs. 11,046, or 11·77 per cent. in excess of 1897-98. The largest items of increase were Rs. 7,569 under the heading of Refunds, Rs. 3,545, Rewards, and Rs. 1,281, District Establishment. Rs. 14,099 was actually disbursed in rewards, but the difference between that sum and Rs. 3,545 was realized from fines inflicted for offences under the Act.

The amount of Refunds was greatly swollen by the return to an unsuccessful bidder for the city shops in Cawnpore, of the sum of Rs. 12,125 which had been advanced by him. Rs. 3,569 was expended on original works and Rs. 6,067 on repairs, during the financial year. The net Excise revenue amounted to Rs. 1,223 per 10,000, as compared with Rs. 984 in the preceding year, and the average annual expenditure per head of the population was about 2 annas. The Commissioner of Excise makes favourable mention of the following officers under his control :—Collectors : Messrs. Trethewy, Ferard, Wyndham, Mardon, Piggott, Bell, Cox, Robarts, and Morris ; Excise Officers : Messrs. Edwards, F. D. Simpson, G. R. Clark, Bertlound, Balfour, J. Campbell, J. C. Smith, Raw, P. Baldeo Parshad, Shaikh Mahammed Wasi and Chandri Maharaj Singh ; Kazi Azizuddin Ahmed, M. Ganga Sahay and P. Janardhan Joshi are commended for reports.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Story of the Surname of Beatson. Compiled by Surgeon-General W. B. Beatson, late Deputy Surgeon-General, Her Majesty's Indian Army, Lahore Division. Reprinted from the *Genealogical Magazine* (revised and corrected). London : Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E. C. 1900.

THE curious in Scottish genealogy—a category which probably includes the great majority of Scots—will find abundant matter of interest in the account given by the author of the ancient origin and early fortunes—largely, by the way, misfortunes—of the Baties and Batiesonns, associated patronymics which soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century were replaced by the Beattie and Beatson of later times. The interest of the general reader in the history of the clan will probably be co-ordinate with the careers of the many descendants of James Baitson, or Betson, of Balbairdie, or, as he was designated on his monument at Kinghorne, after later acquisitions, of Kilrie, who have served, and many of whom, we are happy to say, still “continue to serve, the Crown with energy and distinction as officers in the British and Indian armies.”

Before speaking of these, however, we may note, as a fact of etymological interest, that the name *Bat*, or *Batie*, is a derivative of Bartholomew, and became established as a personal name in Scotland at an undetermined, but very remote, date ; while the surname of Batiesonn. or Beteson, is certainly as old as A. D. 1448, when a certain Willelmus Beteson, as appears from the will and inventory of Thontas Martin, Canon Residentiary of York, was “Camerarius ecclesiæ Cathedralis Eboricensis ut proterminis Sancte Martini.” In the latter half of the sixteenth century, it may be added, the Bates clan was utterly broken up, “its members scattered, outlawed and persecuted by their own countrymen,” under circumstances into which we need not enter here, and its last reputed principals were slain in 1604.

To return to the Beatsons of later days, or, at least, to the descendants of James Betson of Kilrie, aforementioned, their achievements bespeak a racial vigour which persecution was powerless to extinguish. Indeed, it may be questioned whether any name has figured at once more frequently and more honourably in National or Anglo-Indian history. To begin with, there was Alexander Beatson, the second son of Robert Beatson, Esq., sixth Laird of Kilrie, who, born at Dundee in 1759,

obtained a Cadetship in the Honourable East India Company's service in 1775 ; who performed scientific and military services of the greatest value and was responsible for the plan of campaign and final attack which resulted in the capture of Seringapatam in 1799. Eight years later, after he had retired to England with the intention of settling there, he was invited by the Court of Directors to undertake the Government of St. Helena, which they had determined to reform, a task in which he was conspicuously successful.

The elder brother of this distinguished officer, Robert Beatson, again, served for many years in the Royal Engineers and planned the Fort of Goree on the Coast of Africa. He had four sons, two of whom, Alexander and William Ferguson, entered the military service of the East India Company. Major-General William Ferguson Beatson fought in the campaign in Arracan in the first Burmah War ; and with the British Auxiliary Force in Spain, under Lieutenant-General Sir DeLacy Evans, for which service he was created a Knight of St. Ferdinand. " Returning to India in 1837," proceeds the narrative, " he raised in Bundelcund a force of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, and with it besieged and captured the fortresses of Jignee and Chirgong, held by refractory Arabs and Rohillas, and effectually subdued the spirit of revolt in those districts.

" In 1844, when Sir Charles Napier commanded in Scinde, and several regiments in the Bengal Army refused to proceed to that newly-conquered province on field service, the Bundelcund Legion, under Brigadier Beatson, although only a local corps and raised for particular service within certain limits, to a man volunteered to proceed to Scinde and serve there. The Government of India readily accepted the services of Brigadier Beatson and the corps under his command. On completion of their service in Scinde, the whole corps was transferred to the regular army of Bengal, and Brigadier Beatson was informed by the highest authority in India that the " Government felt grateful for the services of his noble legion."

" He was soon afterwards appointed Brigadier commanding the Nizam's Cavalry Division. A revolt having broken out in the Nizam's dominions in 1851, Brigadier Beatson took the field, with a well-appointed force of all arms, and soon besieged and reduced the fortresses of Rae Mhow and Dharoor, both mounted with heavy guns and defended by Arabs and Rohillas, the most desperate and warlike classes of people in India. For these actions, and several others in which he commanded, Brigadier Beatson received the thanks of the Government of India and of the Nizam. In the beginning of 1853 he volunteered for service at the seat of war on the Danube, and there commanded the Bashi-Bazouks of Omar Pasha's army, and

was subsequently present at the battles of Inkerman and Balaclava, on the staff of General Scarlett, commanding the British Heavy Cavalry. At the end of the Crimean War he received the medal with three clasps, for Balaclava, Inkerman, and Sebastopol, and also the Sultan's gold medal for the Danube campaign, together with complimentary letters from Lords Stratford de Redcliffe, the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, K.G., and Lord Panmure."

Turning to the Vicarsgrange branch of the family, Robert Beatson served for some time in the army, but eventually devoted himself to literature, and was the author of many valuable works, including "Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727 to 1783."

George Stewart Beatson entered the army Medical Department in 1838 and rose to the highest rank in the service.

In the autumn of 1854, in conjunction with General Sir Henry Storks, he organized the Military Hospital at Smyrna. He subsequently served in Turkey and in the Crimea. In 1865 he was appointed Honorary Physician to Her Majesty, and in 1869 received the distinction of Companion of the Bath. During his first tenure of office as Principal Medical Officer to the British Forces in India (1863 to 1868) Dr. Beatson effected many valuable reforms, and proved himself to be a most painstaking and zealous servant of the State and a true friend to the British soldier. It was chiefly through his instrumentality that the Government were first forced to see the necessity of largely augmenting barrack space and of accommodating a larger number of British troops in the Himalayan and other ranges of hills; and to him mainly is the European soldier indebted for the many comforts he enjoys in his barrack-room, as well as in his hospital. The following notification regarding him appeared in the *Gazette of India*:

"FORT WILLIAM, June 9, 1874.—His Excellency the Governor-General in Council has received with much regret intelligence of the death, at Simla, on the 7th instant, of Surgeon-General G. S. Beatson, M.D., C.B. Dr. Beatson had twice, in the course of a long and honourable career, filled the highest post in the British Medical Service in India, with credit to himself and advantage to the State, and the Government of India sincerely lament the loss of this valuable public servant."

Roger Stewart Beatson, brother of the above, rose to Major-General in the Royal Engineers and served with distinction in England, Malta, Canada and New Zealand.

Another brother, John Fullarton Beatson, entered the Indian Medical Service in 1843; served in the Sutlej and Punjab Campaigns and throughout the mutiny, and became Surgeon-General of the Bengal Medical Department.

Surgeon-General G. S. Beatson, already mentioned, left four sons, whose names appear in the latest British and Indian Army Lists.

William Stuart Beatson of the Glasmont branch was a Lieutenant-Colonel in, and Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army; and

his son, William Stuart Beatson, as Captain in the Bengal Army, was Adjutant-General of Sir Henry Havelock's force and died the day after the battle of Cawnpore.

Before the fight began he was stricken by mortal disease, and was powerless to sit his horse; but, dying as he was, he could not consent to lose his chance of taking part in the great act of retribution, so he placed himself upon a tumbril, and was carried into action; and as dear life was passing away from him, his failing heart pulsed with great throbs of victory.*

Eight Beatsons, it may be added, still remain on the Indian and Royal Army Lists, *vide*—

INDIAN ARMY LIST.

Beatson, A. B., Major-General.

Beatson, C. A., Lieutenant-Colonel.

Beatson, E. B., 2nd Lieutenant.

Beatson, S. B., Colonel, etc.

Beatson, W. B., Surgeon-General.

Beatson, W. A. J., Major, R.A.

ROYAL ARMY LIST.

Beatson, F. C. Major, 2nd in command, Duke of Edinburgh's Wiltshire Regiment.

Beatson, G. T., Volunteer, Medical Staff Corps, Scottish District, Glasgow, Surgeon-Captain in command.

* "History of the Sepoys Mutiny in 1857-58," by Sir John Wm. Kaye, F.R.S., vol. ii., pp. 378 389.

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